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No. 1.

CHAUCER AND SOME OF HIS FRIENDS.

IN a well-known passage in the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*, Chaucer professes absolute neutrality in a sentimental debate which was amusing the leisure of high society in England:

For trusteth wel, I ne have not undertake
As of the Leef ageyn the Flour to make,
Ne of the Flour to make ageyn the Leef,
No more than of the corn ageyn the sheef.
For, as to me, is leefer non ne lother;
I am withholde yit with never nother.
I not who serveth Leef, ne who the Flour,
That nis nothing the entent of my labour.
For this work is al of another tunne,
Of olde story, er swych stryf was begunne.¹

This is one of Chaucer's characteristic disclaimers, and must not be taken too literally. Very likely he had not joined² either the Order of the Flower or that of the Leaf, but we are not to suppose that he did not even know which of his aristocratic friends belonged to one faction and which to the other. We are reminded of the solemnity with which he protests, in the *Troilus*, that he is a mere outsider in all the affairs of love.

The lines just quoted are good historical material. They show that English court society, in the time of Richard II, entertained

¹ Version A, vss. 71 ff. So, substantially, in version B, vss. 188 ff., but with "swich thing" for "swych stryf." For our present purposes it makes no difference whether A or B is the older version, and that very difficult question may therefore be ignored.

² Cf. vs. 76 with C. T., Prol., vs. 511: "with a bretherhed to ben withholde."

itself by dividing into two amorous orders¹—the Leaf and the Flower—and by discussing, no doubt with an abundance of allegorical imagery, the comparative excellence of those two emblems or of the qualities they typified. If we call in Gower's testimony also,² we are perhaps justified in supposing that the two orders sometimes appeared in force, each member bedecked with the symbol to which he or she had sworn allegiance. Such pageants would accord extremely well with the manners of the day, and it is possible that the pretty anonymous poem of *The Flower and the Leaf*³ reflects the custom. In Gower's lines, however, the pageantry is applied to allegorical purposes, and the anonymous poem is not only allegorical, but also somewhat too late to be used without caution. We may return therefore to the Prologue to the *Legend*.

Just before the place quoted Chaucer makes his apology to certain contemporary poets:

For wel I wot that folk have her-beforn
Of making ropen, and lad away the corn;
And I come after, glening here and there,
And am ful glad if I may find an ere
Of any goodly word that they han left.
And, if hit happe me rehersen eft

¹ Vss. 69, 70 of version A of the Prologue seem to suggest that all servants of love belong to one of these two orders:

Sith it is seid in furthering and honour
Of hem that either serven Leef or Flour.

In other words, "Whatever I say in this book is said in furtherance and honor of all lovers." Cf. *Troilus*, i, st. 3. "Servants of love" and similar phrases, we should remember, were stock terms for "society people," who were all conventionally supposed to be desperately in love. So "lusty Venus children dere," in the *Squire's Tale* (vs. 272), means merely the young ladies and gentlemen at the court ball.

² *Confessio Amantis*, viii, vss. 2462 ff. (Pauli, Vol. III, p. 358; Macaulay, Vol. III, p. 453):

I sih wher lusty Youthe tho,
As he which was a Capitein,
Tofore alle othre upon the plein
Stod with his route wel begon,
Here hevedes kempt, and therupon
Garlandes noight of o colour,
Some of the lef, some of the flour,
And some of grete Perles were;
The newe guise of Beawme there,
With sondri thinges wel devised,
I sih, wherof thei ben queintised.

³ Skeat's theory that *The Flower and the Leaf* was written by a woman has little against it. Still, there is no certainty. The fact that the author speaks in the person of a woman is not conclusive. Deschamps, for instance, does the same in a good many of his poems.

That they han in her fresshe songes sayd,
 I hope that they wil not ben evil apayd,
 Sith it is seid in forthering and honour
 Of hem that either serven Leef or Flour.¹

Curiously enough, all the editors of Chaucer have overlooked four poems by Eustache Deschamps which are of the first importance in the illustration of the Prologue to the *Legend*. They stand together in the authoritative manuscript of the works of Deschamps and may very likely have been written at about the same time. The third is a *rondeau*, the other three are *ballades*. The first² begins thus:

Qui est a choiz de deux choses avoir,
 Eslire doit et choisir la meillour.
 Et si me faut que je prengne, savoir:
 De deux arbres ou la fueille ou la flour.

The author then compares the excellences of the Flower and of the Leaf and decides for the Flower, the refrain being

J'aim plus la fleur que la fueille ne face.

The second ballade³ is in praise of the Flower and is of particular interest. The first stanza is as follows:

Pour ce que j'ay oy parler en France
 De deux ordres en l'amoureuse loy,
 Que dames ont chascune en defferance,

¹Version A, vss. 61 ff. We need have no hesitation in taking this as addressed to contemporary poets rather than to the great of old. Chaucer is not speaking of the material of his *Legend*, but of what he intends to say in the Prologue itself in praise of the Daisy. Further, the language of version B is quite conclusive:

Allas! that I ne had English, ryme or prose,
 Suffisant this flour to preye a right!
 But helpeth, ye that han conning and might,
 Ye lovers, that can make of sentement;
 In this cas oghte ye be diligent
 To forthren me somewhat in my labour,
 Whether ye ben with the Leef or with the Flour.
 For wel I wot that ye han her-biforn
 Of making ropen, and lad away the corn;
 And I come after, gleneyng here and there,
 And am ful glad if I may find an ere
 Of any goodly word that ye han left.
 And though it happe me rehercen eft
 That ye han in your fresshe songes sayd,
 For-bereth me, and both nat evel apayd,
 Sin that ye see I do it in the honour
 Of love, and eek in service of the flour (vss. 86 ff.).

²No. 764, Vol. IV, pp. 257, 258.

³No. 765, Vol. IV, pp. 259, 260.

L'une fueille et l'autre fleur, j'octroy
 Mon corps, mon cuer a la fleur; et pourquoy?
 Pour ce qu'en tout a pris, loange et grace
 Plus que fueille qui en pourre trespasse
 Et n'a au mieux fors que verde coulour,
 Et la fleur a beauté qui trestout passe.
 A droit jugier je me tien a la flour.

In the fourth stanza "Guillaume Fay, La Tremouille" is requested, apparently, to join the Order of the Flower. This person was chamberlain and marshal of Burgundy and met his death at Nicopolis¹ in 1396. The fifth stanza, however, enables us to come still nearer to the date of the poem, and is otherwise of particular significance:

Et qui vouldra avoir la congnoissance
 Du tresdoux nom que par oir congnoy
 Et du pais ou est sa demourance,
 Voist en l'ille d'Albyon en recoy,
 En Lancastre le trouvera, ce croy.
 P. H. et E. L. I. P. P. E. trace,
 Assemble tout; ces .viii. lettres compasse,
 S'aras le nom de la fleur de valour,
 Qui a gent corps, beaux yeux et douce face.
 Au droit jugier je me tien a la flour.

The lady here celebrated is of course Philippa, the eldest daughter of Chaucer's patron, John of Gaunt. Deschamps speaks of her as resident in Lancaster, and this, whether his words are to be taken literally or not, fixes one terminus for the date of composition. The Lady Philippa embarked at Plymouth on July 9, 1386,² to accompany her father on his expedition in quest of the Castilian crown,³ and on February 2, 1387,⁴ she was married to João I of Portugal. The ballade must have been written before the first of these two dates, and it may have been written several years

¹ RAYNAUD, *Œuvres de Deschamps*, Vol. X, p. 202.

² See KNIGHTON, Vol. II, pp. 207, 208 (TWYSDEN, cols. 2676, 2677).

³ For the chronology of this expedition, with references to the original authorities, see *Englische Studien*, Vol. XIII, pp. 12 ff.

⁴ DE SOUSA, *Hist. Geneal. da Casa Real Portuguesa* (Lisbon, 11 vols., 1735-45), Vol. II, p. 29. Cf. AYALA, *Cronica del Rey Don Juan el Primero*, año viii, cap. 6 (*Cronicas*, Madrid, 1780, Vol. II, p. 249); FEERNÃO LOPEZ, *Chronica del Rey D. João I*, Part II, chaps. xciii, xcv-xeviii (Lisbon, 1644, Vol. II, pp. 222, 225 ff.); SOARES DA SILVA, *Memorias para Historia de Portugal* (Lisbon, 1730-4), Vol. I, pp. 231 ff., Vol. IV, pp. 50 ff.

earlier, for Philippa was in her twenty-eighth year at the time of her marriage.¹

The third poem² is a rondeau addressed to "tresdouce flour, Elyon de Nillac," and, like the preceding, rejects the Leaf in favor of the Flower.³ It is very short, and affords us nothing of moment except this name. Hélion de Naillac was councillor and chamberlain of the French king.⁴

In the fourth,⁵ however, a ballade in five stanzas and an envoy, Deschamps takes the side of the Leaf, and in the envoy he gives a list of distinguished Frenchmen who belong to that order:

Royne sur fleurs en vertu demourant,
Galoys d'Aunoy, Mornay, Pierre ensemment
De Tremouille, li borgnes Porquerons,
Et d'Araynes Lyonnet vont loant,
Et Thuireval vostre bien qui est grant;⁶
Pour ce a fueille plus qu'a fleur nous tenons.

The significance of these four little poems to students of Chaucer needs no emphasis. They not only give direct testimony of the existence of the two orders in France, but one of them brings us close to Chaucer by informing us that Philippa of Lancaster was the great patroness of the Flower in England. It is hardly possible to doubt that this particular ballade was sent to the Lady Philippa by Deschamps—or by someone for whom he wrote it—and in that case it may well have been seen by Chaucer.⁷

¹ According to her long and highly interesting epitaph, as printed by DE SOUSA, Vol. II, p. 32. Her husband was in his twenty-ninth year, on the same authority. The epitaph also informs us that she died July 18, 1415 (DE SOUSA, Vol. II, p. 35).

² No. 766, Vol. IV, p. 261.

³ Very likely it was written to order for a lady to send to de Naillac.

⁴ See RAYNAUD, as above, Vol. X, p. 215.

⁵ No. 767, Vol. IV, pp. 262-4.

⁶ See RAYNAUD's index under *Aunoy, Mornay, La Trémouille, Poquières, Araynes*. Thuireval has not been identified.

⁷ It is now generally admitted that Chaucer's wife was the sister of Katherine Swinford, who was for some time governess of John of Gaunt's daughters, and whose career as the Duke's mistress and subsequently his wife is well-known. Is it possible that Chaucer put the following verses into the Doctor's mouth without thinking of his own sister-in-law?

And ye maistresses in your olde lyf,
That lordes doghtres han in governaunce,
Ne taketh of my wordes no displeaunce;
Thenketh that ye ben set in governinges,
Of lordes doghtres, only for two thinges:
Outher for ye han kept your honestee,
Or elles ye han falle in freletee,

And knowen wel y-nough the olde daunce,
And han forsaken fully swich meschaunce
For evermo; therfore, for Cristes sake,
To teche hem vertu loke that ye ne slake.
A theef of venisoun that hath forlaft
His likerousnesse and al his olde craft
Can kepe a forest best of any man.

—Physician's Tale, vss. 72 ff.

Indeed, it is far from improbable that in writing the passages which have been quoted from the Prologue to the *Legend* Chaucer had his eye on the four poems which Deschamps had devoted to singing the praises either of the Leaf or of the Flower.

May we not go a step farther? Everybody knows that Deschamps sent some of his works to Chaucer, along with a highly complimentary (if not always intelligible) ballade,¹ in which he praises the English poet's translation of the *Roman de la Rose*. He begs Chaucer to receive his "œuvres d'escolier" graciously, and to send him something of his own in return—"de rescripre te prie, Grant translateur, noble Geffroy Chaucier." The return gift desired was of course a poem or poems, and indeed Deschamps makes the point plain enough by requesting a draught "de la fontaine Helye" to quench his thirst. If the manuscript which Deschamps sent to Chaucer contained the poems on the Flower and the Leaf, may not Chaucer have replied by sending him the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*, or, indeed, the whole *Legend*, so far as it was ever completed? It is worth noting that there is a good deal about Chaucer's translation of the *Roman de la Rose* in the Prologue, as in the epistle of Deschamps to Chaucer, and further, that the list which Chaucer gives of his other works in that poem would have greatly interested Deschamps, who, when he wrote his epistle, apparently knew nothing of Chaucer's except the *Roman*.

There are no ascertained dates in the way of one who feels disposed to indulge in such conjectures as those just mentioned. The Prologue to the *Legend* is usually dated 1385,² and the ballade of Deschamps in honor of Philippa of Lancaster cannot, as we have seen, be put later than the middle of 1386, and may belong some years earlier.

There is an Englishman mentioned in Deschamps's address to Chaucer who deserves some notice, as being presumably a friend of both poets, and whom we shall find not without interest on his own account, though he has been completely neglected by Chau-

¹ No. 285, Vol. II, pp. 138-40.

² The arguments in favor of this date are far from conclusive—some of them, indeed, seem quite illusory—but the date itself is not unreasonable.

cerians. He is the *Clifford* from whom Chaucer is to receive the gift sent him by Deschamps:

Mais pran en gré les euvres d'escolier
Que par Clifford de moy avoir pourras.

This undoubtedly is the same person to whom Deschamps refers as an authority on problems of love in a ballade addressed to the Seneschal d'Eu.¹ The writer says that he wishes to marry, and asks the seneschal to give him a written report on the following question:

Lequel vault mieulx a jeune chevalier
Et a homme qui par le monde va,
Belle dame, s'il se veult marier
Qui jeune soit, ou moyenne qui a
L'aage passé? Et laquelle prendra
Pour le meilleur et pour joieuse vie
Le chevalier?

If the seneschal is in doubt, he is to consult "the amorous Clifford:"

Et s'avisez n'estes de la partie,
Demandez ent a l'amoureux Clifford.

The last-quoted verse is the refrain. In the envoy several French authorities are mentioned whom the seneschal is also requested to consult:

Seneschal d'Eu, mes cuers en vous se fie.
Enquerez bien de ceste maladie
Au Tourangoys, a Le Breth et au fort
Au conte d'Eu, Harecourt, Jehan de Trie,
Et pour estre mieulx la chose fournie,
Demandez ent a l'amoureux Clifford.

This list of names indicates that Clifford, whoever he was, enjoyed the acquaintance of the most brilliant French society of the time.² "The Tourangoys" is Louis (brother of Charles VI), who became Duke of Touraine in 1386 and Duke of Orléans in 1392.³ Le Breth is Charles d'Albret, the king's cousin-german. The Comte d'Eu is Philippe d'Artois. Harecourt is Jean VI, Comte d'Harcourt. Jean de Trie is the brother of the admiral

¹ No. 536, Vol. III, pp. 375, 376.

² The names are identified by RAYNAUD in his index to DESCHAMPS.

³ Thus the poem was not written before 1386, and, since Louis gave up the duchy of Touraine to receive that of Orléans, it can hardly have been written after 1392.

Renaud de Trie; he was a marshal of France, and chamberlain of the dukes of Burgundy and Orléans. The Seneschal d'Eu himself was the main author of the famous *Livre des Cent Ballades*.¹

Who was this Clifford? M. Gaston Raynaud, in his invaluable historical index to Deschamps, identifies him with Sir Lewis de Clifford, of whom he gives the following brief account: "Chevalier anglais, ami de Chaucer Il est cité par Froissart parmi les champions de la joute de Saint-Inglevert (1390), et fait aussi partie des ambassades anglaises de 1391 et de 1395." There is every reason to accept M. Raynaud's identification. Even if Deschamps had never written his address to Chaucer, we should still be justified in assuming acquaintanceship between the English poet and Sir Lewis Clifford, for the latter was not only a courtier of Richard II, but seems to have stood in close relation to John of Gaunt and his party, as will appear in what follows.²

Sir Lewis Clifford was one of the best known of English gentlemen, under the degree of a lord,³ in the last quarter of the fourteenth century. He was born about 1336.⁴ In 1352 he was taken prisoner by the French.⁵ Later he was apparently attached to the household of the Black Prince, who made grants to him in 1368, 1372 and 1376,⁶ and whose will he witnessed in 1376.⁷ Clifford remained in this service after Prince Edward's death

¹ The MARQUIS DE QUEUX DE SAINTE-HILAIRE remarks, in a note on this poem of DESCHAMPS: "Cette ballade semble se rapporter au *Livre des cent ballades*" (*Œuvres de Deschamps*, Vol. III, p. 375). The device of proposing a question to the seneschal and asking him to consult different authorities certainly reminds one strongly of this charming work. The Comte d'Eu is one of the persons consulted in the *Livre des cent ballades* (no. 99), and one of the replies (p. 207) bears the name of Monseigneur de Touraine.

² A number of facts about Clifford are collected by MORANT (in his edition of WHITAKER'S *Hist. and Antiq. of the Deanery of Craven*, 1878, pp. 314, 315), by MISS TOULMIN SMITH (*Derby Accounts*, p. 312), and by WYLIE (*Hist. of England under Henry the Fourth*, Vol. III, pp. 261, 296). See, especially, BELTZ, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter*, 1841, pp. 260 ff.

³ He appears to have been related to the Barons of Clifford.

⁴ In 1386 Clifford gave evidence in the famous Scrope-Grosvenor controversy, describing himself as above fifty years of age (*Scrope-Grosvenor Roll*, ed. NICOLAS, Vol. II, p. 427). Of course he may have been born some time before 1336. "Lois de Clifort" was in France in the army commanded by Robert d'Artois and the Earl of Pembroke in 1342 (FROISSART, ed. KEEVYN, Vol. IV, p. 143).

⁵ FROISSART, ed. KEEVYN, Vol. V, p. 302. Cf. BELTZ, p. 261.

⁶ Sept. 1, 42 Ed. III. (*Cal. Pat. Rolls Rich. II*, 1377-81, p. 158; *ibid.*, 1381-5, p. 33): July 20 in the thirtieth year of his principate (*ibid.*, 1381-5, p. 33); June 5, 50 Ed. III. (*ibid.*, p. 106). The Black Prince died June 8, 1376.

⁷ He is called "knight" (*miles*) in the notarial certificate attached to the will (NICHOLS, *Wills of the Kings and Queens of England*, p. 76).

(1376) and during the principate of Richard (afterward Richard II), who made a grant to him in 1377.¹ In 1373 he had been with John of Gaunt in his *chevauchée* from Brittany to Bordeaux.² On the accession of Richard in 1377, or soon after (1378), Lewis Clifford became a knight of the king's household³—a position which he long retained. In 1378 the Princess Joan, widow of the Black Prince, granted him for her life the custody of Cardigan Castle, and this grant was confirmed, for Clifford's life, by the king in 1382.⁴ The Princess Joan was a supporter of Wyclif, and it was perhaps in her household that Clifford formed those opinions which lend a singular interest to his career. Our first information as to these opinions comes from this same year, 1378, immediately after Richard's accession. At this time, Walsingham tells us, the bishops were remiss in prosecuting Wyclif, being terrified "a facie cujusdam, nec nobilis militis neque potentis, de Curia Principissae Johannaë, videlicet Lodewyci Clyfford, pompose vetantis ne praesumerent aliquid contra ipsum Johannem sententialiter diffinire."⁵ This is testimony from a hostile witness, the feeble spite of whose "nec nobilis neque potentis" we may well forgive in return for the picturesqueness of his "a facie" and especially his "*pompose vetantis*." Clifford was sufficiently distinguished⁶ to be made a Knight of the Garter in this same year;⁷ and, whether he was "powerful" or not, he had powerful backers in whatever demonstration he may have made, and it is clear that he acted with dash and spirit. Most important of all, he carried his point and cowed the bishops. That he had some understanding with John of Gaunt, the arch-patron of the Lollards,⁸ would be

¹ Feb. 20 and 25, 51 Ed. III (*Cal. Pat. Rolls Rich. II, 1377-81*, pp. 106, 156, 157); cf. *Cal. Pat. Rolls Rich. II, 1381-5*, p. 33.

² FROISSART, Vol. VIII, pp. 280, 284.

³ He is so described ("king's knight") in a document of March 22, 1378 (1 Ric. II): *Cal. Pat. Rolls Rich. II, 1377-81*, p. 157.

⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls Rich. II, 1381-5*, p. 185.

⁵ *Hist. Angl.*, Vol. I, p. 356.

⁶ So *nobilis* must doubtless be taken; for Clifford's family was noble enough if he was related to Lord Clifford (see p. 11, note 2).

⁷ His predecessor, Ingelram de Coucy, retired August 26, 1377 (RYMER, 2d ed., HOLMES, Vol. VII, p. 172), and Clifford received robes for the feast of St. George (April 23), 1378 (*Wardrobe Accounts*). See BELTZ, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter*, pp. 152, 243, 246 ff., 262; NICOLAS, *Orders of Knighthood, The Garter*, p. 46*, n. 4, App., pp. xxi* ff., liii.

⁸ KNIGHTON says of John of Gaunt: "semper ei [i. e. Wyclif] et suis in omnibus necessitatibus invincibili praesidio affuit, et aliter ipse et sui in foveam interitus viliter cecidissent." Vol. II, p. 157 (TWYSDEN, col. 2647).

extremely probable in any case. At all events, he was in the confidence of this great noble, as is shown by a singular bit of evidence in the public records. In that same year (1378), John of Gaunt obtained from Richard II a confirmation of a privilege previously granted by Edward III. Whenever the Duke should die, the revenues of his real estate were to be received and managed for one year, without interference from the crown officers, by certain designated persons, one of whom was Lewis Clifford.¹ In 1391 Clifford and others were sent to Paris with pacific messages from Richard II to Charles VI.²

Under the year 1382 Knighton mentions Lewis Clifford among the "promotores strenuissimi et propugnatores fortissimi" of the Lollards,³ and under 1387 he is again referred to by Walsingham in similar terms.⁴ He is continually mentioned in the Patent Rolls, usually in connection with some royal grant: 1378,⁵ 1379,⁶ 1380 (July 8 and August 3),⁷ 1381,⁸ 1382,⁹ 1384,¹⁰ 1385,¹¹ 1387.¹² In 1385 (May 4) he was in South Wales at Cardigan Castle, of which he was constable.¹³ In 1389 he is several times mentioned as present at meetings of the Privy Council.¹⁴ Thus we keep him in view without difficulty till 1390, when he appears with distinction in the brilliant pages of Froissart.

In 1389 a three years' truce was made between England and France. In November of the same year, three French knights, Regnault de Roy, the Sire de Saint-Py, and that very distinguished gentleman, Bouciquaut the younger, challenged all Christian knights to a tournament to be held in the following spring near the abbey of Saint-Inglevert, in the march of Calais,

¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls Rich. II, 1377-81*, p. 262.

² FROISSART, Vol. XIV, pp. 284, 288, 355; cf. WALLON, *Richard II*, pp. 44, 45, 412, 413.

³ Vol. II, p. 181 (Twysden, col. 2661).

⁴ Among the knights who "hanc sectam coluerunt quam maxime et sustentaverunt" (*Hist. Angl.*, Vol. II, p. 159; *Ypodigma Neustriæ*, p. 348).

⁵ *Cal. Pat. Rolls Rich. II, 1377-81*, pp. 170, 185, 208, 225.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 332.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 525, 529.

⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls Rich. II, 1381-5*, p. 33.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 478.

¹¹ *Cal. Pat. Rolls Rich. II, 1385-9*, p. 53.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 310. From this entry it appears that his wife's name was Eleanor and that she was dead in 1387 (June 18).

¹³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls Rich. II, 1381-5*, p. 569; cf. FROISSART, Vol. X, p. 394.

¹⁴ *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, ed. NICOLAS, Vol. I, pp. 6, 11, 12d, 14b, 14c, 17.

promising to meet all comers for thirty days,¹—"et prions à tous les nobles chevalliers et escuiers estranges qui venir y voudront, que point ne voeuillent penser, ne ymager que nous faisons ceste chose par orgueil, hayne, ne malvueillance, mais que pour les veoir et avoir leur honnourable compagnie et accointance, laquelle de tous nos coeurs entièrement nous désirons." Among the Englishmen who took part in the Tournament of Saint-Inglevert was Lewis Clifford, who is described by Froissart as "ung moult appert et vaillant chevallier." He jousted on the first day with both Saint-Py and Bouciquaut, and "on luy dist que vaillament et honnourablement il s'estoit porté."²

In 1390, soon after the great tournament, Clifford took part in the Duke of Bourbon's expedition to Barbary. John Beaufort, the eldest son of John of Gaunt and Katherine Swinford, led the English contingent,³ but he was a mere youth, and there is good evidence that Clifford was its responsible commander.⁴ This is additional testimony to the Duke's confidence in him. It is worth notice that among the Frenchmen who went to Barbary were the Comte d'Eu, the Comte d'Harcourt, and Charles d'Albret,⁵ all of whom are mentioned in the envoy to the ballade in which Deschamps refers a question to the Seneschal d'Eu and suggests that he take counsel with "l'amoureux Clifffort." In 1392 Henry, Earl of Derby, made an offering "in die anniuersarii filii Lowys Cliffford."⁶ In 1393 or 1394 Clifford was appointed executor

¹ FROISSART, ed. KERVYN, Vol. XIV, pp. 56, 57.

² FROISSART, Vol. XIV, pp. 110, 111. It is interesting to note that Sir Thomas Clifford (afterward Lord Clifford), probably a near relative of Sir Lewis, had formerly challenged Bouciquaut. A document given in RYMER (2d ed., HOLMES, Vol. VII, p. 526) from *Rot. Franc. 10 Ric. II*, and dated June 25 [1386], notifies "Northampton le Heraud" of his challenge and gives the king's permission to the herald "de passer vers les parties de France, parmy noz Enemys, a pursuers le dit Bosoigne en chescune part qui vous semblera le meultz." An entry in the Patent Rolls, 11 Ric. II, May 18, 1388 (*Cal.*, 1385-9, p. 447) refers to certain jousts and other feats of arms against the king's enemies the French, performed by the same Sir Thomas, at the request of the said enemies, in the presence of William de Beauchamp, Captain of Calais. In this same year he was one of the knights dismissed from the court when John of Gaunt lost power and Richard II submitted to the Duke of Gloucester's party (KNIGHTON, Vol. II, p. 257, TWYSDEN, col. 2705; WALSHINGHAM, *Hist. Angl.*, Vol. II, p. 173).

³ FROISSART, Vol. XIV, p. 156.

⁴ CABARET, *Chronique du bon Duc Loys de Bourbon*, ed. CHAZAUD, p. 249. This authority, who derived his information from a French knight who was a member of the expedition, gives the number of the English as twenty-five gentlemen and a hundred archers (p. 222).

⁵ See DESCHAMPS's ballade on the expedition, No. 769, Vol. IV, p. 266; cf. FROISSART, Vol. XIV, pp. 155, 156.

⁶ *Derby Accounts*, ed. TOULMIN SMITH, p. 275.

of the will of Isabel, Duchess of York.¹ In 1393 Lewis Clifford, knight of the king's chamber, was one of several commissioners sent to Picardy to negotiate for peace with France.² He was also, in 1395, one of the ambassadors sent to arrange for a marriage between Richard II and Isabel, daughter of Charles VI.³

Clifford seems to have remained true to his Lollard convictions until shortly before his death. In 1395 he is mentioned again by Walsingham among the "campi-ductores" of that sect,⁴ though in the same year his name occurs in a list of Englishmen who had signified their desire to join the order of Chevaliers de la Passion projected by Philippe de Mézières.⁵ In 1402, however, perhaps under the influence of failing health, his conscience began to trouble him. Despite the orthodox reaction, which was then in full swing, there were many secret adherents of Wycliffite doctrines, and Clifford gave the Archbishop of Canterbury information of their tenets, even furnishing him a list of heretical persons.⁶ That this act, however it may affect the modern reader, was the result of passionate remorse, it would be brutal to doubt in view of Clifford's extraordinary and pathetic will, which was certainly drawn up when he was on his deathbed, since it is dated September 17, 1404, and was proved on the fifth of the following December.⁷ In this he describes himself as "God's traitor" and directs that his vile carrion shall be buried in the farthest corner of the churchyard of the parish in which he dies, and that no stone or

¹ The will is said to have been proved January 6, 1392 (NICOLAS, *Testamenta Vetusta*, Vol. I, p. 135)—doubtless an error for 1394-95. The countess died in 1394. The connection of Clifford with the Lancaster family comes out in this and the preceding item. Henry of Derby was the son of John of Gaunt, and the Countess Isabel was the Duke's sister-in-law, the daughter of Pedro the Cruel.

² 16 Ric. II. The commission, dated February 22, 1392 (*i. e.*, 1393), is in RYMER, 2d ed., HOLMES, Vol. VII, p. 738. It mentions as the other commissioners the Dukes of Lancaster and Gloucester, Walter, Bishop of Durham, Thomas Earl Marshal, Thomas Percy, and Dr. Richard Rouhale.

³ FROISSART, Vol. XV, pp. 147, 164, 194, 232.

⁴ *Hist. Angl.*, Vol. II, p. 216; *Ypodigma Neustriac*, p. 368.

⁵ Published from the MS by MOLINIER, *Archives d'Orient Latin*, Vol. I, p. 363. The Duke of Lancaster appears in the same document (which is the work of Philippe himself) as one who has promised to aid the order. "Othe de Granson, chevalier d'honneur du roy d'Engleterre et du duc de Lencastre," is also mentioned by Philippe as particularly active in forwarding the new order.

⁶ WALSINGHAM, *Hist. Angl.*, Vol. II, p. 253; *Ypodigma*, p. 396.

⁷ It is printed from the original in the Prerogative Court by DUGDALE, *Baronage of England*, Vol. I, pp. 341, 342.

other memorial shall mark the spot, in order that it may remain unknown forever.¹ Those scholars who have found incredible the story of Chaucer's deathbed repentance told by Dr. Thomas Gascoigne² may do well to consider this unquestionably authentic document, which expresses the last wishes of a very gallant and accomplished gentleman, a friend of Chaucer and of Deschamps, alike acceptable at the French court and the English, and apparently at one time an intimate associate of the brilliant circle of Louis d'Orléans.

Clifford's will contains a name of much interest to students of Chaucer. After certain small bequests, he leaves the residue of his goods and chattels to three persons, who are also made supervisors of his will. These three legatees were, we may be sure, trusted friends of the testator, and it is with some satisfaction, therefore, that the investigator observes among them Sir Thomas Clanvowe, who passes for the probable author of *The Book of Cupid*, otherwise known as *The Cuckoo and the Nightingale*, one of the most graceful and pleasing of the pseudo-Chaucerian poems. Before we proceed, however, it will be necessary to consider how far the evidence justifies Professor Skeat in ascribing this poem to Sir Thomas.

The Book of Cupid is followed in one manuscript³ by the words explicit Clanvowe," and there is no reason to doubt that Clanvowe was the author's name.⁴ There are but two candidates for the honor, Sir John and Sir Thomas, and Professor Skeat decides for the latter.⁵ His main reason appears to be the title, *The Boke of Cupide, God of Love*, which he thinks is imitated from that of a poem by Hoccleve, *Liber Cupidinis Dei Amoris*. Hoccleve's

¹ WYLIE, *History of England under Henry IV*, Vol. III, p. 296, n. 2, cites similar provisions from the will of Sir Thomas Latimer, another repentant Lollard. Latimer's will is dated September 13, 1401, and was proved May 21, 1402. It appoints Sir Lewis Clifford one of the "overseers of this my will" (NICOLAS, *Testamenta Vetusta*, Vol. I, pp. 158, 159). Latimer's wife died in 1402, and also made Clifford a supervisor (*ibid.*, p. 160).

² The passage is not given in the volume of extracts from GASCOIGNE edited by THOROLD ROGERS (*Loci e Libro Veritatum*, Oxford, 1881), but it was printed from the manuscript by HALES in *The Athenæum* for March 31, 1888, and again in his *Folia Litteraria*, pp. 110, 111. Professor Hales's reflections on the anecdote are judicious and temperate.

³ Camb. Univ. Library, ff. 1. 6.

⁴ Professor SKEAT was the first to note this (*Academy*, May 2, 1896, p. 365; see also his *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, 1897, pp. lvii ff.).

⁵ He is followed by VOLLMER, in his edition of the poem (Berlin, 1896), pp. 53 ff.

poem was written in 1402,¹ and Sir John died, it is thought, in 1391. But there is no force in the argument. The supposed imitation consists merely in adding to the name *Cupid* the phrase *god of love*, and it is impossible to attach any importance to such a commonplace.²

All other tests yield results quite as favorable to Sir John as to Sir Thomas. The author appears to have known and utilized Chaucer's *Parliament of Fowls*, and his *Prologue to the Legend of Good Women*. Here there is no difficulty, for the former is usually dated about 1382 and the latter about 1385; nor, if these dates are rejected, is there any temptation to bring either of the two works down to 1390. Again, the first two lines of *The Book of Cupid* reproduce vss. 927 and 928 of *The Knight's Tale*, but this is thought to have been written not later than 1390, and may be earlier. There is, then, nothing in the sources of Clanvowe's poem to make Sir Thomas a better candidate than Sir John. Sir John was alive in 1390, since he went on the Barbary expedition in that year.

In st. 57, it is proposed that the birds shall assemble on

The morow of seynt Valentynes day,
Under the maple that is feire and grene,
Before the chambre wyndowe of the quene
At Wodestok, upon the grene lay (vss. 282-5).

By "the queen" Skeat understands Joan of Navarre, who married Henry IV in 1403, and who received, perhaps as a part of her dower, the manor and park of Woodstock. But the reference may just as well be to Anne of Bohemia, wife of Richard II, whom Sir John Clanvowe, a knight of the king's household, would naturally have delighted to honor. It so happens that Richard and Anne kept their Christmas at Woodstock in 1390,³ and no doubt they were there on other occasions at about this date.

¹ This date is in the poem itself.

² The list of fancied imitations of Hoccleve, drawn up by VOLLMER, pp. 59 ff., is of no significance.

³ WALSHINGHAM, *Hist. Angl.*, Vol. II, p. 195. E. MARSHALL, *Early History of Woodstock Manor*, 1873, p. 104, says that they kept their Christmas at Woodstock in 1389 and 1390, but both his entries really go back to this passage of Walsingham, whose 1390 equals 1389, since he begins his year at Christmas.

Finally, there is nothing whatever in the language of *The Book of Cupid* that forbids our putting it as early as 1389 or 1390. Indeed, the treatment of final *-e* is more favorable to that date than to Skeat's 1403, since, as that scholar himself has observed, the author is quite as inclined to preserve this sound as Chaucer.¹ Indeed, Professor Skeat regards his metre in this particular as "for the fifteenth century, quite unique." It is difficult to make up one's mind on so troublesome a question as the chronology of *-e* in Middle English, but it is safe to say that the language of *The Book of Cupid* points to 1390 or earlier, rather than to 1403.

All things considered, then, it seems rather more likely that the Clanvowe to whom the Cambridge MS ascribes our poem was Sir John Clanvowe than that it was Sir Thomas.

John de Clanvowe was the son of Philip de Clanvowe,² a Herefordshire gentleman who was M. P. for that county in 1322, 1339, and 1340,³ and who held other important public offices.⁴

¹ Cf. VOLLMEYER (p. 75, n.): "Sicherlich ist der vf. des gedichts, sei es, dass für seinen dialekt der process des verstümmens des finalen *-e* weniger rasch vor sich gegangen ist, sei es, dass der einfluss Chaucer's auf ihn so mächtig war, in dem genannten punkte weniger weit gediehen, als zb. zeitgenossen wie Lydgate und Capgrave." SKEAT regards him as even more conservative than Chaucer (*Chaucerian Pieces*, pp. lix-lx).

² *Parliamentary Returns*, Vol. I, p. 143 (*Parl. Papers*, 1878, Vol. LXII, Part I): "Johannes, fil' Philippi de Clanvowe" (1348). Cf. W. R. WILLIAMS, *Parl. Hist. of the County of Hereford* (Brecknock, 1896), p. 23.

³ *Parl. Returns*, Vol. I, pp. 67, 126, 130; cf. WILLIAMS, as above, pp. 18, 22. Williams remarks that Clanvowe also "received a special summons to Parliament 18 Aug., 1337" (p. 18). It is not quite certain that the M. P. of 1322 was the same Philip as the M. P. of 1339 and 1340 (see next note).

⁴ There were two persons of this name (probably father and son or uncle and nephew) in Herefordshire and Wales in the fourteenth century. One of these was an adherent of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster in the proceedings that led to the death of Piers Gaveston, and his name occurs, with many others, in a pardon issued in 1313 (*Parliamentary Writs*, ed. PALGRAVE, Appendix to Vol. II, Div. II, p. 68). The same Philip appears to be referred to in 1321, 1322, 1323, and 1324 (*Parl. Writs*, as above, pp. 166, 212, 235, 249, 255; cf. Vol. II, Div. III, p. 679; *Cal. Close Rolls Ed. II, 1318-23*, p. 430). It was perhaps this same Philip who was deputy justice in South Wales in 1334 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls Ed. III, 1334-38*, p. 20) and who, in 1335 and 1336, was one of two commissioners to protect the harbors of Wales against the Scots (*Rotuli Scotiae*, Vol. I, pp. 365, 379, 427). He seems to be mentioned as living in 1339 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls Ed. III, 1339-40*, p. 279, cf. p. 284) and to have died in that same year (*Cal. Inq. post Mortem*, Vol. II, p. 91). See also C. J. ROBINSON, *Castles of Herefordshire*, 1869, pp. 40, 41. This elder (?) Philip may have been the M. P. of 1322. The second Philip (to whom some of the preceding entries may refer) is mentioned (probably) in 1339, 1339, and (certainly) in 1340, 1341, and 1344 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls Ed. III, 1339-40*, pp. 135, 502; 1340-43, p. 155; 1343-45, p. 395; *Cal. Close Rolls Ed. III, 1339-41*, pp. 282, 317, 436, 490). He was doubtless the M. P. of 1339 and certainly the M. P. of 1340; perhaps he was also the M. P. of 1322. In 1346 he owned real estate in Yavesore, Okel Pychard, and Houton, in Herefordshire (*Feudal Aids*, Vol. II, pp. 391, 394, 397). Sir John appears to have been his son. The name Clanvowe is spelled in many ways—*Clauenogh*, *Clavenou*, *Clevenowe*, *Clanewoue*, *Clannowe*, *Clannou*, *Clanvow(e)*, etc.

John Clanvowe was himself M. P. for the county in 1348.¹ In 1373 he received from Edward III a grant of £50 a year, mostly from the farm of the city of Hereford.² In 1376 he is mentioned as a mainpernor.³ On the accession of Richard II, or soon after, he became (like Clifford) a Knight of the King's Chamber,⁴ a position which he seems to have retained till his death. He is continually mentioned in the Patent Rolls from 1379 on, sometimes for grants, often in connection with the public service. Thus in 1381 and 1385 he was a commissioner to survey the condition of Wales;⁵ in 1382 and 1383 he was a justice;⁶ in 1386 he was directed to survey Orewell⁷ on the strength of a report that the French king was planning an invasion in that quarter.⁸ In 1381 he was made steward of the king's lordship of Haverford in Wales for life and constable of Haverford Castle,⁹ and in 1385 he obtained a grant "of the town, castle, and lordship" of Haverford, "to hold as fully as the king's father held the same."¹⁰ The entries enable us to keep him in view in 1379, 1381, 1382, 1383, 1385, 1386, 1390.¹¹

Sir John Clanvowe was well known in France and is several times mentioned by Froissart. He was with Sir John Chandos when that distinguished knight was mortally wounded at the Lussac bridge in 1369.¹² He was one of the English ambassadors at the convention of Lelingham, in 1389, which arranged for a three years' truce with France.¹³ This truce immediately preceded the famous Tournament of Saint-Inglevert.¹⁴ Sir John was an associate of Sir Lewis Clifford, and there can be little doubt

¹ *Parl. Returns*, Vol. I, p. 143; cf. WILLIAMS, as above, p. 23.

² *Cal. Pat. Rolls Rich. II*, 1377-81, p. 323 (a confirmation of the grant).

³ *Rot. Parl.*, Vol. II, p. 327.

⁴ At least as early as 1381 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls Rich. II*, 1381-85, p. 17); cf. p. 8, and 1377-81, p. 627.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1381-85, pp. 17, 575.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 138, 246, 285.

⁷ Cf. CHAUCER, *C. T.*, Prol., vs. 277.

⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls Rich. II*, 1385-89, p. 214.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1377-81, p. 627.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1385-89, pp. 14, 33.

¹¹ See, besides the places already cited, *Cal. Pat. Rolls Rich. II*, 1377-81, p. 406; 1381-85, pp. 8, 104, 153, 164, 214; 1385-89, pp. 130, 169, 173; 1388-92, pp. 173 (cf. RYMER, 2d ed., HOLMES, Vol. VII, pp. 654, 655), 217, 361.

¹² FROISSART, Vol. VII, pp. 447, 449, 456, 458.

¹³ The commission is dated November 26, 1388 (RYMER, 2d ed., HOLMES, Vol. VII, pp. 610, 612, 613); see also FROISSART, Vol. XIV, p. 4; cf. Vol. XIII, p. 318. WALSHINGHAM also mentions Clanvowe as on this embassy (*Hist. Angl.*, Vol. II, pp. 179, 182).

¹⁴ See p. 10, above.

that the two were close friends. Both were knights of the king's household, and there is a record of their being present together at a meeting of the Privy Council (1389).¹ In 1380 they were both executors of the will of Guichard d'Angle, Earl of Huntingdon.² Like Clifford, Clanvowe was a Lollard, and the two knights are mentioned in the same breath by Walsingham among the "milites qui hanc sectam coluerunt quam maxime et sustentaverunt" in 1387.³ In 1390 Clanvowe accompanied Sir Lewis Clifford to Barbary in the Duke of Bourbon's expedition.⁴ It is not certain that he ever returned. He is thought to have died before April, 1390,⁵ or, at the latest, in 1391. According to Froissart,⁶ he was one of the envoys who visited the French king at Tours in the winter of 1391-92 and arranged for the Conference of Amiens. There is positive evidence that his death took place before March 4, 1392.⁷ Sir Thomas Clanvowe, whom Clifford appointed as one of his supervisors, and to whom Skeat ascribes *The Book of Cupid*, was probably the son of Sir John.⁸

¹ *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, ed. NICOLAS, Vol. I, p. 6. Clanvowe is several times mentioned in the records in the same volume (pp. 7, 9, 14a, 14c, 88).

² NICOLAS, *Testamenta Vestuta*, Vol. I, p. 109. In 1385 they were executors of the will of Joan, Princess of Wales (NICHOLS, *Wills of the Kings and Queens of England*, p. 80).

³ *Hist. Angl.*, Vol. II, p. 159; *Ypodigma Neustriacae*, p. 348.

⁴ CABARET (*Chronique du bon Duc Louis de Bourbon*, p. 222) calls him simply the "sire de Climbo;" but Malvern, the continuator of Higden, supplies the necessary identification by giving the initial of his first name (HIGDEN, ed. LUMBY, *Appendix*, Vol. IX, p. 234—"dominus J. Clanvowe"). WYLIE (*Hist. of England under Henry IV*, Vol. III, p. 261) says that it was Sir Thomas who went to Barbary, and in this error he is followed by SKEAT (*Chaucerian Pieces*, p. lviii) and by VOLLMER.

⁵ NICOLAS, *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, Vol. I, p. 88.

⁶ Vol. XIV, pp. 355, 356. FROISSART also makes him one of Clifford's associates in the negotiations of 1391 (Vol. XIV, p. 288), but this is perhaps an error (cf. p. 284).

⁷ In the Issue Roll, 15 Ric. II, March 4, payment is recorded to Peter de Hiltoft, king's engraver, for the engraving of a seal for the office of steward of the lordship of Haverford, which lordship "by the death of John Clanvowe (printed *Clannowe*) hath now come into the King's hands." DEVON, *Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 246.

⁸ I have found the following evidence. Thomas Clanvowe is mentioned as the king's esquire in 1391 (*Pat. Rolls Rich. II, 1388-92*, p. 496), and this would be natural if his father had been Sir John, who was long a knight of the king's chamber. Thomas was M. P. for Herefordshire in 1394 and 1397 (*Parl. Returns*, Vol. I, pp. 247, 253; cf. WILLIAMS, *Parl. Hist. of the County of Hereford*, pp. 28, 29) and Sheriff in 1398, 1399 (WILLIAMS, p. 28; cf. Lancaster record quoted by WYLIE, Vol. IV, p. 184). Sir John and his father Philip had held these same offices. All this suggests that Sir Thomas was Sir John's heir and recognized representative. In 1428 Robert Whiteney is assessed for a fee in Ocle Pichard "nuper Philippi Clanvowe" (*Feudal Aids*, Vol. II, p. 415). Now Thomas Clanvowe's wife was Perrine Wheteneye, who had been in the queen's service (*Pat. Rolls Rich. II, 1388-92*, p. 496; cf. p. 250). She survived him and her will was proved in 1422 (J. CHALLENGER C. SMITH, *Index of the Wills proved in the Prerog. Court of Canterbury 1388-1558*, Vol. I, p. 121). Again, Philip

The career of Sir John Clanvowe was much like that of Sir Lewis Clifford except at the end: there is nothing to show that Clanvowe gave up his Lollard opinions. Both were men of note in their day and active in the public service at home and abroad. Their acquaintance with Chaucer must have been intimate,¹ and it is pleasant to know that it was in part a literary friendship: Clifford brought the greetings of Deschamps to the English poet, and Clanvowe was Chaucer's poetical disciple.

If the inferences in this paper are sound, we have two pieces of evidence for dating Chaucer's works: (1) the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women* perhaps alludes to a poem composed by Deschamps before 1386, and may have been written not very long after that poem; and (2) *The Knight's Tale* is quoted by Clanvowe in a poem written before 1392, and probably before 1391.

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March, 1903.

Clanvowe had half a fee in Yavesor (Yasor) (*Feudal Aids*, Vol. II, p. 391); Sir Thomas's will, proved 1410, appears to be dated at this place (*Genealogist*, Vol. V, p. 326), and his widow's certainly is. Finally, his will mentions a former vicar of Ocle, and Philip Clanvowe held property in Ocle Pychard, as we have seen, and is said to have been lord of the manor. WYLIE, *Hist. of England under Henry IV*, Vol. III, pp. 297, 333, has collected some information about Sir Thomas and other Clanvowes, but it needs correction.

¹ It is not impossible that Chaucer's son "litell Lewis," for whom he wrote the *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, was named after Sir Lewis Clifford. The name Lewis is not known to have belonged to any of Chaucer's kin.

REFERENCES TO THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN THE GERMAN LITERATURE OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

I. LUTHER AND THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

THE earliest references to the English language in the German literature of the sixteenth century are to be found in Luther's writings. Even before he opened his hospitable house at Wittenberg to the English and Scottish refugees—a year before Tindale printed at Cologne the first sheets of his quarto New Testament—and a year after his vigorous answer to Henry's Latin *Streitschrift*, we find Luther remarkably well instructed as to certain features of English trade; so well instructed that we cannot forbear the idea that either the fugitive Tindale¹ (whose name, however, is never found in the *Table-Talk* and the *Letters*), or some Hanse merchant who had watched English trade at the Steelyard must have given him a detailed description of certain practices in the cloth trade. It is Luther's wonderful little pamphlet *On Commerce and Usury* (1524) in which we find not only the patriotic remark that England should have "the less of gold if Germany would not buy its cloth," but also a sentence which contains a description of what might be called a monopoly in a certain branch of trade, a "corner," and even a sort of syndicate or trust. This passage contains further the earliest modern English word quoted—as far as I know—in a German book. He says:²

Item | das ist auch ein Griff des eigen nutzes | das drey oder vier
Kauffleut haben einerley oder zweierley wahr vnter iren henden | welche
ander Leute nicht haben | oder nicht feil haben | wenn sie nu mercken |
das solche wahr wil gelt gelten | vnd alle tage tewrer wird | von Kriegs
wegen oder Vnfals halben | So rotten sie sich | vnd geben den andern
für | wie solche Wahr fast gesucht werde | vnd nicht viel sind | die der-
gleichen feil haben. Sind aber etliche | die der gleichen haben | so

¹ Dr. Edward Lee writes to Henry VIII from Bordeaux, December 2, 1525: "An Englishman . . . at the solicitation of Luther with whome he is hath translated the New Testament into English." Cf. FLÜGEL, *Neuenglisches Lesebuch*, Vol. I, p. 489.

² *Schriften*, Jhena, 1555, Vol. II, p. 477.

nutzen sie einen frembden aus | den lassen sie alle solche wahr auff-
 keuffen | Wenn sie denn die selbigen wahr gantz in jren henden haben |
 machen sie einen Bund mit einander auff die weise. Wir wollen diese
 Wahr | weil keine mer furhanden ist | so vnd so hoch auff's gelt halten |
 Vnd welcher sie neher gibt | der sol so viel oder so viel verfallen sein.

DI's stück | höre ich | treiben die Engellender Kauffleute am gröbesten
 vnd meisten | wenn sie Englische oder Lündische Tücher verkeuffen.
 Denn man sagt | sie halten einen besondern Raht zu diesem handel | wie
 ein raht in einer stad | vnd dem raht müssen alle die Engellender
 gehorchen | die Englische oder Lündische Tücher verkeuffen | bey
 gena[n]ter straffe. Vnd durch solchen raht wird bestimpt | wie thewr
 sie jre tücher geben sollen | vnd welchen tag oder stunde | sie sollen feil
 haben | oder nicht. Der oberst in diesem raht heisst der *Koyrtmeister*¹ |
 vnd ist nicht viel weniger gehalten | denn ein Fürst | Da sihe | was der
 geitz vermag | vnd furnemen thar.

Luther's *Letters* and *Table-Talk* of the following years show that there were two men from whom he must have received a great deal of information about England: Robert Barnes and Alesius. But there is no doubt that there were other Englishmen not mentioned there who had been attracted to Wittenberg and came to Luther's house and table, e. g., the unhappy Thomas Benet (*alias* Dugate) who after his return from Germany imitated at Exeter Luther's act of nailing "theses" to the church door, for which he was burned in 1531.²

Robert Barnes seems the first in point of time. He broke out of his prison, where he had been kept since 1525,³ in 1528 and arrived at Wittenberg before November of that year.⁴ He concealed his true name under the pseudonym of "Doctor Antonius," and Luther's household, of which he became a member, seems to have called him simply "der Engellender."⁵ He was introduced to Luther's friends,⁶ Melanchthon, Justus Jonas, Pomeranus,

¹ This word is not in GRIMM. Murray quotes "the Courte of our Compenny" from the *Mercers' Company Minute-book*, 1527 (referring to a court of 1456).

² Cf. ELLIS, *Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men* (Camden Society, 1843), p. 24.

³ "(1528) tercio carcerariae inclusionis suae anno diruptis cathenis in Germaniam ad Lutherum aufugit. Vbi apud eum aliosque uerae pietatis amatores, ad aliquot annos seruatus, in Angliam reuertebatur."—BALE, *Catalogus*, 1557, fol. 667.

⁴ Barnes, doubtless, is "der Engellender" of *Table-Talk*, November 14, 1528 (ed. 1567, fol. 565a). If we regard Bale's date "ad tribunal raptus anno Christi 1525, in Februario" as correct, the "probably" in 1528 of the *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, s. v., p. 254b, becomes superfluous.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 55, 62, 342, 565 (fol. 185: "ein Engeleser").

⁶ Cf. Foixe's life, "extracted out of" the "Monumentes," printed before BARNES'S *Works*, 1573, fol. 180.

Hegendorf, and even to the Elector Johann Friedrich.¹ At first he did not talk German, but Luther gave him a "preceptor" in the person of his own wife, because she "far" surpassed her husband in this point!² He seems to have made good progress, for in 1531 appeared his *Furnemlich Artickel der Christlichen Kirchen*, in German. Luther talked the matter of Henry's divorce over with him, "disputed it familiarly,"³ and when he went back to England (*via Lübeck*), in the autumn of 1531, he carried Luther's strong letter on the divorce question with him, to be published or not, which Luther had unwillingly given him "pro . . . importunitate et pertinacia."⁴ Barnes seems to have been back in 1533, unless the entry of his name in the "Album," dated "20 Junij 1533,"⁵ is a mistake. In September, 1535, he arrived *from* England as the king's ambassador in this matter, and elicited a number of letters from Luther,⁶ who was not at all edified at the business. He does not even seem to have controlled his temper, as he confesses humorously himself; he "acted the Luther," and seems to have addressed the old inmate of his house "verbis verdriesslicissimis."⁷ The matter of the divorce was simple enough for *him*, and the subtleties of the English law did not shake him; they scarcely interested him.⁸ He knew his "Heintz" too well, and, for political reasons, did not wish to have his name cited in the matter.

Four years later (January, 1539) we find Barnes again in Ger-

¹ Cf. Luther's letter to the Elector, January 11, 1533—*Briefe*, ed. DE WETTE, Vol. IV, p. 662.

² "Ein Engellender | ein sehr gelehrter | frommer Mann | gieng mit Doctor Mart. zutisch | verstunde die deutsch Sprach nicht | zu dem sagte er | Ich wil euch mein Weib zum Preceptor geben | die sol euch die deutsche Sprache fein leren | denn sie ist sehr beredt | kan es so fertig | dass sie mich damit weit vbertrifft. Wiewol weiß Weiber wol beredt sind | das ist an jnen nicht zu loben | es stehet jnen basz an dasz sie stämlen | vnd nicht wol reden können | das zieret sie viel besser." (Fol. 62a.)

³ "mea sententia quam coram audivisti, mi Antoni, cum ea de re disputaremus familiariter," in the second version of his letter to Barnes of September 5, 1531—DE WETTE, *Briefe*, Vol. IV, p. 300.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 295.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 467.

⁶ Cf. letter to Spalatin, September 6, 1535, *Briefe*, Vol. IV, p. 630 ("Doctor Antonius, niger ille Anglicus, legatus sui Regis ad Principem nostrum"); September 12, *ibid.*, 632; November 10, *ibid.*, 648; December, *ibid.*, 655; January 11, 1536, *ibid.*, 662.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, 648.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, 663: "Ich will mich in ihr Juristerey nicht vertiefen, und kunnt ich auch nichts mehr, denn wie eine Gans gag, dazu sagen. Aber ich halt, mein voriger Sentenz soll auch bleiben, ohn dass ich sonst nicht will mich unfreundlich gegen sie in dem oder andern Stucken erzeigen, auf dasz sie nicht dächten, wir Deutschen wären Stein und Holz, etc."

many, and a notice of a conversation with him in the *Table-Talk*,¹ and in October of the same year we come across a quotation from a former conversation between Luther and Barnes, where the latter had given a pretty frank statement on Henry's character.² Whatever may have been Luther's feelings toward Barnes during the period of his latter negotiations in Henry's name, he devoted a beautiful and warm eulogy to his former housemate, after he had suffered the death of the martyr, July 30, 1540.

Dr. Alexander Alesius, the Scottish refugee who came to Wittenberg in 1533, is not mentioned as often in Luther's letters as Barnes, but Luther quotes at least two letters of Alesius, one written before September 20, 1536, and referring to the coronation of Jane Seymour and the state of the kingdom during those months of rapid political changes,³ and the other written from Frankfurt an der Oder.⁴ Alesius may be responsible for Luther's opinion on the Scottish character.⁵

These were the principal figures in Luther's circle to talk on England and the English and fragments of their talks are scattered through the *Table-Talk*. At one time the friends discoursed on the air of the different countries, the Italian air being "sehr subtil," the French not unlike the German, when "der Engellender" said: "In Engelland regiirt die Pestilentz immerdar | und höret nicht auff."⁶ At another time they discoursed on

¹ Fol. 185: "Anno 39. 21. Januarij fragte ein Engeleser D. Antonius Barns D. M. L. ob auch die Christen vnd Gottselige | so nu gerecht weren durch den Glauben an Christum | vmb der folgenden werck willen etwas verdienten? Denn solche frage were in Engeland sehr gemein. Antwortet Doct. M. L., etc."

² October 23, 1539, *Briefe*, loc. cit., Vol. V, p. 217: "Der König ist ein Versucher, und meinert nichts mit Ernst; das haben wir wohl erfahren von den Engelländern, so bey uns gewesen, da wir glauben mussten aus christlicher Liebe, es wäre Ernst, aber zuletzt, da wir uns müde mit grossen Unkosten E. K. F. G. gedispütiret hatten, war es alles mit einer Bratwurst versiegelt, und stund alles bey des Königes Wohlgefallen, sagten selbst: Rex noster est inconstans. Und zu mehrmalen sagte D. Antonius: Unser König achtet der Religion und des Evangelii nichts überall. . . . Über das sollte es heissen, wie die Engelländer hier sich merken liessen, dass wir müssten den König lassen seyn und heissen Caput und Defensor Evangelii. . . . Er sollte Papst seyn. . . ."

³ Written from London, where he was studying medicine.—*Briefe*, Vol. V, p. 23.

⁴ Quoted in *Table-Talk*, 68b.

⁵ Alesius furnished Münster with a "Beschreybung der küniglichen statt Edinburg" and a picture of the town and castle (*Cosmographie*, ed. 1569, fol. lxvi ff.), which is not noticed by his bibliographers. He is, besides, doubtless responsible for the exceptionally full account of Scotland and its history in Münster.

⁶ "Anno xxviii), den xiiiij). Novembris."—Fol. 565a. The same argument is to be found in the "Descriptio Australioris Brytanniae," added to the second part of BALE's *Catalogus*. (Basiliae, 1559), fol. 19.

the Scotch, and Luther shows some knowledge of the border-raids and a good deal of feeling as to the rough character of the nation, besides making a wonderful attempt at an etymological explanation of the name.¹ He is informed on the English possessions in France, and their loss, with the exception of Calais, "the best port in France," entirely inhabited by English people, where everybody had to talk English under grievous penalties.²

Finally the *Table-Talk* contains two references to the English language. In the first one, dated December 19, 1538, he alludes to the sound of the pronunciation of English and groups it with the French, Italian, and Spanish, and in the other reference, which is undated, he classifies it with the "Saxon" tongue, "as it is talked in Westphalia and the Netherlands," although it is much "corrupted."

I print these two references in full from the ed. 1567:

[fol. 564a]

I. VON VNTERSCHIED DER SPRACHEN.

Anno XXXVIII. den XIX. Decemb. ward mancherley geredet von den lendern Teutscher Nation | welche allzumal einfeltiger weren | vnnd warheit lieber hetten | den Frantzosen | Italiener | Spanier | Engellender | &c. Welches auch die Sprache vnd auszreden gnugsam anzeigte | Das sie leppisch vnnd zischende die wort pronunciren vnnd | reden | darumm sagt man von den Frantzosen | Sie schreiben anders | denn sie reden | Vnnd reden anders | denn sie es meinen. Aber die Teutsche sprach ist die aller vollkommenste | &c., &c.

[fol. 563b]

II. ENGELLAND.

Ich gleub Engelland sey ein stück Teutschszlandes | Denn sie brauchen der Sechsischen Sprache | wie in Westphalen und Niederlande | wiewol sie sehr corrupirt ist. Ich halte die Teutschen sind vor zeiten hinein transferirt vnd gesetzt | wie noch heut zu tage der bischof zu Cöln schreibet sich Hertzog zu Engern | da jetzund Brem | Hamburg liegt | Etwa ist Britannia genandt | Darnach Angeria vom Volck | das

¹ *Table-Talk*, 566a: "Schotten sind die aller hoffertigsten | stöltzsten vnd vnuerschemtesten | . . . meinen vnnd lassen sich düncken | sie seien alleine leute fur andern | haben sich in Teuschland geflochten schier in alle Stette. Zu Erfurt [where Luther seems to have had his first experiences with the Scots!] vnd Würtzburg haben sie eigene Klöster mit reichem einkommen vnd Zinsen | nur für die Schotten | nemmen sonst niemand's von andern Nationen ein . . . vnnd lest sich ansehen | als weren sie daher genandt Scotos | Sectos | Schnitten abgeschieten | wie sie denn keine Nachbarschaft halten | Fallen aber gar liederlich in Engelland vnuersehens | vnd plündern | also | das in Engelland | so nach Schottland wertz ligt | und dran stößt | die besten vnd fruchtbarsten Ecker vngewonet vnnd wüst ligen.

² Fol. 566a.—On the multitude of *Bettelklöster*, fol. 342a.

hinein gefurt ist. Denische vnd Engelische Sprache ist Sechsisch | welche recht Teutsch ist | Die Oberlendische Sprach ist nicht die rechte Teutsche Sprache | Nimbt den Mund vol vnd weit | vnd lautet hart. Aber die Sechsische Sprach geht fein leise vnd leicht abe.

II. MÜNSTER AND GESNER.

In August, 1536, eleven years after the first English refugees had come to northern Germany, two English Protestants reached Zürich,¹ and within the next ten years we find a small group of these at Basel and Zürich, in Alsace, and at Frankfurt. Although Sebastian Franck, of "Wörd," does not yet show any fresh knowledge of matters relating to England in his *Chronica*² (1531-36)—he merely copies Schedel³—it is at Basel, where Polydore Vergil's wonderful *History of England* had been published in 1534, with its remarks on the "languages" spoken in the British isles, that Sebastian Münster inserts in the different editions of his *Cosmography* a number of interesting remarks on the English language.⁴

In the edition of 1545⁵ the comments on the English language as a "mixed language" and on the "three languages"⁶ spoken in Great Britain are rather brief, but they reappear much enlarged—as does the whole account of England and Scotland—in the Latin edition of 1550 (March), and its German counterpart (Preface, dated 1550), which was published four years after Münster's death in 1556.

¹ Cf. VETTER, *Englische Flüchtlinge in Zürich*, etc. (1893), p. 3.

² Ed. 1536, fol. xciiib; xcva; xcviib; cca; cevib; *Die Drit Chronica*, 1543, fol. clvib.

³ The *Liber Chronicarum* of HARTMANN SCHEDEL. Nürnberg Koberger, 1493, contains passages referring to England, fol. 46, 138, 149b, 172, 197a, 202, 238. But the most interesting references are those taken over from ENEA SILVIO, *In Europam* (ed. princ., 1485; written after 1436), dealing with Henry VI, Adam de Molynes ("amicus noster"), Jacobus quadratus ("the Royal Poet"), the tree with the duck-eggs, the wonderful Scottish coal-stones ("pauperes pene nudos ad ecclesias mendicantes acceptis lapidibus elemosine gracia datis letos abijse conspeximus"), fol. 239 ff. The languages of the island did not interest him.

⁴ Fol. liii (ed. 1569) he inserts an English word: "Zeltner . . . welche vonn Engelländern Hobner genant in Franckreich | Italien und Teutschlanden den gnad. frawen verschenckt werden."

⁵ *Cosmographia* (1545), p. xli: "Die Englische sprach ist ein gemischte sprach | von vilen sprachen | besunder von Teutsch vnd Frantzösisch zusammetragen;" and p. xlv the chapter "Von Sitten vnd gebreuchen der Engellender vnd Schottlender" begins with a reference to the languages of the island: "IN Engelland sind drey sprachen. Eine ist die gemein vnd farnemste sprach | deren sich die Engellender vnnnd auch die höflichen Schottlender gebrauchen. Die ander ist Hibernisch | vnnnd die braucht das gemeyn beürisch volck in Schottland. Die dritt ist in Wallia | vnd die ist Britannisch."

⁶ Polyd. Verg. has four languages (transl. published by Camd. Soc., p. 1).

What makes the expansion in the editions of 1550 (and 1556) so particularly interesting is the fact that it contains an insertion of the Old English names of the months, which, Münster tells us, he had not found in the *printed* copies of Bede—he doubtless means especially the Basel edition (*De temporum ratione*) of 1529.¹ These Old English names he inserts from a MS which had been sent to him from Freiburg by Henricus Glareanus,² the famous humanist and friend of Erasmus and Henry VIII, the enemy of the Reformation, the editor of classical texts, the author of an interesting *Handbook of Geography* (1527), and an authority on music.

The *Cosmographie* of 1556 expands the brief note of the edition of 1545 to the following account:

[fol. lv] Die Engelische sprach ist ein gemischte sprach | von vilen sprachen | besunder von Teütsch vnd Frantzösisch zússammen getragen. Aber vor zeiten ist jr sprach gar Teütsch gewesen | wie ich das spüren mag auss Beda | der ein geborner Engellender gewesen ist | der schreibt in eim büchlein des tittel ist | von der zeit also. Die alten Englischen vólcker, haben jre [fol. lvi] monat gerechnet nach lauff des mons | vnd nennen auch den mon mona vnnnd den monet monath. Den Christmonat heissen sie hagel [!] monath (verstand heilig monat), den Aprillen Eoster monat (verstand Oster monath) vnd das von einer göttin der die Teütschen in der heydenschafft im Aprillen opfferten | die Eostre hiess. Den Meyen nenten sie Trimelci | dann sie melckten dreymal im tag dz viech im Meyen. Lass dich nit irren, das du im getruckten exemplar diss nit findest | dann ich hab es in eim alten getruckten [!] Beda gefunden.

The Latin edition of 1550 (which was copied by Gesner 1555—see below) corrects and expands the last sentence:

Hic locus in impressis codicibus non facile inuenitur, ego uero inueni in libro manuscripto quem Glareanus ex nigro sylua anno 1545 huc Basileam misit. Alia lingua in hac insula est Scotorum syluestrium atque insulanorum, et haec est Hibernica. Scoti uero mansuetiores utuntur lingua Anglicana. Tertia lingua est Vuallica.³

Münster's account was transferred to the first work which in western Europe claimed the study of the relation of languages as

¹ Of this edition (compiled by Joh. Sichardus) Henry VIII had a copy, now Brit. Mus. C. 19. g. 11 (1).

² 1488-1563; cf. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*; he was living at Freiburg 1529-63.

³ This last remark also in the German ed.; see above.

a scientific subject, Gesner's *Mithridates*. This interesting little volume was published in 1555 and dedicated to Bale, who during the years of his first exile, from 1540 to 1548, had formed an intimate friendship with the greatest "polyhistor" of his time, and who had not only supplied him with the Paternoster in Welsh,¹ but who had also doubtless given him the materials for what was to be the first clear account of the constituent elements of the vocabulary of the English language printed in Germany. Gesner speaks of the recent influx of French words into the English vocabulary, due to French merchants² and French immigrants; he mentions the fact that the great majority of English words is of Germanic origin, and makes the statement that the works written two or three hundred years ago—this would be the English literature of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—are almost entirely "Saxon;" he also makes the remark, which we can almost prove to be Bale's property, that the northern English is nearer to the German than the English of the southern parts of the country.³

III. THE EARLIEST PRINTED WORDS OF OLD ENGLISH.

Besides these new materials supplied by Bale, Gesner's account contains, as was stated above, the old English names of the months from Münster. This quotation would represent the second appearance of O. E. words in print, if the whole chapter of Bede had not after all, and in spite of Münster's statement to the contrary, seen the light before, viz., in the Cologne edition of the *De temporum ratione*, published in 1537. This edition⁴ contains the O. E. names twice. On fol. 41a, in an appendix to

¹ In the epistle dedicatory to Bale, he says "quo polyglottum hunc Mithridatem nostrum ornarem ueteris Britanniae linguae specimen, quod orationem Dominicam interpretatur, nobis a te missum."

² This is similar to Al. Gill's statement that "Wynkyn de Worde," coming from Germany, spoiled the English orthography, trying "illis quos habuit typis nostras voces excudere."

³ BALE, *Examinacyon of Mr. William Thorpe* (1544), p. 63: "This I have corrected and put forth in the English that now is used in England for our southern men. . . . And I intend hereafter . . . to put it forth in his own old English which shall well serve, I doubt not, both for the northern men and the faithful brethren of Scotland."

⁴ "Bedae Presbyteri Anglo-Saxonis . . . opuscula complura de temporum ratione diligenter castigata . . . cum scholiis in obscuriores aliquot locos, authore Johanne Nouiomago. Coloniae . . . Joh. Prael Anno MDxxxvii Mense Majo Impensis Petri Quentel."—Brit. Mus. 690. g. 5.

chap. xi, its editor, Johannes Nouiomagus, gives in a "tabula quam ex bonis autoribus sedulo collegimus," the names of the months of the Romans, the Egyptians, the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the British ("Britannorum"): (1) *Giuli*, (2) *Solmonath*, (3) *Rhod monath*, (4) *Costur* [!], *monath*, (5) *Trimilchi*, (6) *Lida*, (7) *Lida*, (8) *Vued monath*, (9) *Algemonath*, (10) *Vuintyrfyltich*, (11) *Blothmonoth* [!], (12) *Giuli*. This list is followed by "Barbaricorum Mensium Enumeratio" which includes—the German names!

On fol. 43b follows, for the first time in the printed editions, chap. xv ("De mensibus Britannorum") which repeats all the names just quoted, and contains a few more distortions of the O. E. words.¹ A note is added to the chapter which veils the editor's knowledge of the English language behind the following words:

Britanni ex proximis littoribus, id est, Gallicanis et Germanicis eam insulam occuparunt, quae antea Albion à Romanis dicta fuit ab albis montibus, qui adnauigantibus primum occurrunt: unde ex utroque idiomate lingua quidem nata est simillima Germanicae seu Batauicae linguae, quam gentem priori loco isthic fuisse constat, de lingua cuius etiamnunc fere sic utuntur satis constat ex Beda.

This Cologne edition of Bede's *De temporum ratione* is entitled to the honor—humble enough as it is—of containing the first words of O. E. printed, and printed in Germany.² The first O. E. words printed in *England* are, as far as I know, the O. E. place-names, and the remark on the *thorn*-letter³ contained in the "Commentary" which John Leland wrote for his *Cygnaea Cantio*, or rather the Commentary for which he wrote his *Cygnaea Cantio* in 1542.

¹ "Costurmonath Paschalis a dea illorum quae Cosdre vocabatur. Vuendenmonath. Hlemonath."

² I do not count here the O. E. names in BEDE'S *Ecclesiastical History*, of which the *editio princeps* appeared at Strassburg 1473, nor do I know how this edition and the editions published at Milan 1473, Strassburg 1483, 1500, 1506, 1514, Speier 1493, Paris 1499, treat such names as Augustinæ ac, etc.

³ S. v. "Deiri:" (E 4) "Θίρ Græcum est, fera Latinum, unde Saxones damas & ceruos Deire patrio appellabant uocabulo, hac tamen scribendi lege, ut Θ Græcum in D uertterent, transfixa prima literae parte uirgula, quam & *Thorn* sua nominabant lingua, quod uirgula spinulae exhiberet speciem." Leland's extracts from O. E. MSS (e. g., BEDE'S "Death-Hymn") O. E. glosses, as well as Robert Talbot's transcripts remained in MS until the eighteenth century.

IV. APPENDIX.

The passages referring to the English language in Gesner's MITHRIDATES. || DE DIFFE || RENTIIS LINGVA || RVM TVM VETERVM || tum quae hodie apud diuersas natio || nes in toto orbe terrarû in usu sunt, || CONRADI GESNERI || Tigurini Obser || uationes. || ANNO || M. D. L. V. || TIGVRI EXCVDEBAT || FROSCHOVERVS:

[3a] Anglica [*sc. lingua*] omnium maxime mixta hodie corruptaque uidetur. Primum enim uetus Britannica lingua imperio Saxonum partim abolita, partim corrupta est: deinde Gallica etiam uocabula plurima assumpsit, siue propter multitudinem mercatorum ex Gallia uicina, uel aliorum hominum ex eadem profectorum, ut inhabitarent.

[8b]

DE ANGLICA LINGVA.¹

Oratio Dominica Anglice conscripta. OVR father whiche arte in heauen, halowed be thy name. Thy Kyngdome come. Thy wyll be done² in earthe as it is in heauen. Geue us thys day our dagly³ bread. And forgeue us our trespasses,⁴ as we⁵ forgeue our trespassers.⁶ And leade us not in to tentacion. But delyuer us from euyll.⁷ Amen.

Sunt autem uocabula Germanica uel Saxonica omnia, sed aliquo modo detorta, uel immutata præter substantiium uerbum *arte & be: & but*, id est, sed conjunctionem: et nomen *heauen*, id est, coeli, et Gallica uocabula *trespasses & delyuer*.⁸

Audio ante annos aliquot, & patrum memoria multo pauciora Gallica & Latina uocabula in hac lingua fuisse, quae nunc eis abundant: nam & in colloquijs ea multi affectant, & in scriptis praecipue intermiscent ueluti flosculos ac pigmenta, ita ut uulgus nisi adhibita interpretatione non intelligat. Maxima tamen pars adhuc Saxonica est. Libri quidem ante ducentos aut trecentos annos in Anglia scripti, toti fere Saxonica lin[9a]gua constant. Quaedam etiam propria habent ex ueteri forte Britanica lingua.

Scotica parum ab Anglica differt, sed pauciora Gallica uocabula habet: utpote ad Septentrionem remotior. Nam & ipsi Angli Septentrionales magis quam Australes, ad Germanicam linguam accedunt.

Anglica lingua⁹ (inquit Seb. Munsterus), mixta est ex multis linguis, praesertim Germanica & Gallica. Olim uero mere fuit Germanica, id

¹ In ed. 1610 the two main parts of this chapter change places.

² Ed. 1610 inserts: *euen*. ³ *sic*; ed. 1610: *daygly*. ⁴ *Ibid.*, "forgiue . . . dettes."

⁵ *Ibid.*, "we also."

⁶ *Ibid.*, "forgiue . . . dettes."

⁷ *Ibid.*, inserted: "For thine is the Kingdome, and the power, and the glory forever."

⁸ *Ibid.*, uocabula *dettes* ac *detters*.

⁹ *Ibid.*, "Anglorum lingua."

quod animaduertere licet ex Beda, qui ex Anglia oriundus fuit. Is enim in libro *De temporibus* sic scribit: Veteres Anglicani populi numerauerunt menses suos secundum cursum Lunae, appellantque Lunam *monam* & mensem *monath*: Decembrem uocant *Halegmonath*¹ (id est sacrum mensem): & Aprilem *Eoster monath*² (id est, paschalem mensem); idque a dea quadam cui Teutonici populi in paganismo sacrificia fecerunt tempore mensis Aprilis, quae *Eostre* est appellata. Majum appellauerunt *Thrimelci* (id est tres mulctrae) quod eo mense pecora ter die mulgerent. Hic locus in impressis codicibus non facile inuenitur: ego uero inueni in libro manuscripto quem Glareanus ex Nigra sylva anno 1545, huc Basileam misit, Haec Munsterus.

Sunt autem uocabula illa, quae Beda Anglica facit, Germanica omnia. Angli hodie nonnihil variant, nam Lunam uocant *mone*: mensem, *moneth*: pascha, *easter*: mulctram uas [9b] *mylkyng payle*: ipsum lac mulctum, *mealc*.³

[67a]

DE SCOTICA LINGVA.⁴

Scoticam linguam communiorem audio parum differe ab Anglica, sed pauciora Gallica habere admixta.

Scoti (syluestres et insulani) hodie moribus non differunt ab Hibernis (inquit Munsterus) a quibus originem duxerunt, nec magnum est inter ipsos interuallum. Nam cum coelum est serenum potest Hibernia uideri in Scotia. Est praeterea indiscreta lingua eorum, indiscreti mores et uestitus. Qui meliorem terrae incolunt partem, nempe meridionalem, hi bene morati sunt, & ut humaniores lingua utantur Anglica.

Gesner repeats in part these remarks in his preface to Iosua Maaler's *Die Teütsch spraach* (*Dictionarium Germanico latinvm Novvm*, 1561):

[4b] Angliae Scotiaeque regna in insula illa amplissima (quam ueteres uno Albionis aut Britaniae nomine appellabant) Saxonico sermone utuntur, sed *iam corrupto*, qui ante pauca secula multo purior fuit, cum Anglij uel Anglosaxones, expulsis prioribus incolis, eam occupassent. Hodie quidem plurimas e Gallica lingua uoces mixtas habent.

¹ Ed. 1610: "Halegmonath."

² *Ibid.*, "Eoster vel Esturmonath."

³ Is this a printer's mistake, or an attempt at phonetic writing?

⁴ Bale may have contributed the substance of this note from JOH. MAIOR's *History*, first published at Paris, 1521; he inserts from it in the second part of the *Catalogus* (1559), fol. 199: "in regno Scotorum duae linguae sunt, quarum una aliam non intelligit. Syluestres enim et insulani Scoti, Hybernica, sed fracta utuntur loquela: alij uero, quos domesticos uocant, linguam habent cum Anglis communem. Atque ut lingua sunt diuersi, ita et moribus sunt contrarij; etc."

But he adds an interesting plea for a better knowledge of English for the Germanic philologist. After enumerating Latin, Greek, and Hebrew as indispensable for the etymologist he continues:

Anglica lingua hodie, ut dixi è Saxonica & Gallica uulgari fere constat, quam qui teneret, plurimas Saxonicae & Germanicae ueteris linguae dictiones perciperet: unde ad explicandas origines, significationes & orthographiam, plurimum momenti accederet.

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SOME FEATURES OF THE SUPERNATURAL AS REPRESENTED IN PLAYS OF THE REIGNS OF ELIZABETH AND JAMES.

IN the following paper it is my purpose to set forth three series of Elizabethan plays, the content of which involves a more or less frank acceptance and presentation on the stage of the supernatural agencies known as devils, fairies, and witches. In this place I am less concerned with the sources of this folk-lore, whether popular or literary, than with the nature of its manifestation in these plays, and their relations, one to the others. The angels and devils of the old sacred drama are anterior, the ghosts and furies of Senecan tragedy for the most part extraneous, to the action. The part which the disembodied spirit, returning to the haunts of men, was destined to play in later tragedy deserves a careful and serious consideration for its frequent manifestation of art as well as for its interesting psychology. This theme in its growth and change of treatment marks the distance traversed from the ghost of Andrea, attended by Revenge, in a supererogatory prologue, to "the majesty of buried Denmark" stalking across the platform at Elsinore, the miraculous and blood-curdling echo in *The Duchess of Malfi*, or the dagger proffered to Macbeth, that shadowy figment of a wicked and over-wrought imagination.¹ With none of these interesting matters shall I at present deal. The sorcerers and wizards, too, such as Sacrapant the conjurer, son of the witch Meroë, who summons furies amid thunder and lightning to do his bidding; or Bryan Sansfoy, the guardian of a flying serpent in the Forest of Marvels, a coward and enchanter, holding knights and damsels in thrall, like Spenser's Archimago—of such as these I shall not treat.² For these magicians of old romance are little more than stock figures, and while they certainly affected later conceptions of the kind, really belong to mediæval times and

¹ See *The Spanish Tragedy*, Prologue; *Hamlet*, I, i; *The Duchess of Malfi*, V, i; *Macbeth*, II, i.

² *The Old Wives' Tale*, BULLEN'S *Peele*, Vol. I, p. 321; *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes*, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 126; *The Fairy Queen*, Book I.

to Europe at large, and are negligible in a consideration of English creatures of the supernatural as conceived in the reigns of Elizabeth and James. It may be remarked that the greatest of the magicians of this old mediæval type is of course Merlin, who figures so extensively in that curious mixture of legendary story, romantic drama, and gross *diablerie*, *The Birth of Merlin*.¹ In it, besides much else, are depicted the miraculous birth and the strange prophecies of that remarkable wizard; his raising and laying of spirits and demons, among them his father, the devil; the appearance of the worthies Hector and Achilles, conjured hence by magic, as are Goddess Lucina, the Fates, and even the abstraction Death.

The Elizabethan attitude towards the world that lies beyond, push forward the barriers of human knowledge as we may, was very different from our own. Before what Arthur Hugh Clough wittily called "the Supreme Bifurcation," the Elizabethan never paused in modern puzzled, agnostic doubt, but confidently chose his horn of the dilemma and cheerfully suffered his tossing or goring as the case might be. Astrologers, alchemists, and wise-women flourished and grew rich on the ignorance and credulity of their dupes; tellers of fortunes, mixers of philters, finders of hidden treasure and lost articles by divination prospered alike. Many, like Owen Glendower, could "call spirits from the vasty deep," and "command the devil;" and few there were, like Hotspur, to question, "Will they come when you do call for them?"² Nor were these superstitions confined to the ignorant and the vulgar. The Earl of Leicester consulted the celebrated astrologer Doctor Dee as to the auspicious day on which to hold the coronation of Queen Elizabeth.³ Excellent Reginald Scot, although he humanely wrote a very long book to display the shallowness of the evidence on which witches were convicted, did not venture to deny the existence of witchcraft.⁴ Even Lord Bacon, who incredulously doubted the Copernican system of astronomy, shared with his royal master King James a belief in many of

¹ First printed in 1662 as "written by William Shakespeare and William Rowley," and not improbably the *Uther Pendragon* of 1597.

² *Henry IV*, III, i.

³ *Dictionary of National Biography*, article "Dee," Vol. XIV, p. 271.

⁴ *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), ed. 1886, pp. 407 ff.

the popular superstitions of his day.¹ In an environment such as this the supernatural as a dramatic motive may be assumed to have had a sanction and a potency well nigh inconceivable today.

The supernatural first entered the English drama as an artistic motive with the advent of *Faustus*. Of the origins of this world-story, of Marlowe's immediate source and the probable date of the earliest performance of his well known play there is no need here to speak. "Of all that [Marlowe] hath written for the stage," wrote Edward Philips, "his Doctor Faustus hath made the greatest noise."² And its many editions and alterations for revival point to its having been one of the most popular dramas of its day. As we have it *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus* is little more than a succession of scenes void of continuity or cohesion except for the unity of the main figure and the unrelenting progress of the whole towards the overwhelming catastrophe. Moreover this fragment—for the play is little more—is disfigured and disgraced by the interpolation of scenes of clownage and ribaldry which, in view of the strictures enunciated in the famous prologue of *Tamburlaine* as to "such conceits as clownage keeps in pay," and the apology of the printer in the Preface of that play, it is impossible to believe that Marlowe wrote. And yet, broken torso that it is, there is a grandeur beyond mere description in this conception of the lonely, grace-abandoned scholar, in whom the promptings of remorse alone betray the touch of human weakness, whose inordinate desire for power and knowledge, rather than mere gratification of appetite, have impelled to the signing of his terrible compact with the Evil One, and whose mortal agonies have in them a dignity which not even the mediæval conception of hoofed and horned deviltry could destroy. Perilous is the practice of the art of comparison, and yet, when all has been said, there remains an impassioned reserve, a sense of mastery and a poignancy of feeling about this battered fragment of the old Elizabethan age that I find not in the grotesque Teutonic *diablerie*, the symbolical æsthetics, even in the consummate art, wisdom, and philosophy of Goethe's *Faust*.

¹ See *Sylva Sylvarum*, *passim*.

² *Theatrum Poetarum* (1675), ed. 1800, p. 113. *Faustus* was almost certainly on the stage in 1588.

The story of Faustus, with its conjuring of demons, its infernal compact, the alternate promptings of the good and bad angel, and its appalling catastrophe, is a mediæval story of black art. There seems little reason to doubt that the "white magic" of the English Friar Bacon was worked into his romantic drama, *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, by Robert Greene in direct emulation of the foreign black magic of Marlowe's *Faustus*.¹ The romantic part of Greene's engaging play tells of the love of Prince Edward for the Fair Maid of Fressingfield, a keeper's daughter, with the fair maid's anticipation of the rôle of Priscilla in *The Courtship of Miles Standish* in favor of her lover Lacey, Earl of Lincoln. But with this is united a tale of the magical doings of Friar Bacon—how he created by his art a brazen head that spoke and would have walled all England with brass but for the stupidity of a servant, how he could show the acts of people afar off in his "prospective stone" of crystal, and obliterate both time and space—for such was the myth which had grown out of the life and reputed studies of that remarkable man, Roger Bacon.

The story of Faustus revolves about the daring compact with the father of evil and its terrible fruit; the characters, save for the writhing and tortured protagonist and the supernatural ministers to his ambition and his fate, seem thin and unreal, as the daylight seems unreal after a night of fever and anguish. Friar Bacon, on the contrary, is a goodnatured and patriotic wizard, solicitous for the happiness and the good of others, alive in fresh and merry England; and although the shadow of his intercourse with hell hangs over him, a misadventure, for which his art is only indirectly responsible, brings him to repentance and the renouncement of his traffic with evil. A novel feature of the story (in the original tale as in the play) is the necromantic contest in which Friar Bacon worsts Vandermast, a rival magician, and has him transported to his native Germany on the back of a simulacrum of Hercules.² It was this feature of the contest that Anthony Munday imitated in his *John a Kent and John a Cumber*,

¹ On this topic see A. W. WARD, Introduction to his edition of these two plays (1892), p. i. *Friar Bacon* was first acted in 1589, and must have followed hard upon *Faustus*.

² *Friar Bacon*, Scene ix.

1594,¹ a diverting comedy of situation in which the two wizards who give title to the play are pitted against each other in an elaborate exhibition of their supernatural powers, in process of which disguises, exchanges of person, "errors," and "antiques" figure in bewildering confusion. Munday's play is doubtless original, although his heroine, Sedanen, was known to the popular ballads of the day, and John a Kent appears to have been an actual person living near Hereford at some remote and indeterminate period, and enjoying the reputation of having sold himself to the devil, like Faustus.

The infernal compact appears once more in the pleasing anonymous comedy of *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, 1606; but Peter Fabel, the English Faustus, after exercising his art on the devil to cheat him into a seven years' prolongation of his time on earth,² like Bacon and John a Kent, employs his powers to unite faithful lovers, and the supernatural ceases to be an element in the story. A remarkable application of the infernal compact to an historical subject is *The Devil's Charter, or a Tragedy Containing the Life and Death of Pope Alexander VI*, acted by the king's company in 1606, and the work of Barnaby Barnes, the lyricist, who is not otherwise known to the history of the drama.³ Alexander's wicked and abandoned life and the marvelous success of his worldly career, crowned with the papacy, gave rise almost immediately upon his death to stories in which he was transmuted in the popular imagination into a species of pontifical Faustus. Nor did the Protestant zeal of succeeding times neglect an example at once so flagrant and so apt. Barnes's tragedy is full of horror and novel situation, and owes not a little to the study of Marlowe's *Faustus*. A fine and original climax is produced when the wicked Pope, about to die, drags himself from his couch that he may sit once more in the seat of St. Peter and feel the triple tiara on his brow. With faltering steps and eager, trembling hands, he approaches the curtain which veils the papal chair. He draws it and starts back, for there, arrayed in all the regalia of priestly pomp, crowned

¹ *Publications of the Shakespeare Society* (1851). It is not impossible that a lost play called *Scogan and Skelton*, by HATHWAY AND RANKINS, 1601, represented a similar necromantic contest.—*Henslowe's Diary*, p. 175.

² See the opening scene.

³ This interesting play has not been reprinted.

and occupying St. Peter's throne, sits Satan himself. Had the younger author known when to stay his hand, and had he been somewhat more of a practical playwright, this tragedy might not have been an altogether unworthy successor of its illustrious prototype.

Closely allied to these dramas in which supernatural powers are derived by a magician from the pledging of his soul are the several plays which represent the devil in human guise and familiar intercourse with mortals, to their undoing, or satirically to the worsting of the devil. Henslowe records a production, the work of Day and Haughton, entitled *Friar Rush and the Proud Woman of Amsterdam*.¹ Friar Rush is well known in continental folklore as the devil disguised as a cook who corrupts a whole monastery with delicious fare. As a prose tale Friar Rush had already appeared in England as early as 1568. And although no known version contains allusion to 'the woman of Amsterdam, several of the friar's well known exploits may well have been transferred to the Flemish capital.² It was not until 1610 that Dekker produced his extraordinary dramatic development of the story of Friar Rush, *If This Be Not a Good Play the Devil is in It*. This play represents the mission of three devils sent by the infernal council to earth, one of whom, Ruffman, practices on the virtuous court of Naples, a second, Lurchall, on a hitherto upright merchant, the third, Friar Rush, on a monastery renowned for the austerity of its rule. The demons succeed in bringing all save a steadfast sub-prior to the verge of ruin; and the play ends with a realistic representation of the tortures of the villainous merchant Barter-vile, in company with such sensational contemporary malefactors as Ravallac and Guy Fawkes. Dekker's play was hastily written and is confused in places in its design, and grotesque alike for the vulgar excess of its *diablerie* and for its transference to modern times of a story incongruous when deprived of its fitting mediæval setting. And yet *If This Be Not a Good Play* can not but be regarded as a very remarkable effort for the boldness of its plan, the comprehensiveness of its scope, and the surprising anticipation

¹ Henslowe's *Diary*, p. 193.

² HEERFORD, *Literary Relations of England and Germany* (1836), p. 308.

which it offers of Goethe's *Faust* in its "recasting of an old devil story in terms of modern society."¹

Dekker's play has no relation whatever to Macchiavelli's *jeu d'esprit* on the marriage of Belphegor, although a superficial resemblance was noted by Langbaine, and this suggestion has misled some later writers.² Macchiavelli's *novella* is, however, the direct source of the main plot of *Grim the Collier of Croydon*, the printed title of which is derived from the underplot in which an inferior demon disguised as Robin Goodfellow figures in a farcical rôle. The major plot details how a suicide, Spenser's Malbecco,³ pleading before the infernal judges that he was driven in desperation to his crime by the outrageous wickedness of his wife, is reprieved for a year and a day, while the devil, Belphegor, is dispatched to earth to observe if womankind is really so desperately depraved as reported.⁴ Belphegor plans to marry one woman, and is duped into marriage with another. Both men and women prove to be more than a match in ingenuity and wickedness for the unhappy devil; and in the end, buffeted and outwitted, poisoned by his wife, and waylaid by her paramour, he is only saved from the gallows on a false accusation of murder by the timely expiration of his term on earth. St. Dunstan appears in this play, as in one or two others, as from his wisdom and sanctity a controller of evil; but he never rises to the dignity of a magician.⁵

In the year of Shakespeare's death, 1616, and after the appearance of the first folio of Jonson's works, the latter poet produced a comedy of devil-lore, confessedly to rival Dekker's *If It Be Not a Good Play* and *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*. Moreover, while *The Devil Is an Ass* is conceived with a measure of that bold originality and mingling of minute realism with fanciful invention which is, in stronger degree elsewhere, Jonson's, *The Marriage of Belphegor* must certainly have suggested to the

¹ HERFORD, *Literary Relations of England and Germany* (1886), p. 317.

² *An Account of English Dramatic Poets* (1691), p. 122; HALLIWELL-PHILLIPS, *A Dictionary of Old Plays* (1870), p. 124.

³ *The Fairy Queen*, Book III, cantos 9 and 10.

⁴ DODSLEY, *Old Plays*, ed. 1874, Vol. VIII, pp. 393 ff.

⁵ See especially *A Knack to Know a Knave*, *ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 503.

English dramatist his general design. Pug, the lesser devil, out of a childlike curiosity and ambition to extend the dominion of hell, seeks the world for one day in the face of dissuasive advice of the more experienced great devil, Satan. In the body of a lately hanged cutpurse and in clothes stolen from a servant Pug seeks employment of a rich old fool and makes a few abortive advances to intimacy with mankind. But he is repulsed, beaten, and cheated at every turn, and in the end escapes being whipped to Tyburn at the tail of a cart for the theft of the suit of clothes he wears only by reason of the expiration of his day on earth. It is a far cry from the dignity and overpowering terror of the conception of *Faustus* to pitiful Pug on his knees to his master, who will not believe him to be a real devil, although honestly assured of the fact; or sighing in Newgate for midnight to set him free from his chains and restore to him "his holidays in hell."¹

Turning back to the latter days of Queen Elizabeth, in Dekker's loosely constructed but poetical comedy of *Old Fortunatus*, printed in 1600, we find a tale of folk-lore very different in its original intent from *Faustus*, and yet strongly affected by that tragedy. There is reason to believe that Dekker's play as we have it is the result of the revision of a comedy dealing with *Fortunatus* and his inexhaustible purse, well known to the stage as early as February, 1596. Whether this "first part" was Dekker's or another's, that dramatist revised the whole work, probably adding the adventures of the sons of *Fortunatus* in November, 1599; and, the play being unexpectedly ordered for court, further added the poetical masque-like scenes which depict the strife of Vice and Virtue, later in the same year.² In Dekker's hands the old fairy tale of the gift of Fortune and the wishing-cap, which carries its wearer whither he will, is transmuted from its original frank worldliness into a theme of moral gravity by the allegorical contention of Virtue and Vice and by the emphasis which is laid on the folly of *Fortunatus* in his choice of wealth, with the discord and doom which its inheritance entails

¹ *Jonson*, ed. CUNNINGHAM (1875), Vol. V, pp. 132, 135.

² *Henslowe's Diary*, pp. 64, 159, 161.

on his sons. Could Dekker have written always as he wrote in the best scenes of this beautiful play, he could well challenge a place beside the greatest poets of his age.

"There were no real fairies before Shakespeare's," says Dr. Furness. "What were called 'fairies' have existed ever since stories were told to wide-eyed listeners round a winter's fire. But these are not the fairies of Shakespeare, nor the fairies of to-day. They are the fairies of Grimm's Mythology. Our fairies are spirits of another sort, but unless they wear Shakespeare's livery they are counterfeit."¹ The absolute truth of this statement must appear to anyone who will be at the pains to turn to the innumerable "sources" of Shakespeare's fairy-lore which the indefatigable industry of commentators has unearthed and suggested. Oberon, the *deus ex machina* of the old romance of *Huon of Bordeaux*, although he possesses some of the features of Shakespeare's fairy king, is a dwarf and a mortal;² his namesake in Greene's drama on King James IV is little more than the presenter of a series of dumb shows and the coryphæus of a "round" of fairies, who dance jigs and hornpipes wholly extraneous to the action of the play.³ And a perusal of *The Fairy Queen* which had stopped well short of the third book could alone have misled anyone into the supposition that the Elfe and Fay, "of whom all faeryes spring and fetch their lignage," have anything in common with Cobweb, Moth, and Mustardseed.⁴ Shakespeare refined the elves and goblins of folk-lore to a diminutiveness and daintiness beyond the reach of the gross imaginations of the countryside, as he transmuted the fays of the bookish lands of "faerie" into a charming and fanciful reality. Robin Goodfellow and Queen Mab meet without incongruity, and Puck and the gossamer-winged attendants on Bottom shade imperceptibly into the airy tenants of the exuberant fancy of Mercutio and the haunting music and invisible spells of the *Tempest*.

¹ *Variorum Shakespeare*, Vol. X, p. xxiv.

² See *Huon of Bordeaux*, ed. Early English Text Society (1882), pp. 60, 267.

³ *The Scottish History of King James IV*, GROSART'S *Greene*, Vol. XIII, pp. 205 ff.

⁴ *Fairy Queen*, Book II, canto 10, ll. 631 ff.

A Midsummer Night's Dream produced a profound impression on the poetic imagination of its day, and thenceforth (to say nothing of non-dramatic productions such as Drayton's *Nymphidia* and the fairy-lore of the pastoralists) scenes introducing elves and fairies enter not infrequently into the popular plays as well as into the performances at court. Thus in the confused romantic comedy of intrigue, *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodipol*, which must have been written very soon after Shakespeare's play, fairies usher in a banquet and an enchanter exercises spells on wood-wandering lovers not dissimilar to those of Puck. In *The Maid's Metamorphosis*, printed in 1600, the fairy element also obtrudes in several very pretty songs,¹ although the play is of a pastoral and mythological cast in the manner of Lyly and was formerly inaccurately ascribed to him. Even into the midst of so melodramatic a performance as the quasi-historical tragedy *Lust's Dominion* Oberon and his fairy rout are lugged to warn a character of her impending death.² Shakespeare employed mock fairies in the delightful masquerade which brings about at once the punishment of Falstaff and the *dénouement* of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*;³ while later far, in 1610, the dainty fairy-lore of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* expands into the imaginative world of the supernatural which girdles the enchanted island of Prospero, a world wherein the romantic and the grotesque, ethereal spirit and mortality in its nobility and in its sensual grossness unite in a perfect harmony with which only Shakespeare could have infused such discordant materials.⁴

But Shakespeare's poetic and fanciful transfiguration of popular fairy-lore was not the only literary and dramatic treatment of the fairies of his age. The diligent researches into primitive and bookish mythology so confidently applied to Shakespeare's free creations of the supernatural world are far more significant and fruitful when applied to the fairies of Ben Jonson; and here, as elsewhere, that learned man and poet of a wholly admirable talent stands in striking contrast to the brilliant, imaginative, and all-

¹ BULLEN, *Old English Plays* (1884), Vol. III, p. 135; and *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 127.

² This play may have been written as early as 1600; the passage alluded to is Act III, scene 2.

³ V, v, 41 ff.

⁴ See *Tempest*.

conquering genius of him who alone of all Jonson's contemporaries could equal and surpass him. Jonson's contributions to fairy-lore in dramatic form are included in *The Satyr*, "a particular entertainment of the Queen and Prince at Althorpe . . . 1603, as they came first into the Kingdom;" *Oberon, the Fairy Prince*, a Masque of Prince Henry's, 1610; and the character of Puck in *The Sad Shepherd*.¹ Jonson's fairies, like the Irish "other people," do not seem to have been conspicuously distinguishable for their small size;² and, as might be expected from their employment in masques, like those of Greene, are notable for their dancing, and to this they add a very pretty quality in song.³ Jonson's Puck is no "merry wanderer of the night," but is surnamed "Hairy" and debased to attendance on the Witch of Pap-lewick; whilst to Queen Mab, in vast discrepancy to the delicate and pampered royalty of Titania, are ascribed the tricky pranks of will-o'-the-wisp, moon-calf, and household elf. It was reserved in much later times to Jonson's witty, reckless, and godless "son," Thomas Randolph, to laugh the fairies off the stage. In his fine pastoral drama *Amyntas*, published in 1638, Randolph employs a mock fairy *motif* to enhance the lighter comedy scenes of his play. In the course of it Jocastus, a fantastic shepherd and "fairy knight," and Mopsus, a foolish augur, carry on much satirical discourse concerning fairies and fairy-lore; and in the end contrive to rob an orchard by means of a "bevy of fairies" who for some reason best known to their author sing, though prettily, only in Latin. Told to "go love some fairy lady," Mopsus replies:

How, Jocastus,
Marry a puppet ? wed a mote i' th' sun ?
Go look a wife in nutshells ? Woo a gnat,
That's nothing but a voice ? No, no, Jocastus,
I must have flesh and blood,
A fig for fairies !⁴

The fairies dwell in pleasant regions of fancy and their drama is comedy. Witchcraft in its grotesqueness, its horror, and its

¹ Various dated between 1618 and the thirties.

² The "lesser faies" of *Oberon* were represented by noble children; the greater hence, presumably, by adults.

³ See especially the songs in *Oberon*.

⁴ "Amyntas, or the Impossible Dowry," *Works of Randolph* (1875), Vol. I, p. 278; and see also pp. 279-84, 346, 325-31, 364.

pathos occupies, as has well been said, "a field debateable, in a way unparalleled between tragedy and comedy."¹ In a sermon preached before the queen in 1572, John Jewell, wise and pious bishop that he was, declared:

Witches and sorcerers, within these last few yeeres, are marvellously increased within this your Grace's realme. These eies have seene most evident and manefest marks of their wickedness. . . . Wherefore, your poore subjects most humble petition unto your Highnesse, is that the laws touching such malefactors, may be put in due execution.²

This may be taken as a measure of the popular belief in witchcraft, which among the political and religious difficulties that beset the reigns of the later Tudors, from a harmless white magic, useful for the discovery of things lost, for the mixture of love philters, or for effecting simple cures, came to be regarded as a dreadful and alarming evil, spreading like the plague and blasting with death in this world and with damnation in the world to come the unhappy creatures who fell under suspicion of traffic in it. To the Elizabethan playgoer the apparition of Mephistophilis to Faustus or the conjurings of the wizard, Bolingbroke, and Margery Jourdain,³ dealers in the supernatural in *2 Henry VI*, seemed the natural representation of things universally known to be true; and the extraordinary reversal of the military successes of Henry V and of Talbot by the French, a foe habitually despised and beaten, could be accounted for in no other wise than by the acceptance of the English tradition that Joan of Arc had been justly tried and burnt for a witch.⁴

The plays of the age of Elizabeth are full of allusion to these popular superstitions, from the allegorical representation of the practices against Elizabeth's life in a work of Dekker,⁵ to the farcical situation of Falstaff, disguised as the Wise Woman of Brentford.⁶ But it was not until King James ascended the throne and gave to the popular belief in witchcraft the sanction of the royal opinion, that the witch, as such, enters as a motive into the fabric of English plays. Heywood, Shakespeare, Dekker, Middleton, and Ford, all deal with witchcraft; imaginatively, realistically,

¹ A. W. WARD, *History of Dramatic Literature* (1899), Vol. II, p. 367.

² Quoted in SCOT, *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, Introduction, p. xxxii.

³ II, iv. ⁴ *1 Henry VI*, V, iii. ⁵ *The Whore of Babylon* (1604). ⁶ *Merry Wives*, IV, ii.

jocularly, pathetically, in only one case—Heywood's *Wise Woman of Hogsdon*—in the least skeptically.¹ Jonson, who repudiated and satirized the followers of alchemy and astrology, hesitated to attack the more terrible superstitions of witchcraft, but represents his witches in *The Masque of Queens*, 1609, with a circumstantial attention to every coarse and unseemly detail and a display of erudition, classic and modern, which must have delighted the grossness and pedantry alike of the royal author of a treatise on demonology.

The witches of *Macbeth* preceded as they surpassed all other representation of their kind on the stage: for the little that went before Lyly's *Mother Bombe*² and the examples already cited, were neither vital nor closely interwoven in the tissues of the play. But despite the fidelity with which Shakespeare followed his source, as was his wont, and notwithstanding a certain incongruity which the supererogatory queen of witches Hecate brings into the imaginative conception of the three Weird Sisters, the witches of *Macbeth* rise so far above the wretched hags and obscene *succubae* of popular demonology, so ally themselves on the one hand with the cosmic forces of nature and so vividly represent the visible symbolical form of subjective human depravity on the other, that they, no more than Shakespeare's fairies, can be accepted as really illustrative of the popular belief of the time.

For the popular dramatic exposition of witchcraft we must then turn to other authors. Jonson's Witch of Paplewick is possessed of most of the malignant and repulsive features of her kind. She assumes the shape of a raven and again of innocent Maid Marian, to foment mischief. She is hunted at full cry by a band of huntsmen who mistake her for a hare, and is about to be represented "with her spells, threds and images," when Jonson's fragment abruptly comes to an end.³ Even more repulsively realistic are the hags who enact the antimasque of *The Masque of*

¹ The *Wise Woman of Hogsdon* is little more than a female quack doctor. See an interesting passage on the "wise women" of the time, II, i. *Heywood's Dramatic Works* (1874), Vol. V, p. 292.

² First printed in 1594; *Macbeth* is usually dated about 1606.

³ *The Sad Shepherd*, III, ii; CUNNINGHAM, *Jonson*, Vol. VI, p. 283.

Queens already mentioned above. These witches are described as issuing "with a kind of hollow and infernal music" from "an ugly hell," "all differently attired, some with rats on their head, some on their shoulders; others with ointment-pots at their girdles; all with spindles, timbrels, rattles, or other venefical instruments, making a confused noise, with strange gestures." Amid charms and incantations admirable for their grotesque and gruesome horror and suggestiveness, the "Dame" or queen of witches enters, "naked-armed, bare-footed, her frock tucked, her hair knotted and folded with vipers; in her hands a torch made of a dead man's arm, lighted, girded with a snake;" and the roll is called, the witches responding to such names as Credulity, Impudence, Slander, Bitterness, Rage, and other abstractions.¹

In *The Witch*, by Thomas Middleton (of uncertain date, but assuredly written after *Macbeth*), that ready playwright grafted on a romantic tale of Belleforest a story of witchcraft derived through Scot's *Discoverie* from Nider's *Formicarius*,² a work written in Latin by a German. The original version of this latter story concerns the unholy doings of three wizards and their successive practices in their craft. Middleton, with a dramatist's instinct, changed their sex, united their adventures, and linked them with the witch-crone of antiquity by naming one of their number Hecate, besides giving to their incantations an influential part in determining the course of the play. The witch name Hecate thus occurs in both Shakespeare's and Middleton's play; and likenesses of phrase have been discovered in the witch scenes of the two dramas, radically different as the governing conceptions of these ministers of evil appear in the two productions. Moreover it has been thought that the extraneousness and contradictory nature of Shakespeare's Hecate as compared with her sister witches is to be explained by assuming an interpolation by Middleton or another hand in a play originally free from this and other like blemishes.³ Be all this as it may, the last word has been said on this comparison by Charles Lamb, in a passage which quotation can never stale:

¹ See *ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 108, 112.

² See HERFORD, *Literary Relations of England and Germany*, p. 233. Book V of the *Formicarius* treats "De Maleficis," etc.

³ On this whole subject, see FURNESS, *Variorum ed. of Macbeth*, p. 388.

[Shakespeare's] witches [he tells us] are distinguished from the witches of Middleton by essential differences. These are creatures to whom man or woman plotting some dire mischief might resort for occasional consultation. Those originate deeds of blood, and begin bad impulses to men. From the moment that their eyes first met with Macbeth's, he is spellbound. That meeting sways his destiny. He can never break the fascination. These witches can hurt the body: those have power over the soul. Hecate in Middleton has a son, a low buffoon: the hags of Shakespeare have neither child of their own, nor seem to be descended from any parent. They are foul anomalies, of whom we know not whence they are sprung, nor whether they have beginning or ending. As they are without human passions, so they seem to be without human relations. They come with thunder and lightning, and vanish to airy music. This is all we know of them. Except Hecate they have no names: which heightens their mysteriousness. Their names, and some of the properties which Middleton has given to his hags, excite smiles. The Weird Sisters are serious things. Their presence cannot co-exist with mirth. But, in a lesser degree, the Witches of Middleton are fine creations. They raise jars, jealousies, strifes, 'like a thick scurf o'er life.'¹

There remain two remarkable plays in which English witchcraft is sketched from life. Their treatment in this place neither their late date nor the realism which allies them with the domestic drama whose theme is every-day life could excuse, were it not for the presence in both of a certain element of the grotesqueness and wonder and the humane spirit that suggests, even if it does not portray the pathos of the situation of these unhappy traffickers in evil. *The Witch of Edmonton* was most likely first acted towards the end of the reign of King James, and is assigned on its title page to the "well esteemed poets, William Rowley, Thomas Dekker, John Ford, etc." The play is grounded on a prose account of one Elizabeth Sawyer of Islington, who was executed in 1621 for witchcraft; and belongs in its general theme to the interesting series of tragedies dealing with domestic unhappiness and consequent crime. Mother Sawyer, a wretched and poverty-stricken old woman, is driven to commerce with the supernatural in revenge for outrageous and wanton ill treatment on the part of her neighbors. A devil in shape of a black dog surprises her in one of her paroxysms of impotent cursing, exacts from her the usual pledge of her soul, and becomes her

¹ *Specimens of English Dramatic Poets* (ed. 1893), Vol. I, p. 271.

"familiar."¹ Her feud with the neighborhood continues until, deserted by her evil spirit, her hut is set afire and she is arraigned and convicted of her many acts of spite and mischief. Forbiddingly coarse as are many of the details of this story of vulgar witchcraft, the character of Mother Sawyer is conceived with a sympathy for the miserable old hag, with a touch of pathos and an apprehension of the moral responsibility of her persecutors which is surprising in view of the circumstance that neither her actual possession by her grotesque familiar spirit nor the supernatural quality of her traffic is called into question for a moment.

The Late Lancashire Witches was printed in 1634 as the work of Thomas Heywood and Richard Brome,² its source the notorious trials for witchcraft of 1633 in the county named. Indeed, to judge from the epilogue, the composition of this play must have followed so close on the events that its influence in forestalling the judgment of the courts which tried these unfortunate creatures can scarcely be considered negligible. Attention has been called to the repetition of a familiar *motif* of Heywood's in the main event of *The Lancashire Witches*. Like Mistress Franklin, the woman killed with kindness, like Wincott's wife in *The English Traveller*, Mistress Generous, the wife of an honorable man, is led astray, here not by an earthly lover, but by the powers of darkness to which she pledges her soul and becomes a witch. In the other two plays the erring wife is magnanimously, even tenderly, treated; here the enormity of the crime demanded another *dénouement*. *The Lancashire Witches* is a mine of current witch-lore, with its transformations of supposedly respectable housewives into midnight hags and thence into cats or supernatural jades that traverse miraculous distances, with its grotesque malice, unhallowed revels and wanton breeding of strife. The pathos is not for the witches, but for the upright husband deceived by his witch-wife, whose repentance is feigned. At length she is discovered by the loss of her hand in one of her midnight escapades while transformed into the shape of a cat; and she is delivered over to justice by her sorrowful and offended lord,

¹ *The Witch of Edmonton*, II, i.

² *Dramatic Works of Heywood* (1874), Vol. IV, pp. 167-262.

but without a qualm of conscience as to the rectitude of his act. *The Lancashire Witches* is an excellent example of the journalist's instinct that sees and instantly appropriates to present use material of current interest. It is terrible to think that the fate of some of the unfortunate thousands that perished in the seventeenth century accused of these loathsome and impossible crimes may have hung on the reception of this circumstantial representation of their alleged misdeeds on the popular stage.

The dreadful compact of Faustus and the pleasing white magic of Friar Bacon were succeeded by the *diablerie* of Grim the Collier and Friar Rush, and by the savage irony of *The Devil is an Ass*. The terpsichorean fairies of Jonson's masques followed the poetical and fanciful sprites of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, to be followed in turn by the satiric elves of Randolph. In each of these cases the general absorption of the supernatural as a motive in Elizabethan drama is satirical; and satire and romance are things absolutely alien and incompatible. With witchcraft the tale is different. From a vague and indefinable element of the preternatural in the wizards of old romance, this *motif* dilated under the hand of Shakespeare into the mysterious horror and spiritual terror which the doings and the prophecies of the witches in *Macbeth* inspire; only to dwindle through Middleton's half successful imitation of the Weird Sisters, and through the grotesque hags of Jonson's masques to compassion for the maunderings of Mother Sawyer and contempt for the lewd gambols and physical transformations of Mall Spencer and Mistress Generous, the Lancashire witches.

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OLD SPANISH ETYMOLOGIES.

OLD SPANISH *afe*, *fe*, etc. None of the explanations proposed for these forms have been accepted generally. Diez¹ regarded *fe* as an aspirated *ve* from *VIDE*: "Dies sp. *fe* ist nichts als ein aspirirtes *ve*, lat. *vide*, und das vorangehende *a* ein blosser Ausruf." Ascoli² has taken exception to this theory and, deeming *afe* to be the earlier form, has seen in the expression only the development of a prepositional phrase meaning "on my faith." He quotes as instances of a similar development both the Latin *hercle* and the Italian *gnaffe*, the latter of which is more obviously to the point.

The Spanish words in question have evident sense relations with the modern *hé* of *hé aquí*, etc., and this *hé* represents a normal phonetic development of *fe*. The Spanish grammars, with the exception of the scientific Bello-Cuervo and kindred works, have conventionally regarded *hé* as the imperative singular of *haber*, thus adopting a point of view with which the theories of both Diez and Ascoli stand in opposition; and Meyer-Lübke³ seems still to see in *hé* a descendant of a Latin singular imperative *HABE*, which has been modified through the analogy of *ve* from Latin *VADE* (more exactly from an older **vai*, says Meyer-Lübke).⁴ Moreover, Meyer-Lübke doubts the authenticity of any Spanish *singular* imperative *habe*: "Der Imperativ span. *habe* [cited by Diez and others], portg. *ha* ist wohl von dem Grammatikern erfunden; auffällig ist span. *he*, das auf *hae* statt *habe* zurückgehen könnte, wahrscheinlicher aber nach *vas*: *ve* zu *has* gebildet ist." The existence of the Spanish singular *habe* is avouched by Cuervo,⁵ who, however, mentions no examples earlier than the sixteenth century:

El imperativo de *haber* es perfectámente regular: *habe*, *haved*: "*Habe* misericordia de mí, pues dende tu niñez por todas las edades creció contigo la misericordia" (Granada, *Oración I de la vida de Nuestra*

¹ *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*, third ed., Vol. II, p. 466.

² *Archivio glottologico italiano*, Vol. X (1868-88), p. 7, note.

³ *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen*, Vol. II, § 242.

⁴ *Ibid.*, § 232.

⁵ Cf. his edition of BELLO's *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, Paris, 1898, *Notas*, p. 87.

Señora); "*Habed* piedad, Criador, destas vuestras criaturas" (Santa Teresa, *Exclamaciones del alma á Dios VIII*). La primera de estas formas, comunísima cuando *haber* era sinónimo de *tener*, es hoy inusitada; la otra apenas tiene cabida tal cual vez en el lenguaje místico; pero ambas cuadran perfectamente con las anticuadas *habes*, *habe*, *haben* en vez de *has*, *ha*, *han*, que con *habemos*, *habéis*, completaban, salvo la primera persona del singular, el presente regular de *haber*.

Now, waiving the question of the historical legitimacy of a Spanish *habe*—and there are evidences of its early use¹—we shall here strive to indicate the possibility of deriving the series *afe*, *fe*, *hé*, from the plural *habed*, basing our argument chiefly upon the forms found in the Menéndez-Pidal edition of the *Poema del Cid*. In this document the second plural imperative occurs in vs. 3600 (*Aued uuestro derecho*) and in vs. 496 (*auello quitado*). The *auello* of the second example represents *aued* plus *lo* with a not unnatural assimilation of the *d* to the *l*,² and with reference to the same general subject and in the same speech there stands *afelo*, vs. 505: *Todo lo otro afelo en uuestra mano*.

It is a noteworthy fact, to which Bello long ago called attention,³ that *afe* and *fe* regularly occur in a second plural construction in the *Poema del Cid*. Bello's words are these:

Este *afé* parece corrupción de HABETE; de lo que no hai duda es que se usó siempre como segunda persona plural, i nunca se dirijió á persona que se tratase de *tú*, pues en este caso se decía *evas* (*habeas*). *Afé*, pues, si no estoi engañado, nunca equivale en los escritos del siglo XIII á *ves aquí*; lo mismo digo de *fé*, que es una contracción de *afé*. De *fé* nacio *hé*, que perdió su significacion plural, i así se dice *hété aquí* (*ecce tibi*) i *héos aquí* (*ecce vobis*).

It is not only true that *afe* thus regularly occurs in the *Cid* in a second plural construction, but it is very possible that in the inception it occurred only with a following *uos* (a vocative or an

¹ Cf. PIETSCH, *Preliminary Notes on Two Old Spanish Versions of the Disticha Catonis*, Chicago, 1903, p. 7, note 16.

² For the assimilation of *dl* to *ll*, cf. *Poema del Cid*, 2136: *Prendellas con uuestras manos e daldas a los yfantes*, where, since *prendellas* represents rather *prendedlas* than *prenderlas*, we seem to have examples both of the assimilation of *d* to *l* and of the other well known Spanish phenomenon of metathesis of *d* and *l*. Cf. also *rollo* which, like *rolde*, seems to come from *rotulum*, and in the *Crónica rimada*, 375: *Al rey que vos servides, servillo muy sin arte*. In this last example, as well as in *Cid* 496 and 2136, it would seem like begging the question to regard an infinitive as at the basis of the forms with *ll*, when the general construction is that of the second plural of address.

³ Cf. his edition of the *Poema del Cid* in Vol. II of his *Obras completas*, Santiago de Chile, 1881, *Glosario*, p. 350.

ethical dative), as it still does in vss. 152, 262, 476, 1255, 1431, 1499, 1568, 2230, 2368. In most of these cases the *afeuos* stands in a perfect half line of the *romance* type. The *uos* is gone and *afe* stands alone in vss. 505, 1317, 1597, 2088, 2101, 2135, 2175, 2222 (*affe*), 2381, 2947, 3393 (*affe*), but of these the imperfect half lines of 2175 *Afe(uos) los en Valencia*, of 2222 *Affe(uos) amas mis fijas*, and of 3393 *Affe(uos) dos cavalleros* are made *romance* verses by the mere insertion of the *uos*.¹ If, now, with Ascoli and Bello we believe that *afe* was an earlier form than *fe*, and if we assume, as the facts adduced may indicate, that *afe* was in the inception accompanied by *uos*, which was first dropped, perhaps, in the more rapid interjectional use, then we may be safe in deriving the form from *habete* plus *vos*. From this would come (*h*)*abedvos*, of which the *h* was phonetically valueless, the *b* not distinguishable in value from the *v*, and the combination *dv* one that could not long persist. We see a partial assimilation of the *d* in the *auello* of vs. 496; it is completely assimilated, that is absorbed, in the *Crónica rimada*,² vs. 345: "Rey, dueña so lasrada, è *avéme* piedat." Before the retained *v* of Old Spanish *vos*, we may suppose a disappearance of the *d* similar to that in *avéme*. Then, by a process of dissimilation in the resulting *avevos* we should obtain the form *afevos*, and with a dropping of the *vos*, which still retained its identity, we should have the independent *afe*.

From *afe(vos)* we may obtain the shorter *fe* through a contamination with the prepositional and interjectional phrase *á fe*. The first syllable of the verb, being confused with the preposition, might be disjoined and hence the still more interjectional—because briefer—*fe*. This latter is found in the *Poema del Cid* in vss. 1335 and 3591 in combination with *vos* (vs. 1335 is imperfect and is made a good *romance* verse by changing *feuos* to *afeuos*, i. e., (*A*)*feuos* aqui las señas); without the *vos* and as *fem*, equal to *fe* plus conjoined object pronoun *me*, in vs. 269; without the *vos* and with a conjoined object *los* in vss. 485 (*fellos*), 1452

¹ CORNU, *Zeitschrift f. rom. Philol.*, Vol. XXI (1897), p. 461, adopts these very emendations for vss. 2175 and 3393, but prefers another for vs. 2222.

² Cf. the edition of F. MICHEL, and the extract published by DAMAS-HINARD in his edition of the *Poème du Cid*, Paris, 1858.

(*felos*), 2647 (*felos*), 3534 (*felos*), and 3701 (*felos*). All the last mentioned cases stand in imperfect verses, which are made good *romance* verses by the change of *fe* to *afe* in 485: (A)fellos en Castejon, and by the addition of *uos* as well in 1452: (A)fe(uos) los en Medina, in 2647: (A)fe(vos) los en Molina, and in 3701: (A)fe(uos) los en Valencia.¹ Vs. 3534 is very corrupt, yet one might propose an emendation to (A)fe(uos) los (ya) al plazo. Such corrections, however, would not eliminate all the cases of *fe* which therefore seems a legitimate form in the *Poema del Cid*.

The exclamative prepositional phrase *á fe*, under the influence of which we suppose the verbal exclamative *fe* to have arisen, is perhaps to be seen in the *Cid* in vs. 2140: Dixo Albarfanez: "señor, afe que me plaz.," and, reinforced by the addition of *Dios* (cf. the more modern *Ay Dios*), in 1942: Afe Dios del çielo que nos acuerde en lo miior; in 2155: Afe Dios del çielo, que lo ponga en buen logar; and in 2855: Affe Dios de los çielos que uos de dent buen galardón.

The correlation with *aquí*, which is so common in the modern speech (*hé aquí*), is relatively infrequent in the *Poema del Cid*. It is found, nevertheless, in vss. 1597: Afe me aquí, señor, and 2135: Afe aquí Albarfanez, which are excellent *romance* verses; in 1499: A feuos aquí Pero Vermuez, where, however, the line may have to be remedied by the omission of the *aquí*; and in 1335: Feuos aquí las señas (cf. the correction proposed above). It would seem that the adverb could appear only in conjunction with a verb, and this may be an argument against Ascoli's derivation of the phrase from simply *á* plus the noun *fé*. The verbal origin seems certain, and Spanish, which, contrary to the custom in Italian and French, has preserved the true imperative of the substantive verb, has also preserved the imperative of *habere* (as Portuguese has likewise done; cf. the citation from Meyer-Lübke given above). Whether or not the second singular *habe* belongs to very early Spanish, the second plural of the imperative of *habere* has persisted in Spanish, and, moreover, it has remained

¹COENU, *Zeitschrift f. rom. Philol.*, Vol. XXI (1897), p. 461, has adopted the changes proposed in vss. 1335, 485, 1452, 2647, 3701.

in forms due to a double development: *afe-fe-hé*, on the one side, and *habed* on the other. The existence of many doublets in Spanish is a fact well known.¹

Diez's derivation from the imperative of *videre* must still receive some consideration, as must all propositions from the founder of Romance philology. Besides, there is the analogy of the French *voici* and *voilà*. It is true that the present indicative of *ver* appears with some demonstrative force in the *Poema del Cid*; cf. vs. 137: *Ya vedes que*; vss. 114 and 280: *Ya lo vedes que*, etc.; and in the *Crónica rimada* we find vss. 368 and 511: *Vedes aqui sus cartas*, and vs. 750: *Vedes aqui su privilegio*. If the series ending in *hé* goes back to the imperative of *ver*, we shall have to start with the form *fe*, as Diez doubtless did, and again we must suppose an original combination of the second plural with *vos*, whence *vevos* by complete assimilation of the *d* and *fevos* by a dissimilation of the first *v*. The form *afe* might again be due to a contamination with *á fé*. It is interesting to note that the *Crónica general* of 1344² has *afevos* and *afelo* in certain MSS, and in the same passages of other MSS occur the variants *vedes aqui*, *catad aqui*, *catadvos*, *catadlo*, *vedlo*, etc.

In a passage already quoted, Bello mentions the word *evas* used with a similar demonstrative force to that of *afe*. But his etymology from *HABEAS* seems hardly borne out by facts, since the *y* of the combination *by* does not appear to have reacted upon the preceding syllable as that of *py* did (cf. *sapiat-sepa* by the side of *HABEAT-haya* and *FOVEAM-hoya*). The forms of this troublesome verb occurring in the *Poema del Cid* are vss. 2172: *Euay Asur Gonçalez*; 820: *Euades aqui oro*; 2326: *Euades que pauor han uestros yernos tan osados*; 2519: *Euades aqui, yernos, la mi mugier de pro*; and 2123: *Euad aqui uestros fijos*. To these Bello adds a singular *evas*, which he finds in a translation of the Bible, where it renders the *ECCE* of its Latin original and where the address is in the second singular.³ All these forms seem to adapt themselves to a verb of the first con-

¹ Cf. C. M. DE VASCONCELLOS, *Studien zur romanischen Wortschöpfung*, pp. 208 ff.

² Cf. the extracts published by R. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, *Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*, Madrid, 1896, 301, 12; 306, 10; 312, 1.

³ Cf. BELLO, ed. of the *Poema del Cid*, p. 376.

jugation, and they are not explained by Körtling's *EVADERE*,¹ or by Diez's *VIDEAS, VIDEATIS*.² Damas-Hinard³ has called attention to the fact that in every case in the *Poema del Cid* the word begins the line—which it might naturally do, by reason of its demonstrative and interjectional force—and proposed to read the first letter as the conjunction *e* “and.” Would it be too fantastic to start with the form in vs. 2172, *euay*, and to decompose it as *e ua y* “and there goes”?⁴ The *y* might have been added only in this original case, and the conjunction plus *va* might have been used as the basis of a new verb *evay*, whence would come the other forms. As Diez notes, *loc. cit.*, the Portuguese verb *evay* is given by Santa Rosa; its history must have to do with that of the Spanish verb and on it would depend the value of the etymology proposed here.

O. Sp. *ambidos, amidos*. From *ad-invitus* (with nominative or rather adverbial *s*) and not merely from *invitus*, since there seem to be no traces of a form *embidos* or *emidos* parallel to the French *envis*, etc. It is possible, however, that the initial syllable was simply affected at a very early stage by a correlation of the word with a prepositional phrase containing *a*; cf. the *Libro de Alexandre*,⁵ stanza 1551: *a forçia o ambidos* and the *Danza de la muerte*:⁶ *a fuerça e amidos*. In Berceo, *Santo Domingo*, stanza 104: *a amidos* and *San Laurençio*, stanza 16: *adamidos*, there is either a reduplication of the preposition or an addition of it to the modified *amidos*. Diez has noted⁷ the correlation *amidos e con miedo* (cf. Hita, *El libro de buen amor*; 329: *amidos e con miedo*); it is not impossible that a phrase *a miedo e amidos* has had some influence on the development of the *a* in *amidos*.

O. Sp. *troçir*, “to cross,” “to cross over (by, through),” “to pass by” (of time). This verb occurs in the *Poema del Cid* in vss. 307, 2653, 2687 (*troçir*); 543 (*troçen*); 1475, 2656, 2875

¹ Cf. *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch*, No. 2860.

² Cf. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen*, fifth ed., p. 450.

³ Cf. his ed. of the *Poème du Cid*, p. 22.

⁴ COENU (*Zeitschrift f. rom. Philol.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 461 ff.) amends to *Iva y*, thus expunging here what seems to be a well substantiated verb.

⁵ *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Vol. LVII.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 380.

⁷ *Wörterbuch*, p. 422.

(*troçieron*); and 3545 (*troçida*). Cf. Berceo, *Milagros*, stanza 381 (*troçió*). Diez and Körtling refer the word to *traducere*, which in the figurative sense "to translate" has regularly given *traduzir* (cf. the translation of the *Iliad* of which Vollmöller has published extracts in *Studien zur Literaturgeschichte, Michael Bernays gewidmet*, Hamburg, 1893, p. 238, l. 8). The source may rather be *torquere*, Vulgar Latin **torcere*. Cf. the *Poema de Fernán González*,¹ stanza 43: *ovo por las paryas a Maruecos torçido*, and 140: *Los poderes de França. . . . Por los de Aspanna fueron luego torçidos*. The metathesis of *r* is a fairly common phenomenon in Spanish (cf. *crepantare-quebrantar*, etc.). For the sense development, cf. the English *wend*, *went*. In the change of conjugation we may apprehend some influence of *ire*, *transire*.

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¹ *Biblioteca de autores españoles*, Vol. LVII.



THE ORIGIN AND MEANING OF THE NAME YGGDRASIL.

IN his *Studier over de nordiske Gude- og Heltesagns Oprindelse*,¹ Christiania, 1881-89, pp. 291-528, Professor Sophus Bugge has examined in detail the two closely related myths concerning "Odin on the gallows" (*Hóvamöl* 138, 139) and the ash Yggdrasil. He has shown that both myths must have originated from mediæval legends concerning the crucifixion of Christ and the Christian cross, and he has, as I shall try to corroborate in this paper, correctly identified the most important material upon which the myth of the world-tree Yggdrasil is based. But I believe it can be shown that an important link in the chain of evidence is still to be supplied; for, as I believe, the etymology and meaning of the name *Yggdrasil* have not as yet been satisfactorily explained. In the present paper I shall try to show that the name is itself direct, not indirect, evidence of the foreign origin of the myth, and that it is not derived from the myth of "Odin on the gallows."

The myth of the tree Yggdrasil is known to us from the Elder and the Younger Edda. In *Völuspó* 19 the tree is thus described:²

An ash I know, 'tis called Yggdrasil,
The high tree, sprinkled with white water;
Thence come the dews that fall in the valleys,
Forever green it stands o'er the fountain of Urd.³

Compare also *Grimnesmöl* 31:

¹ German translation by BRENNER: *Studien über die Entstehung der nordischen Götter- und Heldensagen*, München, 1889.

² See GOLTHER, *Germ. Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1895, pp. 527 ff.

³ For the reader's convenience I give the O. N. original for the translated stanzas. The text is Sijmons's, which has not been followed literally:

*Ask veitk standa, heiter Yggdrasels,
hór baðmr ausenn hvíta aure;
þáþan koma daggvar þérs í dala falla,
stendr é of grœnn Urðar brunne.*

Three roots run in three directions
 Under the ash Yggdrasill;
 Under the first dwells Hel, under the second the frost giants,
 Under the third the folk of man.¹

Also in *Fjölsvinsmöl* 13 and 14 the tree is thus described:

Svipdagr said:
 Tell me that, Fjölsviðr, which I will ask you
 And do desire to know:
 How is named the tree which spreads abroad
 Its limbs over all lands?
 Fjölsviðr answered:
 Mimi's tree 'tis called; no one knows
 From what roots it springs;
 It shall fall for that, which fewest believe:
 Fire will not fell it, nor iron.²

Other features of the myth from the Elder Edda may be gathered up in a brief paragraph. Mimi's fountain is at the foot of the tree, whence the name "Mimi's tree." In its branches sit an eagle and a hawk, and up and down the tree runs a squirrel called Ratatoskr. Four harts run about in the branches and eat of the leaves. Below a dragon, Níðhöggr, and other worms gnaw on the roots. For other features the reader must be referred to the manuals and to the poems themselves.

In Snorre's Edda (chapter 15) the picture of the world-tree is in its main outlines as follows: The ash Yggdrasill is the greatest and best of all trees. Its branches spread out over the whole world, and its crown reaches heaven. It has three roots: the first of these reaches men (MS. has "the gods," but see Golther, p. 529); the second, the giants; the third, Hell. Under each root is

¹ *Þriar røtr standa á þria vega
 und aske Yggdrasels:
 Hel býr und einne, annare hrímþursar,
 þriþjo mensker menn.*

² Svipdagr kvað:

*Seg[ðu] mér þat, Fjölsviðr, es ek þik fregna mon
 ok ek vilja vita:
 hvat [þat] barr heiter, es breiðask of
 lönd öll límar?*

Fjölsviðr kvað:

*Mímameiðr [hann heiter], en þat mange veit
 hvers hann af rótum rinn;
 við þat hann fellr, es fíestan varer:
 feller hann eldr né járn.*

a fountain, Urd's, Mimi's, and the fountain Hvergelmir, respectively. The tree stands in the middle of the earth.

So much for the conception, and now for a consideration of the name and of its relation to the myth of the hanging of Odin, which in *Hǫvumól* 138 and 139 is as follows:

I know that I hung on the windy tree
 Nine nights throughout,
 Wounded by spear, sacrificed to Odin,
 Myself to myself,
 [On the mighty tree, of which men do not know
 From what roots it springs].
 They offered me no drink nor bread;
 Below my eyes I cast,
 I raised up the runes, weeping I raised them:
 Back thence I fell.¹

According to Bugge's interpretation of the name *Yggdrasill*, the above myth is the cause for its existence: *Yggdrasill* is composed of two words, namely, *Yggr*, "The Terrible One," a name of Odin, and *drasill*, "horse, steed," a word which has no existence outside of Skaldic poetry. *Yggdrasill* must therefore mean "Ygg's horse," "Odin's steed," and it must be a kenning or metaphor employed by the Skalds for the gallows upon which Odin was hung, for "horse" is a common metaphor in English, German, and Scandinavian for "gallows." Even Christ's cross is in a M. E. poem of the fourteenth century described as "Jesus palfreye;" and in another poem (Morris, *Legends of the Holy Rood*, E. E. T. S. 46, p. 148) it is said of Jesus that he rode "on stokky stede."

The interpretation of *Yggdrasill* as "Ygg's, Odin's horse" is widely accepted by scholars.² Both Kaufmann³ and Mogk,⁴ who

¹ Veitk at ek hekk vindga meiþe á
 náðr allar nio,
 geire undaþr ok gefenn Óþne,
 sjálfr sjólfum mér,
 [á þeim meiþe, es mange veit
 hvers hann af rótum rínn].
 Við hleife mik spáðo né við hórnege;
 nýsta ek níðr:
 namk upp rúnar, spande namk;—
 fell ek aþr þáþan.

² As KAUFMANN, *Beitr.*, Vol. XV, p. 204, has noticed, this interpretation had already been given by UHLAND, *Schriften*, Vol. VI, p. 361.

³ "Odin am Galgen," *Beitr.*, Vol. XV, p. 204.

PAUL'S *Grundriss*², Vol. III, p. 335.

are strongly opposed to Bugge and his school, also give their approval to this interpretation.

There are two serious objections against this view of the name and they may be stated as follows:

1. If *Yggdrasill* means "Ygg's horse," then it is not in agreement in form with other kennings of this kind, such as *Mimameiðr*, where the genitive form of *Mimi* is employed; cf. "Signy's husband's cold horse" (*svalan hest Signýjar vers*¹), and other kennings in which Odin's name *Yggr* is found: *Yggs at* = "proelium," *Yggjar veðr* = "pugna," *Yggjar bál* = "gladius," and *Yggjar eldr* = "gladius."² In each of these cases of Skaldic metaphors we find the genitive case of *Yggr*, never *Ygg-*, which is explained by Bugge as the form used in composition. He cites a parallel example in the Norw. dial. name for *Daphne Mezereum*: *tyvid* (O. Swed. *tivedh*) and *tysvid* (O. N. **týviðr* and **týsvidr*) stand side by side; but it seems to me to be questionable whether this is a reliable example. An original O. N. **týsvidr* (the god Týr's wood) may have suffered the loss of its *-s-* because the genitive form in composition with *-viðr* seemed anomalous by the side of the numerous regular compounds in which *-viðr*, *-vid* was the second element: cf. *eldvid*, *furuvíð*, *törvíð*, etc., etc.; in *Tuesday*, *Tirsdag*, the *-s-* remains, and there is, so far as I am aware, no by-form without it. Dettér³ strongly urges this objection and holds that *Yggdrasill* can only mean "Schreckenspferd," or "Schreckpferd," "Schreckliches Pferd;" cf. *yggja* "metuere" by the side of *ugga*, *yggigr*, *ygglaust* by the side of *uggigr*, *ugglaust*.⁴ Heinzel⁵ also has rejected the usual interpretation. In a review of E. H. Meyer's *Völuspa* he says: "Ebenso ist es unrichtig, dass *Yggdrasell* den hengst Odhins 'mit hochskaldischem namen' bezeichne. Als kenning kann *Yggdrasell* nur 'galgen' heissen, nicht, 'galgen Odhins,' oder 'hengst Odhins.'" There is, so far as I can see, no reason why *Yggdrasill* should be considered equivalent to *Yggs* (*Yggjar*) *drasill*, *Yggsdrasill*.

¹ *Ynglingasaga*, ed. JÓNSSON, p. 36.

² For these and others see WISÉN, *Carmina Norroena*, Gl. p. 339.

³ *Ark. f. nord. Filologi*, Vol. XIII, pp. 99 and 207.

⁴ Also KAHLE, *IF.* Vol. XIV, p. 180, accepts the view of Dettér.

⁵ *Anz. f. d. Altertum*, Vol. XVI, p. 345.

2. The second objection is concerned with the etymology and meaning of the word *drasill*. In Skaldic poetry it is used for "horse, steed," and Bugge supposes that it must originally have been the name of a certain horse in some heroic legend. The substitution of a specific name for a general one is common in Skaldic poetry: "Sleipner of flax-ropes" (*hprva Sleipnir*) means "horse of flax-ropes," i. e. "the gallows;" any horse may be called "Grani's bride," *Grani* being the name of a certain horse. This kind of kenning can not be old, for it indicates a development in poetics exclusively Skaldic, and *Yggdrasill* can not for the same reason be a popular name drawn from popular belief: it must have originated far out in the Viking age.² As to the etymology of the word *drasill* Bugge³ suggests that it may "perhaps" (*maaske*) be connected with the verb *þrasa*, "to behave in a threatening manner in order to drive another way" (*Lok.* 58), cognate with Latin *terrere*; if *drasill* comes from *þrasa* then *þ* must have become *d* by Verner's law (**drasilá* -). It is significant that Bugge further adds: "I do not believe that *Drasill* is related to Goth. *ga-dars*, 'I dare,'" and that he makes mention (although with disapproval) of John Olafsen's conjecture (*Nordens gamle Digtekonst*, p. 83) that *drasill* is borrowed from Latin *dorsuale*. It is clear that no satisfactory explanation of *drasill* has yet been found. There is no other evidence for the existence of a doublet *þras* - : *dras* -, and there is nothing to show that *drasill* really meant "terrifier." Since the meaning of the word has not been known it has been impossible to say whether it is a natural or a far-fetched *heiti* for a certain horse, or whether it is a natural or far-fetched kenning for "horse" in general. It has not been proved that *drasill* is indisputably a Germanic word, although its ending *-ill* apparently conforms to the Norse suffix *-ill* (Germanic *-ila* -).

The above objections against the prevailing view concerning the nature and meaning of the compound *Yggdrasill* are, it seems to me, weighty enough to render it doubtful whether the true solution of the problem has been found. Nor does the more

¹ *Studier*, p. 396; *Ynglingasaga*, ed. JÓNSSON, p. 44.

² *Studier*, p. 398.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 395, footnote.

literal interpretation of Heinzl, Detter, and Kahle sufficiently explain the point, for it leaves out of consideration the etymology and original meaning of the word *drasil*, and these are, as I shall try to show, of the greatest importance.

In order to explain the name *Yggdrasil* it will be necessary to turn to an important mediæval Christian source for the Yggdrasil conception. This has been pointed out by Bugge in his *Studier*, p. 449 ff. This source is represented by a Latin legend¹ of the thirteenth century concerning the origin of the cross, in which it is said that it is really identical with the tree of knowledge. In this legend there is an episode describing Seth's journey to Paradise for the oil of mercy. As I have not seen the Latin text, I have, in the following summary, followed that of Bugge. Adam requests his son Seth to go to Paradise for the oil of mercy, for he is about to die. By the angel who guards the tree of life he is permitted to put his head within the gate. Among other things he sees in the middle of Paradise the clearest fountain, from which run the four rivers Phison, Gihon, Tigris, and Euphrates, which supply the whole earth with water. Over the fountain he sees a large tree with many branches, but without leaves and bark. He concludes that it is bare on account of his parents' sin. Again Seth looks in; he sees a snake clinging to the tree. He looks in a third time and discovers that the tree has grown up to heaven, and in its top he sees a weeping child in swaddling clothes. He also notices that the root of the tree reaches down to hell, where he recognizes the soul of his brother Abel. The angel tells him that the child is the son of God and the oil of mercy which had been promised to Adam when he was driven from Paradise.

This legend is of the thirteenth century, but it is reasonable to assume that it represents older legends of similar character. Many of its features Bugge points out in other earlier sources. The bareness of the tree, as it is without bark and leaves, is a feature which corresponds to a conception of the tree of knowledge as represented on several early Gallic-Christian grave-monuments,

¹ Latin text in W. MEYER, *Die Geschichte des Kreuzholzes vor Christus*, München, 1881 (*Abhandl. d. k. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*).

where two trees stand over against each other, the one covered with leaves, the other dry and almost without leaves;¹ no doubt they represent the tree of life and the tree of knowledge, respectively.

This Latin legend of the origin of the cross is represented in several European languages, and it was widely distributed in England.² A M.E. version of the story is printed by Morris in his *Legends of the Holy Rood* (E. E. T. S. 46), London, 1871, pp. 18 and 19 ff., in two closely related texts. The first MS is of the thirteenth century and bears the title *þe Holy Rode*; the second is of the fourteenth century and has a more definite title, namely, *Hou þe holy cros was yfounde*. I shall use the former text in the following line-for-line translation and paraphrase of significant portions:

The holy rood, the sweet tree, it is right to have in mind,
That has from strong death brought to life all mankind;
Through a tree we first were lost, and first brought to ground,
And through a tree afterwards brought to life: praised be that hour!
All it came from one root, that brought us to death
And that brought us to life again, through Jesus that us bought.
From the apple-tree that our first father took the vile apple,
In the way that I shall tell you, the sweet rood came.—ll. 1-8.

Then follows the Seth episode substantially as told above on the basis of the Latin original. Seth looks in through the gate of Paradise, and

Amid the place that was so fair he saw a fair well
From which all waters that are on earth come, as the book
doth tell;
Over the well stood a tree, with boughs broad and bare,
But it bore neither leaf nor bark, as if it were very aged,
An adder had clipped it about, all naked without skin:
That was the tree and the adder, which made Adam first do sin.
Again he looked in at the gate; it seemed to him he saw the tree
Fairly covered with leaves and grown up to heaven on high;
A young child he saw up in the tree, in small clothes wound;
The root of the tree, it seemed to him, reached throughout the
bottom of hell.
The angel drove him from the gate, etc.—ll. 71-82.

¹ *Studier*, p. 459.

² *Ibid.*, p. 449.

The angel now explains the meaning of the oil of mercy, and the poem thus continues:

The angel turned to that tree, an apple therefrom he took,
And gave Seth thereof three seeds, when he came to him,
And bade him lay these seeds under his father's tongue,
And bury him when he was dead, and look what thereof sprung.

—11. 87-90.

The rest of the poem is concerned with the history of the three wands which spring up from Adam's grave, and which finally become one tree. Moses, David, Solomon, and the Queen of Sheba are brought into connection with it, and when Jesus is about to be crucified the Jews find it and make it into the cross.

In the legend the barkless and leafless tree of knowledge becomes in the next moment the tree of life and, in the course of time, the Christian cross. The Christian cross is a world-tree in that it bore on itself the sins of the world through Christ's death for the whole world. Numerous early Christian authors found traces of the cross everywhere in nature.¹ When birds spread out their wings their form is that of a cross. The first man and woman were created in the form of a cross. Even the world is in the form of the cross.

So also the Norse ash-tree *Yggdrasill* is a symbol of the world. The myth is a fine example of that poetic process through which foreign and strange elements have been almost perfectly assimilated and recreated. The poets have made it so much their own that for centuries men have believed it to be an independent and original creation of the Germanic or Norse imagination.

The second element of the name *Yggdrasill* is, in my opinion, partly derived from the Latin adjective *rāsilis*, "polished, smooth, bare." In Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, 17, 23 (35), an old vine is described as *rāsilis*, "deprived of bark" (*draconem palmitem rasilem*), and in Prud., *στεφ.* 3, 69, is found *scopuli rasiles*, "smooth rocks," that is, "deprived of herbage, bare" (cf. Andrews, *Lat. Dict.*, for both references). The epithet *rāsilis* must have been used in the Latin legend or poem from which some Norseman borrowed the conception of a world-tree. It corresponds with exactness to the

¹ See MORRIS, *Legends of the Holy Rood*, p. xxx (The Analogy of the Cross in Nature).

description of the tree of knowledge in the Latin legend summarized by Bugge and in the M. E. poem from which passages have been translated above:

*Over þe welle stod a tre, with bowes brode and lere
Ac it ne bar noþer lef ne rynde, as it uorolded were.*—ll. 73 f.

The tree was bare, barkless, and leafless, that is, it was—to describe it by means of a Latin adjective—*rāsilis*.¹

But in order to account for the initial *d* in *drasill* we must now consider the first element of the name. This must originally have been *yggt*, the neuter form of the adjective which is used as a proper name in *Yggr*, "The Terrible One." The form *yggt* occurs once in the Elder Edda, namely in *Atlampǫl* 1, 6:

*yggt vas ðeim stðan
ok et sama sonom Gjuka,
es vǫro sannráðner.*²

"Terrible it was for them later, and the same (namely *yggt*) for the sons of Gjuki who were grievously betrayed."

It was long supposed that the MS had *ygr*, with an *r* substituted for a partially erased *t*, but Wimmer and Jónsson³ have

¹Since the above was in type I have been able to consult MEYER's monograph, *Geschichte des Kreuzholzes vor Christus (Abhandl. d. k. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., Vol. XVI, 2, pp. 101-66)*, which contains the text of the Latin legend on the history of the Christian cross. To an editor of this JOURNAL I had already expressed the opinion that the word *rasilis* was probably not used in this particular version, for if it had been used here, its similarity to the second element of *Yggdrasil* would no doubt have been noticed by Bugge who has studied the legend in connection with the *Yggdrasil* myth. I here give a few lines from that part of the legend which concerns the present matter, a few variant readings being given in the parentheses: (p. 135) *super ipsum uero fontem quaedam (magna V) arbor stabat nimis ramosa, sed foliis et cortice nudata. meditari ipse cepit, quare arbor illa ita nudata esset . . . cepit meditari arborem illam esse nudatam propter peccata eorundem . . . intuitus est serpentem (magnum V) circa arborem nudatam inuolutatam . . .* (p. 136) *vidit arborem iam dictam usque ad celos eleuatam . . . vidit radicem (draconem A) eiusdem arboris terram penetrantem usque in infernum pertingere . . .* (p. 137) *dedit ei angelus tria grana pomi (arboris add. V) illius de quo (qua V) manducauerat pater eius . . .* With *palmes rasilis, scopuli rasilis*, cited above, compare also *nudum nemus, loca nuda gignentium, nudata cacumina silvae* (Andrews); hence it is correct to assume the equation *nudus, nudatus = rasilis*.

Another note may here be added. For the connection of the cross with the tree of knowledge, cf. GERVASIUS VON TILBURY, *Otia Imperialia* (1212): *Sed et alii dicunt, Adam de Paradiso tulisse pomum vel surculum ligni vetiti, ex cuius semente fuit crux*; and, further on, *Traditio Graecorum habet, quod de arbore illa, in cuius fructu peccauit Adam, ramus fuit translatus in Jerusalem, qui in tantam excreuit arborem, quod de illo facta est crux domini* (Meyer, p. 118).

²Cf. JÓNSSON, *Eddalieder*, Vol. II, p. 82. In his text Jónsson has the emendation *ygr* instead of *yggt* as above (MS *yggt*), presumably because he was then under the impression that the MS had *ygr*. So BUGGE, *Nor. Fornkv.*, p. 292, who prints *ygr* in his text.

³*Haandskriftet No. 2365, etc. (Codex Regius)*, Kjöbenhavn, 1891, p. 81, l. 11, and p. 182.

decided that *r* has been erased and *t* substituted. In his new edition of the *Heldenlieder* (1902) Sijmons has adopted the form *yggt*,¹ which will presumably be allowed to stand hereafter as the correct reading. The original name of the tree was therefore **yggt rasilis*, **yggt rasilis*, which, however, could only be spoken as **yggt-trasilis*, since the *t* must necessarily range itself phonetically with the second syllable. A *-t-* in such a position, and thus beyond etymological control (as the sign of the neuter gender of *yggr*), could easily and naturally between the long voiced stop *gg* and the sonorous *r* become voiced to a *-d-*. This process was no doubt favored by the fact that the second element was not understood and could not be kept free from the *t* (*d*). I have marked the vowel *ā* in *rāsilis* as long, but it is by no means certain that the Norseman who first created the name **yggt rasilis* so pronounced it, but if he actually did so, nothing would be more natural than a shortening under a secondary accent. Syncope of the last *i* must also be assumed as an early stage in the history of the name; thus, **yggt rasilis* > **yggt rasilis* > **yggt drasilis* > **yggt drasilis*; it is of course immaterial whether the syncope of *i* is later or earlier than the change of *t* to *d*.

Having identified the two elements of the name it now remains to explain why *yggt* was coupled with *rāsilis*, a native with a Latin word. We must again refer to the vision of Seth in Paradise. The tree which Seth saw was in reality an apple-tree, and it was from this tree that Adam took the vile apple:

Of þe appeltre² þat our uerste fader þen luper appel nom,
In þe manere þat ichulle you telle, þe swete rode com.—ll. 7 f.

I cannot believe that the conception of the tree of knowledge as an apple-tree occurs here for the first time. It is such a natural inference from the story of the fall of Adam and Eve that it may be supposed to be much older than the thirteenth century.

¹ See also GERING, *Glossar z. d. Lied. d. Edda*, 2. Aufl., 1896, p. 202. He is uncertain whether to assume a form *ýgt* or *yggt*, neut. of *ýgr* or *yggr*.

² The later MS (Vernon), MORRIS, p. 19, has *tree*; so also the Harl. MS 2277. Also in the O.N. version of the same legend (*Heilagra Manna Sögur*, ed. UNGER, Chra., 1877, Vol. I, p. 299) the tree is called an appletree: *Enn ífr keldunni sé hann apallr einn standa með mrgum greinum ok þó barklausan. . . . Enn þá er hann veik aptr, þá sé hann fyrnefndan apallr upvaxinn til himna*, etc. But *apallr* is sometimes used for "tree" in general as well as for "apple-tree."

I therefore make the surely not unreasonable conjecture that the legend or poem from which a Norseman borrowed his conception of the world-tree described the tree of knowledge as a *mālus rāsilis*, "a bare, leafless, and barkless apple-tree," as in the M. E. version cited above. The Norseman who was confronted by this expression probably did not understand *rāsilis* at all, but he may have thought that he understood *mālus*, which he identified with the Latin adjective *mālus*,¹ an epithet fitting enough as long as the tree is considered as the tree of knowledge or as the instrument of a terrible death. He must have thought that *rāsilis* was a noun and a specific name of the tree, and since he could not translate it he adopted it in its original form. He has treated it as a neuter noun perhaps on the analogy of O.N. *tré*, *n.* (cf. also Lat. *lignum*, *n.*, common in early Christian literature for the cross). The Latin *mālus* has such a wide range of meaning that it will be difficult, perhaps impossible, to say what shade of meaning he saw in it. This meaning would no doubt be dependent on the context in which *mālus rāsilis* occurred. Perhaps a meaning "evil, terrible, awful," will not be far wide of the mark (cf. *yggt* in the *Atlampl* passage above). It would therefore not seem unfitting to translate *malus rasilis* as "The Terrible (Gallows-) Tree, The Awful Gallows;" cf. English *bitter cross*, *cursed cross*, and Lat. *mala crux*, which is of frequent occurrence in Plautus and Terence: *i (abi) in malam crucem* "go and be hanged;" *dignus fuit, qui malo cruce (masc.) periret*, Enn. *ann.* 261 (Georges).²

It now remains to discuss the origin of the nominative form *drasil*. Since the Christian world-tree was in the North conceived of as an ash, the name was usually found in the collocation *askr Yggdrasils*. Only once, namely in *Völuspá* 19, 1, does the name *Yggdrasil* appear independently of *askr*. This stanza is recorded in five MSS.: three of them have *ygdrasil*, one *ygdrasil*, and one *ygdrasils*. Bugge and most editors have

¹ If he could confuse *mālus* with *mālus*, could he not also read *rāsilis* as *rāsilis*?

² The question as to whether there is in Norse sources any trace of the conception of the tree of knowledge as leafless and barkless (*rāsilis*) is answered in the affirmative by Bugge, *Studier*, p. 458. In *Grimnesmål* 35, 2, it is said of the tree that "it rots on the side (*á hlípu fúnar*)."¹ The connection is a very probable one; the dragon *Nidhogg* which gnaws on the tree from below is probably also, with Bugge, the dragon of Seth's vision.

followed the majority reading. Sijmons has adopted the reading *Yggdrasels*, presumably on the assumption that *askr* is to be supplied mentally: *Ask veitk standa heiter Yggdrasels* (sc. *askr*).¹ The frequency of the formula *askr Yggdrasils* naturally led to the assumption that *-drasils* was the genitive form: cf. *allt ríkit Italielands*, *Rómaborgar ríki*, *fiskr piðdvitnis*, *Fenris úlfr*, which are parallel examples to *arbor fici*, *urbs Antiochiae*, etc.² The inference that *-drasils* was the genitive form could also easily be drawn from the fact that the word seemed to contain the common Norse suffix *-ill* (Gmc. *-ila-*). Thus a nominative form *-drasill* was obtained through an analogical process which does not differ in principle from that which accounts for the singular *Chinee* from *Chinese*, *Portuguee* from *Portuguese*, *shay* from *chaise*, *pea* from O. E. *pios-an*.

In the light of the foregoing the reading *heiter Yggdrasils* may reasonably be considered a relic from a time when the tree was actually called *Yggdrasils* (**yggst rasilis*), and before the form *drasill* had been obtained in the manner that has been indicated.

Now, since the name *Yggdrasill* meant "cross, gallows" (cf. Goth. *galga Xristaus*; O. E. *gealga*, O. N. *galgi*, also used of the Christian cross), and since the second element could not be understood and identified with a native word, it would be natural for the Skaldic poets to regard it as a kenning for "gallows;" and since "horse" was a very frequent kenning for "gallows,"³ the conclusion was easily and naturally reached that *drasill* must be a kenning for "horse." Hence the poetic word *drasill*, "horse," found nowhere except in Skaldic poetry, and leaving no trace of itself in popular speech.

The name *Yggdrasill* is therefore not originally drawn from the story of the hanging of Odin as described in the *Hǫvámöl*.

¹ MAGNÚSSON, *Odin's Horse Yggdrasill*, London, 1895, p. 5 *et passim* interprets *askr Yggdrasils* as "the ash of Odin's horse," "the ash of Sleipner," which is the horse of Odin. *Yggdrasill* is, therefore, not the name of the tree, but simply a kenning for the eight-footed Sleipner, which is symbolic of the winds that blow among the branches of the world-tree. MOGK, *Mythologie*, P. Gr., Vol. III, p. 335, approves of this interpretation.

² DETTER, *Ark. f. nord. Filologi*, Vol. XIII, p. 205.

³ One or two examples from English may here be added: "to mount the wooden horse" = "to be hanged on the gallows;" "You'll ride on a horse that was foaled of an acorn. That is the gallows" (cf. *N. E. D.*).

On the contrary it is even possible that the name which meant "gallows" and which might seem to contain the name *Yggr*, "Odin," may be the cause for the transference of the story of Christ's crucifixion to Odin.¹ Proper names are most prolific myth-makers. The mythological dictionaries and manuals are full of references to this very common process, and it is unnecessary to cite examples. It is, of course, possible that the crucifixion story may have been transferred to Odin for some other reason. For the present, however, I prefer to leave this matter in abeyance.

In the name *Yggdrasil* there lies, as I believe, a definite answer to the question whether Norse mythology has been materially influenced by Christian conceptions and legends, and also a proof that Bugge's point of view and method are correct. It gives us some insight into the method and material of Skaldic poetry and into the cultural relations of Norway with the outside world in the Viking Age. All the sources of Norse mythology and heroic legends must be carefully studied in order that the native and foreign elements may be distinguished from each other, and in order that we may correctly understand the nature of Scandinavian culture in this period. Professor Bugge's epoch-making studies in northern mythological and heroic legends have already accomplished so much in this direction that the present contribution, if it receive the approval of scholars, will seem only a slight one. If my results be correct, then I have found the truth in this particular case only because I have long recognized the importance of Bugge's great work.²

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¹ MAGNÚSSON, *Odin's Horse*, p. 41, explains the origin of the myth of Odin's hanging as due to the "false reading" *heiter Yggdrasil* (*Vsp.* 19, 1) for *heiter Yggdrasils*. See also p. 21, footnote.

² This paper was already completed before *Indogermanische Forschungen*, Vol. XIV (1903), came to hand. This volume contains an article by KAHLE, "Altwestnordische Namenstudien," and one by NOREEN, "Suffix-Ablaut im Altnordischen," and in both articles reference is made to the declension of *drasil*, which shows an *q* in dat. sg., *drqsl*; gen. pl. and acc., *drqsla*; dat. *drqstum*. Kahle, p. 157, compares *ferill*: *forull*, *bitill*: *bitull*, *gengill*: *gongull*, but also considers it possible, with Bugge, that *q* is due to the analogy of the dat. plural. Noreen, p. 396, would set up the rule that *-il*: *-ul* is due to the analogy of the former stood in the unsynopated cases, the latter in the synopated ones. It cannot be shown even on this basis that *drasil* is a Germanic word: its declension would naturally follow the analogy of other nouns ending in *-ill*.

THE MEDIÆVAL DRAMA.

THE Greeks, from the rudest beginnings and by the aid of their incomparable instinct for form, brought to perfection a lofty type of tragedy and an original kind of comedy. The Latins, who had at least the germ of a comic drama of their own, were proud to borrow the comedy of the Greeks, although in their hands it was sadly sterile. In the stalwart days of the Roman commonwealth the drama failed to strike its roots firmly into the soil; and it seems to have had scant encouragement in the capital from either the men of culture or the coarser populace. When at last the empire solidified itself upon the ruins of the republic and the eagles of Rome were borne almost to the confines of the world, the cosmopolitan inhabitants of this immense realm were never educated to appreciate the calm pleasures of the theater. They were encouraged to prefer the fierce joy of the chariot-race, the brutal delight of the arena, and the poignant ecstasy of the gladiatorial combat. The sole vestiges of the true drama were the vulgar farces of the rustics that lingered in odd corners of Italy, and the obscene and cruel pantomimes which were devised to gratify the relish of the mob for lewdness and its liking for gore. Neither the rough comic plays of the peasants nor the abominable pantomimes of the court had any relation to literature. After the conversion of Constantine, the lustful and bloody spectacles were accursed by the church. It was to be expected that the Fathers should condemn the theater absolutely, since it was—in the sole aspect in which they had occasion to behold it—unspeakably vile.

With the triumph of Christianity theatrical performances were abolished; and it must have seemed as though the drama was destroyed forever. It is true that in some obscure nooks rural farces might linger, forgotten links in the chain that was to stretch from the Atellan fables to the late Italian comedy-of-masks. But this doubtful survival seems to have little significance; and apparently the break in the tradition of the theater was final and irreparable. Dramatic literature, which had been a

chief glory of Athens, ceased from off the earth when Constantinople supplanted Rome as the capital of civilization. For a thousand years and more the history of the drama is all darkness and vacancy; and we have not a single name recorded of any author writing plays to be performed by actors, in a theater, before an audience.

The desire for the drama, which seems to be instinctive in human nature the wide world over, from the Aleutian islanders to the Bushmen of Australia—the impulse to personate and to take pleasure in beholding a story set forth in action—this may have been dormant during the long centuries, or it may have found some means of gratifying itself unrecorded in the correspondence of the time or by the chroniclers. Acrobats there were, and wandering minstrels; and now and again we catch glimpses of singers of comic songs and of roving amusers who entertained with feats of sleight of hand or who exhibited trained animals. These performers, always popular with the public at large, were also called in upon occasion to enliven the solid feasts of the rulers. Gibbon records that at the supper table of Theodoric, in the middle of the fifth century, buffoons and pantomimists were “sometimes introduced to divert, not to offend, the company by their ridiculous wit.” And Froissart records that when he was a guest at the court of Gaston Phébus, toward the end of the fourteenth century, strolling jesters presented a little play during the repast. The entertainments described by Gibbon and by Froissart, however long the interval between them, bear an obvious likeness to our latter-day “vaudeville suppers.”

But none the less, dramatic literature, which had flourished so gloriously in Greece and which had tried to establish itself in Italy, was dead at last, and even the memory of it seems to have departed, for in so far as the works of the Attic tragedians and of the Roman comedians were known at all, they were thought of rather as poetry to be read than as plays that had been acted. The art of acting was a lost art, and the theaters themselves fell into ruin. So it was that when the prejudice against the drama wore itself out in time, and when the inherent demand for the pleasure which only the theater can give became at last insistent,

there was to be seen the spontaneous evolution of a new form, fitted specially to satisfy the needs of the people under the new circumstances. And this new drama of the Middle Ages sprang into being wholly uninfluenced by the drama of the Greeks; it was, indeed, as free a growth as the Greek drama itself had been.

In its origin again, the mediæval drama was not unlike the drama of the Greeks—in that the germ of it was religious and that it was slovenly elaborated from what was at first only an episode of public worship. The new form had its birth actually at the base of the altar and at the foot of the pulpit; and it was fostered by the Christian church, the very organization that had cursed the old form when that was decadent and corrupted. Coming into being as an illustrative incident of the service on certain special days of the ecclesiastical year, the drama grew sturdily within the walls of the church until it was strong enough to support itself; and when at last it ventured outside it remained for a long while religious in intent. The history of its development is very much the same throughout Europe; and the religious drama of England is very like that of France—from which, indeed, it is in some measure derived, just as the religious drama of Italy is like that of Spain, although neither had any appreciable influence on the other.

The reason for this uniformity is obvious enough. It was due to the double unity of the mediæval world—the unity which resulted from possession of the same religion and that which was caused by the consciousness of a former union under the rule of Rome. All the peoples of western Europe had inherited the same laws and the same traditions, because they had all been included in the Roman empire which had stretched itself from the Black Sea to the Atlantic. When at last the vigor of the Roman government was relaxed, the barbarians of the North had broken in and had passed through southern Europe into Africa and into Asia. The Franks had taken Gaul for their own, the Goths had repopulated Italy, and the Vandals had swept through Spain; and as they had then all accepted Christianity, the most distant lands had once more come under the sway of Rome.

This is why it is that we find in the Middle Ages a unity of

western and southern Europe, closer than ever before or ever since. Just before the Renaissance, the peoples of all these varied stocks, however much they might differ individually, were bound together by the common use of the Latin language and by the common dominion of the Roman law; they held the same beliefs and they yielded to the same superstitions; they revered the same ideals, they acted on the same theories, and they had very much the same habits. As yet the idea of nationality had not been born; and the solidarity of those who spoke each of the modern languages had not been suggested. Europe was a unit, because, although it was segregated with towns and even with small provinces, these had not yet been compacted into distinct nations. Towns and provinces and kingdoms were all in accord in accepting the supremacy of the pontiff of Rome and in yielding a doubtful allegiance to the head of the shadowy monarchy which was still called the Holy Roman Empire.

To declare with certainty just where it was that the new drama first gave sign of life is quite impossible; and it is equally impossible to decide whether it sprang up of its own accord in half a dozen different places, or whether the first tempting suggestion of it was carried abroad from the church of its origin for adoption in churches widely scattered. There was far more migration in the Middle Ages than is admitted by those who consider them merely as a long period of stagnation. Priests were continually passing from one city to another a thousand miles distant; and as the most of Europe was included in the Holy Roman Empire, and as it acknowledged also the sway of the Roman pope, men could remove from the east to the west and from the south to the north with no feeling that they were relinquishing their nationality, especially as they could make themselves understood everywhere in the same tongue.

Latin was the language of the church and of its liturgy; and it is out of the Latin liturgy of the Christian church that the drama of the modern European languages has been slowly developed. It is not possible to trace all the steps by which a very brief semi-dramatic adjunct of the service of certain special days of the ecclesiastical year was slowly elaborated into a more or less

complete dramatic scene, or the steps by which these several scenes were in time detached from the liturgy and combined together in a cycle which presented the chief events of the gospel-story. But it is practicable to prove that there was a steady growth, beginning with a single brief scene acted, within the church, by the priests, in Latin, and almost as part of the liturgy, and developing in the course of time into a sequence of scenes, acted by laymen, outside the church, in the vernacular, and wholly disconnected from the service.

The Christian church had so arranged its calendar that every one of the chief events in the career of Jesus was regularly commemorated in the course of the year. Its liturgy was rich in symbolism; and as the ritual was not everywhere uniform, opportunities were frequent for suggestive variations devised by devout priests who were diligently seeking the means by which they could best bring home to a very ignorant congregation the central truths of religion. In many churches, for example, the crucifix was removed from the altar on Good Friday and borne to a receptacle supposed to represent the sepulcher, whence it was taken on Easter morning to be restored solemnly to the altar in testimony of the resurrection.

The gospel-story is rarely pure narrative; as it is to be expected in the accounts of eyewitnesses, it abounds in the give-and-take of actual dialogue. And where a dramatic passage was included in the service, nothing was easier or more natural than to let the narrative be read by the officiating priest, while assigning the actual dialogue to other priests, each of whom should deliver the speeches of a single character. Thus on Easter morning in the colloquy between Peter and John, and the three Maries, when the apostles asked what had been seen at the sepulcher, each of the three Maries could answer in turn. In time this interchange of dialogue would lead to an elaboration of the action; and we have preserved a Latin manuscript in which the scene at the sepulcher was presented both in action and in dialogue. In this interpolation into the Easter service, three Maries, Peter and John, and "one in the likeness of a gardener," all impersonated by priests or choir boys, spoke the

words set down for them in the sacred text and did whatever is there recorded of them.

Although scenes of this sort seem to have been first invented to embellish the Easter services, Christmas was soon discovered to offer an equal opportunity. For example, one of the very earliest of these enlargements of the ritual showed the quest of the shepherds. Certain priests holding crooks in their hands stood in the transept, and a chorister from a gallery above announced to them the glad tidings of the birth of Christ, the Savior of men. Then, while other choristers, scattered throughout the galleries, sang "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace and good will to men," the Shepherds advanced to the choir and halted at length before a manger which had been arranged near the altar and by the side of an image of the Virgin Mary. There two other priests, personating women who had aided the Virgin-mother, asked the Shepherds what it was they were seeking, and then displayed the infant Jesus to them. The Shepherds, after adoring the newborn Babe and its Mother, departed singing, "For unto us a child is born," which is the beginning of the high mass regularly celebrated at Christmas.

More elaborate is a liturgical embellishment dealing with the Three Kings, the Three Wise Men of the East, which called for a greater variety of characters and for a more obvious effort to indicate the different localities where the several portions of the gospel-story were supposed to take place. The huge churches which had begun to spring up all over Europe in the century following the fateful year 1000 were not incumbered with pews, as our smaller modern edifices; and their free floor space would contain multitudes of spectators, even though lanes were kept open through the throng connecting the altar and the various doors. Within the chancel was the manger with an image of the Virgin-mother, and two priests stood there personating Women who had been assisting Mary. In a pulpit or in a gallery was the chorister who was to sing the message of the Angel. On a platform not far distant was a throne on which Herod sat surrounded by the members of his court; all of these characters being assumed by officials of the church. The Angel, the two

Women by the manger, and Herod and his Courtiers, were each in their several stations in the church before the play began; and they were supposed not to be able to see each other—indeed, they were supposed not even to be present until it should be the turn of each to enter into the action.

First the Shepherds came into the church by one of the doors, and passing through the ranks of the spectators they advanced toward the choir, where the Angel hailed them with the glad tidings, whereupon they went to the manger and adored the Holy Babe; and at last, after singing, they stood apart. Then through another door, on the eastern side of the church, entered the Three Kings; and when they had come to the middle of the edifice a star began to guide them to the manger—this star being a light pulled along a wire. Herod, silent on his throne all this time, had been supposed not to see the Shepherds; but the Kings he did see; and so he sent a Messenger to ask who they were. The Messenger questioned them at length and finally bore back to Herod the dread news that the King of Kings had been born and that the Three Wise Men of the East were being guided to his cradle by the star above their heads. Herod then consulted the Scribes, who proceeded to search the Scriptures and to inform him that the promised Redeemer should be born in Bethlehem. Herod raged violently at these ill-tidings and knocked the books from the hands of the Scribes; but, pacified by his son, he bade the Three Wise Men follow the star and find the newborn King, commanding them on their return to let him know where the royal infant lay. Herod and all his courtiers then became silent again, and ceased to take part in the play until they should be once more needed. The Three Kings, bearing their gifts and led by the star, advanced toward the altar and met the Shepherds, who now came into action again. The Shepherds were singing a hymn of praise, and the Three Kings asked them what they had seen. The Shepherds, after declaring that they had beheld the Holy Child lying in a manger, withdrew; and the Three Kings followed the star to the altar, where the two Women asked them who they were and what they were seeking. The Three Wise Men revealed the object of their journeying; and the Babe was

displayed to them. They adored it, and they presented their gifts of gold and frankincense and myrrh. The Angel in the pulpit or gallery above them broke in, declaring to them that the prophecies were fulfilled and bidding the Three Kings go home by another way. Thereupon the Wise Men, chanting a hymn of praise, passed through the assembled multitude and left the church by another door. Herod was supposed not to see them take their leave, but just as soon as they were gone, the Messenger informed the monarch that they had departed in disobedience; thereupon Herod drew his sword and gave it to a Soldier, bidding him go forth and slay all the children.

Here the play seems to end, although as we have also the MS of a representation of the Flight into Egypt and of the Slaughter of the Innocents, it is probable that in some churches on some occasions all the various incidents connected with the Nativity were set forth in action one after the other. What is most important for us to seize and to fix in our memories is that these episodes of the gospel-story—the Scene of the Shepherds, the Adoration of the Wise Men, the Wrath of Herod, the Slaughter of the Innocents—came into existence each by itself, having been put into dramatic form as a more vivid and impressive illustration of the liturgy; and that probably a long while elapsed before anyone thought to combine these scattered scenes into a sequence. But after the cycle of the Nativity had knit together, following or preceding a similar cycle of the separate scenes of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, it would probably not be very long before an attempt was made to link the two cycles together, filling out the gaps by dramatizing the more salient of the intervening episodes of the gospel-story—the Raising of Lazarus, for instance, and the Driving of the Money-Changers from the Temple. Thus the whole story of the life and death and resurrection of Christ could be presented in dialogue in the church by the priests themselves, in Latin, and as part of the service, for the enlightenment of the ignorant population in those dark ages.

Although the priests who put it together had not given a thought to this aspect of it, the story of Christ is truly dramatic,

not only in its humanity, in its color, in its variety, in its infinite pathos, but also and chiefly in its full possession of the prime essential of a true drama—in its having at the heart of it a struggle, an exhibition of determination, a clash of contending desires. Indeed, it is the most dramatic of all struggles, for it is the perpetual conflict of good and evil. To us moderns the issue is sharply joined; but in the mediæval church it was even more obvious, since in the Middle Ages no one ever doubted that a personal devil was forever striving to thwart the will of a personal God. In the mystery, which showed in action all the leading events of the life of Christ, both of the contestants were set boldly before the spectators—God himself high in heaven and the devil escaping from hell-mouth to work his evil will among mankind.

When all these little scenes, each of them devised originally for the special day of the church calendar when the event was commemorated, had been combined into a New Testament cycle, and when there were prefixed to it certain episodes dramatized from the Old Testament also, and selected because they seemed to prefigure the gospel-story—when the mystery was thus grown to its full length and swollen huge, it was found to be too unwieldy for presentation in the church itself and too burdensome for the clergy to perform. Thrust out of the church, it may have lingered for a while in the church-yard or in the cloisters or in the great square before the sacred edifice. As the successive episodes of the gospel-story had ceased from their intimate connection with the actual liturgy, the tendency was increased to substitute for the Latin of the priests the language of the people; and this pressure became irresistible when the ecclesiastics gave up to laymen the acting of the parts. The performance of a mystery with due regard to the dignity of the theme was an undertaking of not a little magnitude, requiring both capital and executive ability. The preparation of the text, the adjusting of the music, the making ready of the costumes, the training of the actors—these things were possible only to an organization of a certain stability; and at first the church was the only body having at once the desire and the resources to execute so onerous a task.

But when the guilds arose in time, and when burghers banded together and craftsmen combined, it became possible for the church to relinquish the control of the mysteries to lay organizations. And thus it was that the passion-play, originally acted by priests, within the church, in Latin, and as part of the liturgy, came to be performed by laymen, outside of the church, in the vernacular, and without any connection with the service.

But although the evolution of the mystery from the liturgy is obvious, we find in the passion-play, when it was presented in the language of the people by the craftsmen and the burghers, one element which is not of ecclesiastical origin—we find the element of humor, of joyous gaiety, of vivacious realism, and, indeed, often of reckless vulgarity. Even before it was wholly independent of the church, the new drama had felt the influence of popular taste, and it had taken over more than one of the accepted devices of the primitive comic plays, such as the strolling buffoons were wont to perform. The crude farces of these wandering minstrels may have been mere dramatized anecdotes, practical jokes in dialogue, pantomimic horse-play of an elementary type; they were wholly unliterary, and, being often even unwritten, they have rarely been preserved. Yet it is perfectly possible that this mediæval farce, with its robust fun and its frankness of speech, is the direct descendant of the rude humor of the Latin rustics, serving unobserved and neglected through all the centuries of the Dark Ages and serving humbly to satisfy in some measure the perpetual human desire for a story told in action. When at last the serious play had been developed out of the services of the church, this folk-drama was ready to supply the comic element without which any representation of life must needs be one-sided.

Fortunately chance has saved for our enlightenment not a few of the later specimens of this folk-play; and we can see that it was generally as unliterary and as inartistic as one might expect, and that it assumed a great variety of forms. It might be merely a burlesque sermon satirizing the clergy or the civil authorities; it might be a monologue in which, for example, a boastful character unwillingly admitted his own unworthiness; it

might be little more than a comic song with a telling refrain and with illustrative gestures; it might be a dialogue of cut-and-thrust repartee not unlike the pungent talk interchanged by the ringmaster and the clown in the modern circus; it might even be a lively little play with a simple ingenuity of situation, presenting a scene of everyday life with an abundance of pertinent details.

Such, for example, is the French farce of the *Tub*, with its three characters of the Husband, the Wife, and the Mother-in-Law. The Husband is henpecked; and the Wife, aided by the Mother-in-Law, has even gone so far as to draw up an agreement for the Husband to sign in which he has bound himself to do all the work of the household, and in which his several duties are specified, item by item. Then, as it happens, the Wife falls into the tub in which they have been washing the clothes, and she cries to the Husband to help her out. He consults the agreement, and then refuses to assist her, as that is not set down in the writing. The Wife insists; and the Husband protests that he is willing to do all that he has agreed to do—but nothing more. The Mother-in-Law intervenes, but she cannot extricate the Wife without the Husband's help; and he refers her to the document. He is ready to bake and to boil and to get up early to make the fire, as he had promised to do, but as for pulling the Wife out of the tub, that is not his duty, since it is not down in the bond. The Wife and the Mother-in-Law scold and threaten at first, but at last they appeal. The Husband suggests that if he is to do more than he has bound himself to do in writing, then the agreement is really useless; and he proposes that it shall be torn up before he rescues the Wife. As her danger is now pressing, the two women agree to this, the bond is rent in twain, the Husband extricates the Wife from the tub; and the household is once more upon a peace footing. Yet the Husband, warned by experience, remarks to the spectators that he wonders how long it will last.

This little farce of the *Tub* is French, but it has its analogues in the other modern languages. It is not unlike an equally elementary presentation of domestic altercation in Spanish, the *Olive Tree* of Lope de Rueda. And it has even a certain likeness to

the dispute between Noah and his Wife in an English mystery—a very amusing scene, indeed, in which the spouse of the patriarch refuses to enter the ark unless she can bring her friends with her, and in which, when she is taken on board by force, she gives her venerable husband a sound box on the ear.

French also is the farce of *Master Peter Patelin*, by far the most artistic of all the mediæval comic plays. Patelin is a swindling lawyer who is in the depths of poverty. He goes to a Draper and wheedles him out of six yards of woollen cloth; and when the Draper comes to him for payment, Patelin is in bed, and his Wife protests that he has not been out of the house for weeks. The Draper is almost persuaded that he is the victim of hallucination, and he returns to his shop to see if he has truly lost the cloth. Finding that it is really gone, he rushes again to Patelin's lodging, whereupon the Lawyer pretends to be mad, and overwhelms the unfortunate tradesman with a flood of words, first in one of the French dialects, and then in those of another, until at last the Draper withdraws, half-believing that it is the devil who has played a trick on him. Then there comes to Patelin the Shepherd of the Draper, whom his master is suing for having stolen some sheep; and the Shepherd engages the lawyer to defend him. Patelin bids the Shepherd to pretend to be foolish and, no matter what question the Judge may put to him, to answer only with the bleat of a lamb, "Baa-a." When the trial comes up before the Judge, Patelin hides himself behind the Shepherd so that the Draper shall not see him. But when the shopkeeper does catch sight of the lawyer, he instantly demands payment for his cloth, to the complete astonishment of the Judge who had supposed that he was trying the Shepherd for sheep-stealing. The Draper gets confused also and accuses the Shepherd of stealing the cloth and the lawyer of taking the sheep. The puzzled Judge questions the Shepherd who answers no word but "Baa-a;" and Patelin adroitly pleads that the poor fellow is plainly an idiot. The Draper continues to insist on payment for his cloth, although the Judge in vain begs him to come back to his sheep. In the end the magistrate has to acquit the Shepherd for lack of evidence against him. Then the wretched

Draper asks Patelin if he is not the lawyer the shopkeeper saw in bed only a few minutes before; and Patelin daringly bids him go to the house and see for himself. When the tortured tradesman has departed, Patelin turns to the Shepherd and demands his fee for getting the man off from the charge against him. And now are the tables turned; the biter is bit, and the swindler is swindled; for the Shepherd simply answers "Baa-a!" The play comes to an end swiftly with the discomfited Patelin trying vainly to catch his deceitful client.

Master Peter Patelin is a French farce, to be acted by itself whenever a company of strollers happened to have five performers; but it is curiously like one of the Nativity scenes in an English mystery. When the Shepherds are watching their flocks by night, a neighbor joins them, one Mak, a man of evil repute. To keep him under guard the Shepherds make Mak lie down between them, when they go to sleep. But the precaution is unavailing, as Mak gets up and steals a lamb and takes it to his Wife, and then returns to his place. When the Shepherds wake, there is Mak between them, but a lamb is missing. Mak is suspected at once, and the Shepherds go to his house to seek it, where Mak's Wife has the lamb swaddled in a cradle like a babe. The Shepherds search everywhere and find nothing, until one of them goes to the cradle and remarks that the babe has a long snout. When the lamb is discovered, Mak's Wife promptly pretends that it is a changeling just left by an elf. The Shepherds, after punishing Mak by tossing him in a blanket, return to their flock; and almost immediately the Angel above sings to them the glad tidings of Christmas morn. Here is a comic action, complete in itself and quite detachable from the mystery, with which indeed it has no necessary connection. Perhaps it is even older than the mystery, and was inserted into the text of that to supply what is known nowadays as "comic relief"—just as the farce of the *Tub* might have been incorporated into a passion-play without any protest from the public.

Both in French and in English the comic scenes of the mysteries were often wholly irrelevant in theme and absolutely incongruous in treatment. No reverence for the sacred subject prevented the

mediæval audience from enjoying a joke or made it very particular as to the quality of the fun it laughed at. Just as we moderns are surprised by the grinning gargoyles and by the satiric carvings of the mighty cathedrals, so in the mediæval drama we are often taken aback by the bold vulgarity of the comic scenes. Although the mediæval writers had not found out that brevity is the soul of wit, they often acted on the belief that breadth is the body of humor. The authors were plain of speech, and the audiences were never squeamish; and as we study what was to be seen on the stage, then we are reminded of Taine's remark that in the Middle Ages man lived on a dunghill. It must be noted that the farces are more reprehensible than the comic scenes of the mysteries; and yet the grossest of farces might be performed sometimes as the prelude to a miracle-play—as the *Miller* preceded a very devout dramatization of the legends of St. Martin. This low humor is indecorous rather than demoralizing; it shocks our sense of propriety sometimes; but it is never insidious or seductive. It was intended for the entertainment of the populace, which may be vulgar at times, but which is very rarely vicious.

The change from the Latin language to the speech of the people, the transfer of the control from the clergy to the laity, the removal from the inside of the church to the outside, were all made gradually and tentatively and with no intent to bring about any radical transformation. When the laymen took charge, they desired to do just what the priests had done, no more and no less; and if we seek to understand the circumstances of the performance outside of the church, we must recall what were the conditions originally inside the sacred edifice. In the cycle of the Nativity we saw that the manger was set up near the altar, and that not far distant there was erected a throne for Herod. Each of these places was known as a "station;" and the action of the play went on not only at the one or the other of the stations, but also in other parts of the church, extending now and again even to the doors. The Easter cycle would also require several stations, at least three—one with a throne for Pilate, another with the cross, a third with the open grave. The acting of the play was carried on chiefly in the open space between the several

stations and in front, the character belonging to each of these remaining there, silent and motionless, until the time came for them to enter with the story. Then they might leave the station for a while, and go out into the open space, only to return to their own places as soon as the progress of the plot called for the characters of some other station.

When the Christmas cycle and the Easter cycle were combined together, and when the few intermediate scenes were also cast into dialogue, so that the whole of Christ's earthly life might be shown, from his birth to his resurrection, then the nave of the church would be inconveniently crowded with the stations requisite for the whole gospel-story, and there would be left between them and in front an inadequate area for what might be termed the neutral ground, the open space for the acting of the many scenes which did not call for a special station—such, for instance, as the Entry into Jerusalem or the Betrayal at Gethsemane. Those who began to act out the sacred story in the church had no thought of scenery—which, indeed, was a thing to them not only unknown, but wholly inconceivable. They were seeking to show what had happened on the very day they were commemorating. Even when the incidents had cohered into a sequence, it was the action itself that was all-important; and the place where it came to pass was without significance except when it needed to be specified. So the most of the acting was ever in the more open space in the center, and stations were utilized only when they were really necessary. Probably, as the mysteries increased in length, the number of necessary stations became cumbersome; and only in the larger cathedrals would it be possible to avoid an awkward cluttering within the chancel. Quite possibly this multiplication of the stations was an added reason for removing the performance of the mysteries outside the church.

When this removal did take place and the mysteries were presented in the open air, what the laymen who took charge of them would undoubtedly seek to do would be to preserve religiously such traditions as had been established in the course of the performances given by the clergy. These laymen would therefore avail themselves of the device of the stations, modifying

these as might be required by the new conditions of the performance. In England this modification came in time to be somewhat different from that obtaining in France; but as the English mystery, like the architecture of the English churches, is derived directly from French models, the French form demands attention first, the more so as elsewhere on the continent there is a closer resemblance to French usage than to English.

In France, then, a mystery would be acted upon a platform put up in some public place, often in the open square in front of the cathedral. To provide reserved seats for the dignitaries of the church, the officials of the city, and the distinguished strangers invited to attend, grand-stands would be erected along the side and at the back, the central area being left free for the populace who were always eager to crowd in, while the gaily draped windows of the surrounding houses would be available as private boxes. The platform which was to serve as a stage was perhaps a hundred and fifty feet long and some fifty or sixty feet deep. The front part was generally free and clear so that the actors could move to and fro, while at the back were ranged the stations — which in France came soon to be known as “mansions.” At the extreme left of the spectators, and raised high on pillars, was heaven, wherein God sat, often with a gilded face, the better to suggest the shining glory of his countenance. At the extreme right of the spectators was hell-mouth, the fiery cavern where the devil and all his imps had their abode. Then stretching from heaven to hell-mouth was the line of mansions, those earliest in use being on the left. A wall, pierced by a door, might indicate Nazareth; then an altar covered by a canopy and protected by a balustrade would suggest the temple, while a second wall with its gate could serve to call up the idea of Jerusalem itself. In the center there might be a more elaborate construction with columns and a throne, intended for the palace of Pontius Pilate. A third wall with two doors might be made to serve as the house of the high-priest and as the Golden Gate; while in front of this and not far from hell-mouth there might be a tank of real water, with a little boat floating on it, so as to simulate the Lake of Tiberias.

These are the mansions that are depicted in a miniature on the manuscript of a mystery acted in Valenciennes in the middle of the sixteenth century. In other places and at other times there might be more or there might be less, for there was never any uniformity of custom; and even here we see that many of the most important episodes of the gospel narrative must have been performed on the front of the platform and wholly unrelated to any of the mansions ranged at the back. The mansions were employed only when certain portions of the sacred story could be made clearer by their use or more striking; and even when they were set up, however elaborate their decoration, it was never in any way deceptive. The mansions were not intended actually to represent the special place; the most they were expected to do was to suggest it, so that a few columns would indicate a palace or a temple, and so that a wall and a door sufficed to evoke the idea of a city. The most of the acting was always in the neutral ground nearest the spectators.

Thus we see that in France the stations used inside the church were set up side by side on the open-air stage outside of the church, where they were known as mansions. In England the stations were separated and each was shown by itself, being called a "pageant." Sometimes these were stationary, and sometimes they were ambulatory; and in the latter case, which seems to have been the more frequent, the pageant was apparently not unlike the elaborately decorated floats, familiar in modern parades such as that of Mardi Gras in New Orleans. In Great Britain, Corpus Christi day was early chosen as the festival most fit for the performances of the mysteries; and the pageants followed in the wake of the Corpus Christi procession through the town. The first pageant with its suggestion of scenery and its own group of performers would draw up before the church door, as the end of the procession emerged therefrom; and the first episode of the play would then be represented there, sometimes on the broad platform of the wagon, but often in the street itself—just as the most of the acting in the French mysteries took place less in the mansions themselves than in the neutral ground on the front of the stage. One stage direction in an English manuscript

is curiously significant: "Here Herod shall rage on the pageant and in the street."

When the first episode had been played out, the second pageant appeared, and the first pageant was dragged away along the line of march of the Corpus Christi procession to another appointed spot, where the first episode was acted again, while the performers attached to the second pageant were presenting the second episode before the doors of the church. Then a third pageant would take the place of the second, and its actors would there represent the third episode; while the second pageant substituted itself for the first and again performed the second episode before the second group of spectators—the first pageant having advanced to a third selected site to perform for the third time the first episode of the sacred story. And so in the course of the long summer day the spectator, no matter at which of the chosen spots he might chance to stand, saw all the successive incidents of the mystery represented before him, partly on the floats with their elementary attempts to suggest the actual scenery of the place where the action was supposed to be passing, and partly in the open street in the space that was kept clear for the actors. For certain of the episodes, such as the Trial of Christ, for example, two floats were required, and the performers passed from one to the other as the incidents of the narrative might require. Of course, the spectator who was standing in front of the church door saw the end of the play long before his brother, who had taken up his position near one of the remoter spots at which the pageants were to halt. It might even be possible for a man to see a second time an episode which had taken his fancy.

This use of ambulatory pageants seems to have obtained chiefly in the English towns, while in the rural districts the pageants were not decorated wagons, but platforms set up along the route of the Corpus Christi procession. There was a stage for each of the important episodes of the play—thus recalling the original stations devised for the performance when it took place inside of the church. The spectators following the procession would halt in front of the first platform and witness the acting of the first episode; and when that was concluded they

would pass along to the second platform to behold the second episode; and so on until they had seen the entire mystery. The English were thus setting up separately the stations, which the French had preferred to put side by side upon one very long platform. But these variations of custom between the French and the English are external only, and of no immediate importance — although they account in part for the greater divergence to be observed in the development of the later dramatic literatures of the two languages.

Essentially the mystery is the same, wherever it is acted and in whatever language, French or English, German or Italian. It is the same in its long-windedness and in its loose-jointedness, in its homely directness of speech alternating with turgid bombast, in its occasional touches of genuine feeling and of unrestrained pathos, in the introduction of humorous scenes, in the frank realism of the dialogue, in the simple faith of those who wrote it, of those who acted it, and of those who beheld its performance. A play is ever conditioned by the circumstances of its creation, by the theater in which it is to be presented, by the actors who are to perform it, and by the audience for whom it is intended. Of these three conditions the influence of the audience is always the most potent; and the mediæval spectators for whose edification the mystery was devised were unlearned and without culture; they were ignorant and even gross; they had no tincture of letters; they were credulous and superstitious and wonder-loving; they were at once devout and irreverent — or so they seem to us; they had a liking for broad fun and for a robust realism of treatment; they were shocked by no vulgarity and they resented no incongruity, for they were wholly devoid of the historic sense (as we moderns call it).

Although the English mysteries were of Anglo-Norman origin and follow the French tradition in the main, yet the bond of unity was broken when Latin was abandoned for the vernacular; and there are other differences between the performances in French and those in English besides the modification of the station into the mansion in the one country and into the pageant in the other. In England, the entire mystery — shortened now and again by

the occasional omission of one episode or another — seems to have been presented in a single day, the performance beginning as early as four in the morning. In France the performance was more likely to continue over several successive days, very much as the Wagnerian cycle is now given in Bayreuth — although it may be doubted whether any modern audience would have the patience of the mediæval spectators of Bourges who in the middle of the sixteenth century were entertained by a mystery of the Acts of the Apostles, the performance of which took forty days.

In England, as we have seen, the pageants followed the religious procession, whereas in France, where the mansions were immovable on a single platform, it was not unusual for the whole troop of performers to make a street parade before the acting began, quite in the manner of the modern circus. In France again, when the church gave up the control of the mysteries, they were turned over to lay organizations of burghers, founded especially to perform the sacred plays, whereas in England this task was assumed by the guilds, each of which undertook the episode which its craftsmanship best fitted it to carry out, the Carpenters, for instance, being responsible for Noah's Ark, and the Goldsmiths being held liable for the Three Kings, because they could best provide the royal diadems.

Further differences there are also between the mysteries as performed in France or in England and the "sacred representations" of the Italians; and again between the dramatizations of the Scriptures as acted in Germany and those to be seen in Spain. But these differences are matters of detail merely; and the line of development was everywhere the same throughout those parts of Europe that had been ruled by Rome. Everywhere also was the performance of a mystery considered as a good deed, as an act pleasing to heaven and certain to win favor from the Deity and from the saints. And therefore such performances were often given in a season of pestilence to placate the wrath of God or to deserve the protection of some particular Saint. Such a performance took place in Constantinople, within St. Sophia itself, just before the capture of the capital of the Western Empire by the Turks. And mysteries were also performed in certain towns

after an escape from impending danger and as a testimony of gratitude to heaven for its intervention; and it is to this sentiment that we owe the passion-play which is still to be seen every tenth summer at Ober-Ammergau.

The majority of the mysteries preserved to us in manuscript are anonymous, and we do not know who wrote them, or even the exact date when they were written. Most of the authors are to be considered rather as compilers, lacking individuality; they were satisfied to accept the play as they found it, modifying the framework very little after it had once been constructed and satisfying themselves with adding or subtracting episodes at will. Each of them freely availed himself of the labors of his predecessors with which he chanced to be familiar. Sometimes he rewrote what he borrowed and sometimes he copied it slavishly, careless of any diversity of diction. So there is not often harmony of style in any single mystery; and there is an immense monotony when a number of them are compared together.

Very closely allied to the mystery was the miracle-play, which may have come into being even before the Easter cycle had elaborated itself into a passion-play. A sequence of episodes taken from Holy Writ we now call a mystery; and what we now call a miracle-play is a sequence of episodes taken from the life of some wonder-working saint. In England the mystery was much the more frequent; but in France the miracle-play was perhaps the more popular, as it was probably almost as ancient. Indeed, in the Middle Ages no one seems ever to have made any distinction between the two kinds of play; as the mediæval mind was not trained to discriminate between the canonical books and the apocrypha, or even between the Scriptures and the legends of the saints. In miracle-play as in mystery, we find the same naïve treatment of life, the same straggling construction of the story, the same admixture of comic incidents, and the same apparent irreverence; and the circumstances of the performance would be the same also.

The Middle Ages had an appetite for allegory quite as vigorous as the liking for legend; and after the saintly legends had been set on the stage as miracle-plays, allegory was also cast into

dialogue, and we have the moral-plays. The "morality" was a mediæval forerunner of our modern novel-with-a-purpose, as unconvincingly didactic as it is inevitably dull. The morality may even be defined as an attempt to dramatize a sermon, whereas the mystery is simply a dramatization of the text. Written to be presented before an audience used to the primitive methods of the passion-play, the authors make free use of the device of the stations, for instance. In one morality, the *Castle of Perseverance*, there were six stations; one was a castellated structure open below to reveal a bed for the chief character, who personified the Human Race; and the other five stations were disposed around this loftier stage, one in the east for God, one in the northeast for Greed, one in the west for the World, one in the south for the Flesh, and one in the north for the Devil. The hero of this string of argumentative conversations, Human Race, appears at first as a child, and the Angels of Good and of Evil come to him. The Evil Angel tempts him off to the World; and later as a young man he is introduced to the Seven Deadly Sins. In time Repentance leads him to confession; and as a man of forty we see him in the Castle of Perseverance surrounded by the Seven Most Excellent Virtues. Thereupon the Castle itself is besieged by the three evil powers and the Seven Deadly Sins and their allies. Then at last as an old man Human Race backslides again and the Evil Angel is bearing him away, when a formal trial takes place before God, Justice and Truth accusing him, while he is defended by Mercy and Peace.

The morality was an attempt to depict character, but with the aid of the primary colors only, and with an easy juxtaposition of light and darkness. Yet it helped along the development of the drama, in that it permitted a freer handling of the action, since the writer of moralities had always to invent his plots, whereas the maker of mysteries had his stories ready-made to his hand: the morality was frankly fiction, while the miracle-play gave itself out for fact. Then also the tendency seems irresistible, for any author who has an appreciation of human nature, to go speedily from the abstract to the concrete, and to substitute for the cold figure of Pride itself the fiery portrait of an actual man who is

proud. Mere allegory, barren and chill, is swiftly warmed into social satire, tingling with individuality; and so we have here before us the germ out of which a living comedy was to be evolved. It is to be noted that when the morality had achieved a certain freedom for itself in plot and in character, it exerted a healthy influence upon the contemporary mystery and miracle play.

Indeed, the mediæval mind did not distinguish the three kinds of drama sharply, and we find them commingled in more than one example—notably in the English *Mary Magdalene*. We discover the same confusion of species in all uncritical periods, when production is spontaneous and unconscious. In method the mystery and the miracle-play are alike; and by what certain mark can we set off the morality from the interlude in English or the monologue from the burlesque-sermon in French? The more elevated the effort, the more likely was an admixture of the grotesque. Immediately before or after the loftiest moments of a tragic theme, the nimble devils would come capering forth to make the spectator shriek with laughter at their buffoonery as they bore away some evil-doer to be cast into hell-mouth. Popular as these plays were, it is only in a chance episode that any one of them really rises to the level of literature. The drama is perhaps the most democratic of all the arts, since its very existence depends on the multitude; and it is therefore likely always to represent the average intelligence of any era. The long period known as the Middle Ages, whatever its literary unattractiveness, brought about a new birth of the acted drama. It aroused in the people the desire for the pleasure which only the theater can give; and it began to train actors against the time when acting should again become a profession.

In considering the deficiencies of the mediæval drama it must never be forgotten that the actors were all amateurs—priests at first, and then burghers, craftsmen, students, clerks. They might be paid for their services, or they might choose to perform as a labor of love; but acting was not their calling, and their opportunities for improving themselves in the art were infrequent. The accomplished actor stimulates the dramatist; and the playwright is ever developing the performer; each is necessary to the

other; and in the Middle Ages we find neither. And yet slowly the traditions of the theater were getting themselves established; there was acting, such as it was; there were plays, such as they were, straggling in structure, not so much dramas as mere panoramas of successive episodes; there were audiences, rude and gross no doubt, but composed of human beings, after all, and therefore ever ready to be entranced and thrilled by the art of the master-craftsman. But in the mediæval drama we seek in vain for a master-craftsman; he is not to be found in France or in England, in Spain, in Italy, or in Germany. The elements of a vital drama were all there, ready to the hand of a true dramatist who would know how to make use of them; they were awaiting the grasp of a poet-playwright who should be able to present, with technical skill and with imaginative insight, the perpetual struggle of good and evil, of God and the devil.

But in all mediæval literature there is no born playwright, and there is no born poet who wrought in dialogue and action. The one indestructible work of art which gives utterance to the intentions of the Middle Ages, to the ideals of that dark time, and to its aspirations, was not made to be represented within the church or out of it, either by priests or by laymen, even though it bore the name of the *Divine Comedy*.

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BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTE.—Whatever novelty there may seem to be in any of the opinions set forth above must be ascribed, not to the discovery of new material, but to the writer's effort to interpret facts, already familiar, in closer accord with the essential principles of the art of the theater. French historians of mediæval literature have been more careful than those of other nationalities to bear in mind always that the mysteries and the miracle-plays were intended for performance then rather than for perusal now. Especially to be commended are the monumental labors of the late PETIT DE JULLEVILLE—his *Histoire du théâtre en France: les mystères*, 2 vols. (1880), his *Répertoire du théâtre comique en France au moyen âge* (1886), his *La comédie et les mœurs en France au moyen âge* (1886), and his book on *Les comédiens en France au moyen âge* (1889). To be noted also are three other books in the French language: MARIUS SEPET, *Le drame chrétien au moyen âge* (1878); EMILE ROY, *Études sur le théâtre français au XIV^{me} et au XV^{me} siècle* (1902); and the "Études sur le théâtre comique français du moyen âge," which was printed in the *Studj di Filologia Romanza*, fasc. 25 (1902). Among the English essays must be mentioned the introductions to MISS L. TOULMIN SMITH's *York Mystery Plays* (1885) and to A. W. POLLARD's *English Miracle Plays* (1890). But more suggestive than either of these British works is an American dissertation: CHARLES DAVIDSON's *Studies in the English Miracle Plays* (1892).

WELSH TRADITIONS IN LAYAMON'S "BRUT."

MOST careful students of the metrical chronicle written by the English priest Layamon, son of Leovenath, agree that it embodies here and there bits of Welsh tradition which its author, who dwelt near the border of Wales, either heard directly from his Welsh-speaking neighbors or got at second-hand from his English parishioners, among whom legends of Welsh origin were doubtless popular. Sir Frederic Madden, the learned editor of Layamon's *Brut*, says:¹ "That Layamon was indebted to Welsh traditions, not recorded in Geoffrey of Monmouth, or in Wace, is scarcely to be questioned." Ten Brink, in his *History of English Literature*,² remarks: "Some of Layamon's interpolations can have been derived from traditions clinging to places not far distant from the poet's home," and Wülker, in another *History of English Literature*, declares:³ "[Layamon] wohnte dicht an der Grenze von Wales und scheint von dort manche Sage gehört zu haben, die er in seiner Dichtung verwertete."

Though professed students of Layamon have agreed that the additions he has made to his French original sometimes contain Welsh traditions, advocates of the theory that the legends of Arthur were developed in Brittany have neglected the English chronicle and have failed to observe its important bearing on the question in dispute. To call attention to the neglected importance of Layamon for the vexed question of the development of the Arthurian legend is the object of the following pages.

Layamon, writing about the year 1205, in the main translated the Norman-French chronicle of Wace, which was written in 1155,⁴ but he expanded its 15,300 lines to 32,250. Part of this great expansion is due to Layamon's love for detailed description

¹ *Layamon's Brut*, London, 1847, Vol. I, p. xvi. MADDEN's text is used throughout this article.

² KENNEDY's translation (1889), Vol. I, p. 190.

³ *Gesch. der englischen Litt.*, Leipzig, 1896, p. 81.

⁴ So MADDEN, *Brut*, Vol. I, pp. xix and xiii.

and comes from his own fancy. I quote, for example, Merlin's splendid prophecy of Arthur's greatness:¹

So long as is eternity he shall never die; while the world standeth his glory shall last; all shall bow to him that dwell in Britain; of him shall gleemen sing; of his breast noble poets shall eat; of his blood shall warriors be drunk; from his eyes shall fly fiery embers; each finger of his hand shall be a sharp steel brand; stone walls shall before him tumble; barons give way and their standards fall;

the account of how the youthful Arthur received the news of his succession to the kingship:²

He sat very still; for a while he was wan and exceeding pale of hue; for a while he was red and was moved at heart;

the ghastly details of the slaughter made by Childric:³

All the good wives they sticked with knives; all the maidens they killed with murder; and all the learned men they laid on burning coals; all the domestics they killed with clubs. They felled the castles; the land they ravaged; the churches they burned down; grief was among the folk; the sucking infants they drowned in the water;

the fantastic description of Loch Lomond:⁴

Nikers dwell there; there is a play of elves in the hideous pool.

Especially noteworthy are Layamon's accounts of hunting and of the sea. His description of a fox hunt⁵ is too long to quote, but observe three splendid lines about the voyage of Cadwalon:⁶

Both were calm; the sea and the sun;
The wind and the wide ocean; both together.
The flood bare the ships; minstrels there sang.

All this is developed from the bald statement in Wace that Cadwalon put his ships to sea.

So clever is Layamon in transforming a brief hint, dropped by Wace, into a vivid picture, that a feeling might arise in one's mind that perhaps Layamon invented *all* his additions to Wace, the more important as well as the mere expansions of his original. To dispel this doubt, one has but to see how closely most of the noteworthy additions made by Layamon are connected with Wales and with Welsh tradition.

¹ Vss. 18848-69.

³ Vss. 20861-74.

⁵ Vss. 20840-70.

² Vss. 19887-91.

⁴ Vss. 21746-8.

⁶ Vss. 30610-15.

Layamon adds to Wace's account of Queen Judon the remark that she was put to death by drowning. Madden has pointed out that this is in agreement with Welsh tradition.¹ Welsh legend has it that Queen Judon was sewed up in a sack and drowned in the Thames. Layamon puts into the mouth of Merlin the explicit prophecy, "Arthur shall come again to the help of the Britons." This is not in Wace, but as Madden has again noted,² is in accord with Welsh tradition. The case is similar with Layamon's change of the name of Arthur's last battlefield from Camblan to Camel-ford.³ Layamon's circumstantial account of the arms and dress of Irish warriors, Madden has shown,⁴ agrees exactly with descriptions given by Giraldus Cambrensis and by Froissart. Evidently Layamon's statements regarding Celtic matters are not spun out of his own fancy.

In an article entitled, "The Round Table before Wace,"⁵ I have called attention to the way in which Layamon sometimes changes Wace's proper names to make them accord with Welsh forms: *Genievre* becomes *Wenhauer* (Welsh *Gwenhwyfar*); *Hoel* becomes *Howel* (Welsh *Howel*); *Holdin* becomes *Howeldin*, as if Layamon were attempting a Welsh etymology for it; *Guenelande* in the "Round Table" passage⁶ becomes *Winet-londe*, showing apparently that Layamon understood it as the name of *Gwynedd* or North Wales; *Hiresgas*, Layamon changes to the sufficiently Celtic looking *Riwadŵlan*. Wace's *Cadval*, Layamon changes to *Cadwadlan*. To this list let me add two names, *Gille Callæt*, a Pict,⁷ and *Gille Cuor*, a king in Ireland,⁸ which are new in Layamon. They mean respectively "prudent gillie" and "mighty gillie," and seem to have come straight out of Celtic folk-tales.⁹

Layamon always presents the Welsh in a favorable light. A good example occurs at the end of his history. Wace's statement that the Welsh are all changed and degenerated from the

¹ Vs. 4033, and the note, Vol. III, p. 321.

² Vss. 28650, 28651, and the note, Vol. III, p. 412.

³ Vol. III, p. 406.

⁴ Vol. III, p. 366.

⁵ *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, Vol. VII (1900), p. 189.

⁶ Vs. 22788.

⁷ Vs. 13564.

⁸ Vs. 10061.

⁹ Cf. *Gilla Decair* (slothful gillie), O'GRADY, *Silva Gadetica*, Vol. I, pp. 257 ff.; *Gille Glas* (gray gillie), CAMPBELL, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, Vol. I, pp. 102 ff., etc.

nobility, the honor, and the manners of their ancestors, he alters to: "The Britons moved to Welshland, and lived in their laws and their popular manners, and yet they dwell there as they shall do evermore."¹

With a presumption of Welsh influence on Layamon established by this mass of cumulative evidence I go on to several new points which, if they can be maintained, make very definite the connection between Layamon and Welsh tradition.

Layamon tells us that Carric, the last Welsh king to rule over any considerable part of what is now England, was derisively called by his Anglo-Saxon enemies *Kinric*. The passages in question are as follows:

Carric took this kingdom and with sorrow dwelt therein; a strong knight was Carric, but he was not prosperous because foreigners destroyed all his nation. This king was a noble British man; derision and contempt men threw on him; they renounced the name of Carric and called him Kinric, and yet in many books, men so write his name. People began to abase him, people hated him, and sang contemptuous songs of the odious king. Then began war over all this country; and Saxon men sailed to this land and took their station beyond the Humber and the king began to live in exile wide over this nation; hateful he was to all folk that looked on him.² . . . The Saxon men sent messengers to Carric the king and said that they would make peace with him; they would prefer to obey Carric rather than another.³ . . . And Carric believed all their falsehood and granted them peace. Then was Carric betrayed by their craft. Carric has ever since been called Kinric. All with contemptuous words the king they derided. Carric believed the Saxon men's words.⁴ . . . The Saxon men assembled forces innumerable in the land, and marched toward Carric the king of this kingdom; and ever they sang with contempt of Kinric the king. Carric gathered his Britons⁵ . . . [he was defeated]. . . . As many of his wretched folk as could fled out of the country. Some went to Wales, some to Cornwall, some to Neustrie that now is called Normandy; some fled beyond sea to Brittany and dwelt afterwards in the land called Armorica.⁶

No one has hitherto commented on this incident, or attempted to explain what derisive force there is in the name *Kinric*. Carric, which in Welsh means a rock, is a sufficiently dignified name. I venture to suppose that *Kinric* is an English tran-

¹ Vss. 32226 ff.

² Vss. 28992-7.

³ Vss. 29061-8.

² Vss. 28858-83.

⁴ Vss. 29012-23.

⁶ Vss. 29143-52.

scription¹ of *Cymraeg*, and is the name that the Anglo-Saxons applied to Carric when they refused to have him any longer for king over them. He is *Cymraeg*, they said, "a Welshman," and they called him "Welsh" in derision.²

Layamon has added to Wace's mention of Arthur's coat-of-mail the information that it was made "by an elvish smith who was named *Wygar*, the witty wright."³ Madden thought that this name *Wygar* was a corrupted form for *Weland*, the well known Germanic smith-god.⁴ It is likely that *Weland* has in this passage been substituted for *Gofan* (Irish *Gobban*),⁵ the Celtic smith-god who corresponds roughly to the classic *Vulcan* and the Germanic *Weland*. In Irish and Welsh, wonderful arms are regularly said to be the work of *Gobban*. He would therefore be the natural artificer of Arthur's magic accoutrements. English

¹ *Cynric* was a royal name among the Anglo-Saxons at the time of Arthur. Cf. *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, years 495 ff. May not the transcription of the spoken word *Cymraeg* have got confused with this well-known name?

² Compare what happens in our schools. A German lad gets the nickname of "Dutch," or a Norwegian that of "Norsk." The opprobrious name, it will be noticed, is given in the form peculiar to the language of the person ridiculed (cf. *Cymraeg*), not in its English form.

³ Vss. 21131-4. MADDEN'S translation.

⁴ Vol. III, p. 376. Madden's view has not hitherto been assailed (cf. BINZ, *Beitr.*, Vol. XX, p. 187). I am indebted to Professor F. G. Hubbard for calling my attention to the extreme difficulty of maintaining with Madden that *Wygar* is merely a corrupted form for *Weland*. Professor Hubbard, adopting Madden's translation, suggests as a more probable origin for the form the name of *Widia*, or *Wudga*, *Weland's* son (cf. GREIN-WÜLCKER, *Bib. der angelsäch. Poesie*, Vol. I, pp. 6, 12), probably confused with that of the father in popular story. Professor Kittredge, who has very kindly looked over the proof-sheets of these pages, suggests a translation of the passage entirely different from Madden's. Layamon says:

Text A. "he wes ihatē Wygar
þe witeze wurhte."

Text B. "he was i-hote Wigar
þe wittye wrohte."

Professor Kittredge proposes to translate: "It [the coat-of-mail or burny] was named *Wygar* which *Witeze* wrought." *Wygar* would then be the Anglo-Saxon *wigheard* (battle hard), an appropriate name for the burny. *Witeze* would stand for the Anglo-Saxon *Widia*, the name of *Weland's* son. *Witeze*, the regular Middle-English equivalent for *Widi(g)a*, may have passed into the form *Witeze* through popular etymology, or scribal error, influenced by the well known word *witeze* (prophet) which occurs repeatedly in Layamon. (The form *wittye* of text B is found elsewhere in that text, meaning "prophet;" one is not obliged, however, to explain text B in harmony with text A, for the scribe of B may have misunderstood A.) Professor Kittredge by this translation avoids several difficulties. *Witeze* is probably not "witty," for, as he observes, words of the kind do not in Layamon end in -eje, but in simple -i. "Smith" is, of course, not the most natural meaning of the word *wurhte*.

⁵ Cf. GUEST'S *Mabinogion*, ed. NUTT (London, 1902), pp. 122 and 67; WINDISCH, *Irische Texte*, Vol. I, p. 319; KEATING, *History of Ireland* (Irish Texts Society, Vol. IV), p. 219. With reference to the substitution of *Weland* for a Celtic smith Professor Kittredge compares the way in which Alfred translates "Ubi nunc fidelis ossa *Fabricii* manent" (BOETH. II, metr. 7), taking *Fabricius* as *faber*: "Hwær synt nū þæs foremæran and þæs wisan gold-smiðes bān Wēlonðes?" (ed. SEDGEFIELD, chap. xix, ll. 15, 16). Cf. also the *Vita Merlini* ascribed to Geoffrey: "pocula quae sculpsit Guilandus in urbe Sigeni" (vs. 235).

narrators may easily have substituted *Weland* or *Wudia* for the unfamiliar *Gofan* of Welsh legend.¹

Indeed we find in Layamon what is perhaps distinct evidence that the arms of Arthur were at first said to be the work of *Gofan*. Some verses beyond the passage just quoted Layamon has another occasion to mention Arthur's spear and he declares that it "was made in Caermarthen by a smith called *Griffin*." It had once, he adds, belonged to King Uther.² All the belongings of Uther were in the beginning undoubtedly magical, like the Round Table which would seat sixteen hundred men and more, and yet Arthur could carry it with him wherever he rode,³ or like the sword *Caliburn* (*Excalibur*).⁴ This smith, added by Layamon to Wace's narrative, ought then to be possessed of magical powers. No one has hitherto explained his name. It is hard to imagine any reason for his being named after the fabulous griffin of classic antiquity. An extract recently published by Professor R. H. Fletcher, from the *Polistorie del Eglise de Christ de Caunterbyre*, an inedited chronicle extending to the year 1313, makes perfectly clear that the name of the Welsh smith *Gofan* or *Govan*, in slightly distorted form, passed into general Arthurian tradition. The *Polistorie* says that Gawain's sword bore an inscription declaring it to be the work of *Gaban*.⁵ The passage is of great interest because it shows the survival of an hitherto unnoticed bit of Celtic folk-lore in a late Arthurian legend. It makes easy the supposition that *Gofan*, through some intermediate form like *Gaban*, got changed by an English writer to *Griffin*.⁶

¹ It is important to note that the assumption of a reference in the passage from Layamon to the Germanic *Weland* is in no way essential to my proposed identification in the following paragraph of *Griffin* with *Gofan*. *Wygar* may be left unexplained without impairing conclusions about *Griffin*.

² Vss. 23781-6.

³ Vss. 22911-22.

⁴ "Made in Avalon with magic craft," vss. 21137-40.

⁵ *Pub. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America*, Vol. XVIII (1903), p. 90. The inscription is said to read:

"Jeo su forte trenchaunte e dure.
gaban me fist. per mult graunt cure.
xiii. anns auoyt ihesu crist.
kaunt gaban (original reading *gaban*) metrempa e fist."

Professor Fletcher notes the similarity of the figure of *Gaban* to Layamon's *Wygar* and *Griffin*, but he has not perceived the identity of *Gaban* with the Welsh *Gofan*.

⁶ Students of mediæval literature will see no difficulty in supposing that *Griffin*, a form that has meaning in old English, was derived by some Englishman from the to him incomprehensible *Gofan*. An adventitious *r* is particularly likely to creep in. I need only cite the

The distortion of *Cymraeg* to *Kinric* assumed above could have occurred only under the conditions of oral transmission. This agrees with historical requirements. The English warriors who applied the term *Cymraeg* to the Welsh king cannot be supposed to have read the word, but only to have heard it pronounced. On the other hand, the distortion of *Gofan* to *Griffin* could only occur in written transmission. Layamon evidently drew from English tales about Arthur, founded on earlier Welsh tradition and handed down, in part at least, in writing. This opinion has been already expressed by Ferdinand Lot in a review of my article referred to above. Lot's words,¹ "Comme il est totalement impossible que Layamon connût la phonétique du vieux-gallois, il faut qu'il ait puisé son récit à une source d'origine celtique et à une source écrite," accord exactly with the idea that Layamon's *Griffin*, the smith of Caermarthen in Wales, is a distorted survival of the Welsh *Gofan*.

Layamon gives to Arthur's helmet a particular name, "Gos-whit."² Madden has conjectured that this is a traditional name, and must be explained as the translation of a Welsh epithet.³ I believe that I have found curious evidence that such is really the case. In *Kulhwch* and *Olwen* of the Red Book of Hergest, a Welsh tale which is so archaic in character that it is admitted on all hands⁴ to represent genuine Welsh tradition, we have the names of a number of Arthur's magic belongings. These names, it must be observed, almost invariably contain the meaning "white." *Pridwen*⁵ (the name of Arthur's ship) means "white form." *Wynebgwrthucher* (Arthur's shield) means "night gain-

well known variants: *Guingalet*, *Gringalet*; *Guingamore*, *Gringamore*; *Giflet*, *Grifflet*. Cf. SCHOFIELD, *Pub. of Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, Vol. XV (1900), p. 143. It is fair to add that the well-known Welsh name *Griffith*, "ruddy," might give rise by corruption to the form *Griffin*. *Griffith*, however, seems not specially applicable to a smith.

¹ *Le Moyen Age*, Vol. VI (1892), pp. 115, 116. Cf. the opinion of GASTON PARIS, *Romania*, Vol. XXIX (1900), p. 634, though this review is not explicit on the question of *written* sources.

² Vs. 21147.

³ Vol. III, p. 377. The text of Layamon indicates, I think, clearly enough that he understood "Goose-white" to be the translation of a Welsh epithet. In the next line, after the account of the helmet, he describes Arthur's shield, and adds: "Its name was in *British* called *Pridwen*," implying, of course, that the name of the helmet had not been given in *British* (Welsh), but in English.

⁴ Cf. ZIMMER, *Gött. gel. Ans.* (1890), p. 524.

⁵ GUEST'S *Mabinogion*, ed. NUTT, p. 106 (for *Pridwen* cf. p. 142).

sayer." *Carnwenhau* (Arthur's dagger) means "white haft." *Ehangwen*¹ (Arthur's hall) means "broad white," and even *Gwenhwyfar* (Arthur's wife) means "white enchantress." Surely it is no mere coincidence that Layamon's name for Arthur's helmet is "Goose-white." Probably all the belongings of the Celtic Other World had whiteness or luminosity attributed to them.² The name *Goswhit* occurs nowhere else, but I do not see how one can doubt but that it goes back to Welsh tradition. The coincidences between Layamon and Welsh tradition form a mass of cumulative evidence, the combined weight of which is almost irresistible.

Students of Arthurian romance have hitherto neglected Layamon. It was perhaps natural that they should. Layamon wrote about 1205, probably fifty years after traditions about Arthur were widely popular in France. At first thought it seems impossible that his chronicle could throw light on the history of the early development of the Arthurian legend. His additions to Wace might come, apparently, from the French romances. This, however, is not the case. Layamon lived in the wild borderland between Wales and England. The situation was evidently too remote for him to be acquainted with the romances current at Paris and London. Names like *Goswhit* have not passed through any French intermediary. The Round Table incident, with its archaic features of a combat with knives at a royal feast, and of the brutal punishment of nose cutting, is not from any chivalric French source.³ It betrays its origin by its connection with Gwynedd or North Wales⁴ and with Cornwall, whence the workman who made the Round Table is said to have come.

Layamon's additions to Wace, especially the account of Arthur's

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 110.

² In the *Revue Celtique*, Vol. XXII (1901), pp. 339 ff., I have shown that Manannán, the Celtic sea-god and lord of the Other World, was almost certainly known by the epithet *Barintus*, "white-haired" or "white-topped." It is important to add that Manannán has in Irish legend a marvelous steed, *Enbarr*, "foam of the water" (evidently a personification of the crest of a storm wave).—JOYCE, *Old Celtic Romances*, p. 38, from the Book of Lecan compiled about 1416; and a helmet *Cannbarr* that glittered with dazzling brightness, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

³ Vss. 22737-974; cf. "The Round Table before Wace," referred to above.

⁴ Professor Kittredge first pointed out to me the identity of Layamon's "Winet-lond" (vs. 22788) and Gwynedd.

departure to Argante the queen¹ (perhaps a corruption for Morgan, the fay), and the Round Table story, the longest and most splendid of all, prove that the Welsh had a romantic Arthur about whom tales and legends were clustered. These additions made by Layamon are fatal to any theory which assumes that the Arthur stories were developed exclusively in Brittany, and that the Welsh knew only a heroic, not a romantic, Arthur. It is with the hope of calling attention to the importance of Layamon that these pages have been written. Layamon's *Brut* shows that at least some Arthur stories were developed in Wales, and passed directly from Welsh into English.

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¹ Vss. 28610-51.



SOME OF CHAUCER'S LINES ON THE MONK.

I.

He yaf nat of that text a pulled hen,
That seith that hunters been nat holy men.

—C. T., 177 f.

UPON this passage Professor Skeat says, in substance, that "text" means any remark in writing; that the allusion is to Nimrod (Gen. 10:9), who was described as a very bad man; and that the Canons of Edgar (No. 64) say, "We enjoin that a priest be not a hunter, nor a hawker, nor a dicer." The impression left by the note is that there is nothing more to be said. Nor must I omit to mention Professor Flügel's article,¹ which discusses the Nimrod legend at some length, though that article was preceded in publication by Professor Skeat's note. In passing I may remark that Professor Flügel has apparently missed some of the important relations of the Nimrod legend, for he need have gone no farther than Josephus to find that the Hebrews regarded Nimrod as a tyrant. One tradition says that Abraham left Ur of the Chaldees (Gen. 11:31) because of the oppression of Nimrod.²

It has not been noticed, however, that there is something more than an excellent commentary on the Chaucer lines above—to explain an older by a more recent writer—in the first chapter of Walton's *Angler*. Here Piscator, in praising his art, says:

And let me tell you that, in the Scripture, angling is always taken in the best sense, and that, though hunting may be sometimes so taken, yet is but seldom to be so understood. And let me add this more: he that views the ancient ecclesiastical canons shall find hunting to be forbidden to churchmen, as being a turbulent, toilsome, perplexing recreation; and shall find angling allowed to clergymen as being a harmless recreation, a recreation that invites them to contemplation and quietness.—Bethune's edition, p. 45.

Upon this passage, the American editor Bethune first added this note:

¹ *Journal of Germanic Philology*, Vol. I, p. 128. Cf. also his notes in *Anglia*, Vol. XXIV, p. 448.

² BARING-GOULD, *Legends of the Patriarchs and Prophets*.

I have alluded to this in the Bib. Pref. In a collection of canons by St. Ives (Yves, Yvon, Yon), at the close of the eleventh century, he gives the decree of Gratian forbidding hunting, founded upon the passage ascribed to St. Jerome on xc (in King James's version xci) Psalm (which I have given in my Bib. Pref., commencing Esau, the usual way of quoting canon law). The reasons for angling being preferred are either conjectured by Walton or supplied by St. Ives the compiler. I quote from the *Corpus Juris Canonici* of Gregory XIII, ed. 1682 (where the decree is found *Dist. lxxxvi*, c. 11), which has been kindly lent me by a well-read friend. This reference has not been made by any previous commentator on Walton.

In his bibliographical preface (p. xxix) Bethune says:

According to the observation of St. Ives, the compiler of Ecclesiastical Canons, angling is a thing simple and innocent, no ways repugnant to the clerical character: non inveniri, in Scripturis sanctis, sanctum aliquem venatorem; piscatores inveniri sanctos (Esau, c. 86).

This note is by no means very effective when we consider the possibilities of expounding the Angler passage, and besides makes no allusion to Chaucer's Monk; but at least it leads us to the "Decretals" themselves. Turning to the *Decretum* of Gratian, more comprehensive than the earlier work of St. Ives, we find in *Decreta Pars Prima, Distinctio lxxxvi*, at least four canons against hunters (c. viii-xi). Of these, the one referred to by Bethune reads as follows:

C. XI. Hieronymus in Psalm xc, ad vers: Sperabo in Domino. Esau venator erat, quoniam peccator erat. Et penitus non invenimus, in Scripturis sanctis, sanctum aliquem venatorem; piscatores invenimus sanctos.¹

Now this, I think we may safely infer, is the "text" itself which Chaucer had in mind, or the most reasonable source of it. The "Decretals" were of course well known in his time, and especially such departures from them as were frequently laid at the door of the religious orders. The very next remark of Chaucer, that comparing a monk who is "recchelees" to a "fish that is waterlees" has its more immediate source in these same ecclesiastical canons.² While Chaucer may have had in mind,

¹ In St. Ives (MIGNE, *Patrologia*, 161, 810) the statement of the canon does not differ essentially. It reads: Pars XIII, cap. 33. Quod sancti inveniantur piscatores, nulli venatores. Hieronymus super psalm. xc (ad vers. 2). Dist. 86, c. Esau. Esau, etc., as already quoted.

² For the remoter sources see Professor Skeat's note on the passage.

as Professor Flügel thinks, John of Salisbury's *Polycraticus*,¹ the remark "Interroga patres tuos, et annuntiabunt tibi, majores tuos, et dicent se nusquam sanctum legisse venatorem" is surely based on Jerome's words above, or possibly on another form of his comment, as I shall show. In any case it is not as direct or forcible as that I have pointed out, which assumes a more immediate basis in Scripture itself and had behind it the authority of the whole mediæval church. This comment of Jerome was also in the mind of the genial Walton when he saw how easily it could be used to support the claims of his own gentle art, while at the same time bearing most heavily upon his chance acquaintance Venator.²

The decretal based on Jerome is found in the *Breviarium in Psalmos* which, with the *Commentarium* on Job, was formerly attributed to St. Jerome and was doubtless regarded as genuine in mediæval times.³ The passage reads:

'Quoniam ipse liberabit me de laqueo venantium.' Multi sunt venatores in isto mundo, qui animam nostram venari conantur. Denique et Nimrod ille gigas; magnus in conspectu Dei venator fuit (Gen. x, 9), et Esau venator erat (Gen. xxvii, 3) quoniam peccator erat; et penitus non invenimus in Scripturis sanctis, sanctum aliquem venatorem. Piscatores invenimus sanctos.

¹ Lib. I, c. iv, "De Venatica;" MIGNÉ, pp. 199, 395.

² A word should be added regarding Professor Skeat's quotation of the English canon against hunting, though its wording shows no special relation to Chaucer's "text." There are at least three such canons which may be cited. The first is in Liber Pœnitentialis Theodori Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis Ecclesiæ, xxxii, 4:

"Si clericus venationes exercuit, i annum pœniteat; diaconus ii; presbiter iii annos pœniteat."—*Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, Vol. II, p. 43.

This belongs to the last half of the seventh century, as Theodore died in 690. A second comes to us from the eighth century, in the Canons of Egbert, Archbishop of York (d. 766), Book 14, 32:

"Gif hwylc gehadod man on huntaþ fare, gif hit beo cleric, forga xii monaþ flæsc; diacon, ii geara; mæssepreost, iii; and bisceop, vii."—*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 214.

Finally, in the tenth century, there is the canon of King Edgar (lxiv) which Professor Skeat quotes in part:

"And we læraþ þæt preost ne beo hunta, ne hafeccere, ne tæflere, ac plege on his bocum swa his hade gebirap."—*Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 259.

It will be clearly seen that none of these can be regarded as the original of Chaucer's "text," and it is probable that no one of them was in his mind when he wrote.

³ Appendix to Jerome's Commentaries on various books of the Bible, MIGNÉ, *Jerome*, Vol. VII; *Patrologia*, 26, 1097. A footnote on the decretal says that the comment is not found in Jerome's works, and gives no direct reference to the place in which it occurs. The note, of course, means that the passage does not occur in genuine works of Jerome. But in such cases we must consider, not what is now known as to the genuineness of works belonging to the early Christian period, but what was believed in mediæval times.

It will be noticed that both Nimrod and Esau are mentioned, though the decretal takes account of the latter only. This was natural, since Nimrod was associated with tyranny and other vices, while Esau was a hunter in the more restricted sense, and his name was more properly associated with a canon against hunting. This also is some reason for believing that Chaucer knew the ecclesiastical canon only, rather than some passage like that in John of Salisbury, who includes an account of hunting among the classical peoples, besides referring to Nimrod and Esau.

If Jerome did not write the *Breviarium in Psalmos* mentioned above, he expresses the same idea in his *Commentarium in Machæam*, cap. V, vers. 6 (Migne 25, 1201): "Quantum ergo possum mea recolere memoria, nunquam venatorem in bonum partem legi." This, it will be seen, is very close to the language of John of Salisbury, and is probably the passage which the latter had in mind when writing the sentence already quoted.

Further back than Jerome, or the *Breviarium* attributed to him, the same thought is similarly expressed by Ambrose, *Expositio in Psalmum cxviii* [119], vs. 61. Funes peccatorum:

Haec sunt sceleratorum vincula quae dure peccatores ligant, hoc est, diabolus et ministri ejus, vel certe Nemrod, hoc est, amaritudo, vel certe Esau, hoc est, terrenus et callidus. Isti enim venatores erant, qui feras laqueis captare consueverunt, et muta animantia vinculis illigare. Inutiles venatores, qui capiant bestias, quae pompam spectaculo populari praebeant, ministerium crudelitati. Denique nullum invenimus in divinarum serie Scripturarum de venatoribus justum.¹

The reference in this passage to the hunters of wild beasts for the circus has its parallel several times in the writings of St. Augustine, who expresses the abhorrence of early Christians for those gladiatorial shows in which so many of their own number had suffered martyrdom. It is sufficient here to mention the Canon based on a passage of Augustine in comment on Ps. 102:6. This has the heading "Nil esse dandum venatoribus et histrionibus" in the *Decretals* of Ives (Pars XIII, cap. 31),² and is taken from the *Enarratio in Psalmos*, cii [103], vs. 6 (Migne, 37, 132).

¹ MIGNE, *Ambrose*, Vol. I, p. 1380; *Patrologia*, Vol. XV. Cf. preceding page, footnote 3.

² MIGNE, *Patrologia*, 161, 810. Compare GRATIAN, Pars Prima, Distinctio LXXXVI, c. ix.

I return to the *Breviarium* attributed to Jerome in order to mention another part of the commentary on Psalm 91:3, because it has almost equal significance for other passages in mediæval literature. Immediately following the part already quoted occurs this passage:

"Quoniam ipse liberabit me de laqueo venantium." "Anima nostra sicut passer erepta est de laqueo venantium. Laqueus contritus est, et nos liberati sumus" (Ps. cxxiii, 7). Qui est iste laqueus qui contritus est? Dominus, inquit, conerat Satanam sub pedibus nostris velociter (Rom. xvi, 20); et Apostolus dicit: Ut liberamini a laqueo diaboli (II Tim. ii, 26). Vides ergo quoniam iste venator est, qui animos nostras venari cupit ad perditionem? Multos habet diabolus laqueos, et diversos habet laqueos. Avaritia diaboli laqueus est: ira, detractio, etc.

The hunter is here made a type of the devil and this is a common conception of mediæval writers. Compare Chaucer himself in the Second Nun's Tale:

Wel oghten we to don al oure entente,
Lest that the feend thugh ydelnesse us hente.
For he that with his thousand cordes slye
Continuelly us waiteth to bielap,pe,
Whan he may man in ydelnesse espye,
He kan so lightly cacche hym in his trappe;
Til that a man be hent right by the lappe,
He nys nat war the feend hath hym in honde;
Wel oghte us werche and ydelnesse withstonde.¹

This explains, also, a line in the Middle English "Bestiary" (Nature Leonis, Significacio prime nature), which reads:

Migte nevre divel witen ðog he be derne hunte.

Here "divel" refers to the Latin "venatorem" in the Physiologus of Theobaldus.

The common interpretation of the above-mentioned passage from the Psalms, and similar allusions in other parts of the Bible, directly affected early translations of the Psalter. The inter-

¹ *Cant. Tales*, 9, 6 f. For a similar interpretation of the hunter as the devil see the passage from Ambrose already quoted on p. 108. In his *Enarratio in Psalmos*, Augustine comments as follows on Psalm 90 [91]: 3: Tendit diabolus et angeli ejus, tanquam venantes tendunt muscipulas; et longe ab ipsis muscipulis ambulant homines qui in Christo ambulant.—MIGNE, 37, 1151. Without attempting to go further, also, I note this passage from RABANUS MAURUS, *De Universo*, Lib. VIII, c. i, De Bestiis: Venator diabolus, in cujus figura Nemrod ille gigas venator coram Domino, ut in Genesi (Gen. x); venatores pravi homines, ut in propheta: Venantes ceperunt me, quasi avem, inimici mei gratis (Thren. III).

linears are not influenced, it is true, but the freer translations introduce instead of "hunter" a more or less clear reference to the devil. This seems to be intended in the poetical version of the Psalms printed by Thorpe in 1835 and later by Grein,¹ in which Ps. 90[91]:3 reads:

For ðon he me alysde of laðum grine,
huntum unholdum, hearmum worde.

As there is nothing in the original requiring "unholdum," and as the noun "unholda" means the devil, it seems reasonable to believe that the Old English paraphrast had in mind some such commentary as I have quoted. Be this as it may, there can be no doubt of the translation in Middle English, known as the West Midland Prose Psalter. In this Ps. 90[91]:3 reads:

For he deliverd me from þe trappes of fendes and fram asper word of men.

Similarly Ps. 123[124]:6, 7 is translated:

Oure soule is defended as þe sparowe fram þe gnare of þe fouler. Þe trappes of þe fend is tobroke wyþ þe dep of Crist, and we ben delivered fro dampnacioun.

It thus becomes evident that the passage in the *Breviarium in Psalmos* attributed to Jerome explains not only the "text" in Chaucer's description of the Monk (*C. T.* 5, 177, 178), but more fully than has been done the allusion to the ecclesiastical canons in Walton's *Angler*, and finally the free translations of parts of the Psalms in at least one, probably two, of the early English Psalters.

II.

I return to Chaucer's Monk in order to comment on another difficulty connected with the lines immediately following those already explained. Those lines are:

Ne that a monk, whan he is recchelees,
Is lykned til a fissh that is waterlees;
This is to seyn, a monk out of his cloystre;
But thilke text heeld he nat worth an oystre.

It will be remembered that the word "recchelees," in the first line of this passage, has been regarded as inadequate or incorrect.

¹ WÜLKER'S GREIN, *Angelsächsische Poesie*, III, 391.

Professor Skeat adopts the reading "cloisterles," found only in the Harleian MS, and explains the apparent tautology of the third line by assuming that "cloisterles" was "a coined word" and hence needed explanation. The editors of the "Globe" Chaucer retain "recchelees," note the "cloysterles" of the Harleian MS, and add, "neither reading is satisfactory." Liddell has the following note:

Recchelees seems to have a peculiar meaning here, "careless of regulations," so that Chaucer has to explain what he means in vv. 181, 182. Various emendations have been suggested, "rewlelees," "cloysterles" of H₄, "recetless," i. e. refugeless, but no emendation is necessary in view of vv. 181, 182.¹

Just why the reading "recchelees" has been regarded as so unsatisfactory is nowhere explained, but the probable reason is that it suggests modern English "reckless," a word felt to be quite too weak. And yet it should surely be remembered that many a modern word had a stronger and more comprehensive meaning in Old or Middle English, and this should at least suggest an adequate investigation of the original content and use. An examination of the meaning of "recchelees" in such examples as were easily accessible results as follows:

The first appearance of the O. E. word "receleas" ("recceleas") is in the Corpus Gloss, where it translates Lat. "prævaricator" (MS "præfaricator"), *Sweet's Oldest English Texts*, p. 89. In this case we must remember that prævaricator means "one who violates his duty, a transgressor," from which we may also infer the meanings of corresponding mediæval words as given by Du Cange, "pravus, perversus, corruptus, immutatus." "Receleas" is used in a similar sense in the Alfredian *Boethius*, 5, 3:

Du wendest þæt steorlease men and recelease wæron gesællige — translating Latin 'nequam homines atque nefarios felices arbitraris.'

Upon this passage Lye bases his entry, "receleas i. q. recceleas. Item nefarius, dissolutus." Benson had already preceded Lye with the definitions "negligens, dissolutus." The Alfredian *Bede* (3, 13) uses the word in the following passage:

¹ The suggestion of "rewleles" was made by Professor Koch, of Berlin, some twenty years ago (*Anglia* V. *Anzeiger*, p. 123), and again by E. Krusinga in the London *Athenæum* of November 23, 1902. "Recetles" was proposed by Professor Ten Brink, but neither emendation has been adopted by editors.

Ymb þa gymene his ecre hælo he wæs to sæne and to receleas — translating the Latin “*erga curam perpetuae suae salvationis nihil omnino studii et industriae gerens.*”

In Ælfric’s *Homilies* (ed. of Thorpe, I, 320, 18) the following use of the word again indicates a far more serious neglect and disregard of duty than modern English “reckless” would imply:

Ac se þe on þam ærran tocyme liþegode, þam synfullum to gecyrrred-nysse, se demþ stipne dom þam receleasum æt þam æfteran tocyme.

But he that at the former advent was mild, for the conversion of the sinful, shall judge a harsh doom to the “reccheles” [to use Chaucer’s word] at the later coming.

The same serious sense is carried by the O. E. nouns “receliest” and “receleasness,” though I will not take space to illustrate them.

The Old English uses of the word “receleas” carry the sense of responsible and inexcusable neglect of duty, especially religious duty or regulation. In other examples, not relating to religious affairs, the sense of inexcusable neglect is often apparent, as when King Alfred arraigns the ignorance of his time in the Preface to the *Pastoral Care*:

Hie [ure ieldran] ne wendon þætte æfre menn sceolden swæ reccelease weorðan, ond sio lar swæ oðfeallan.

The Middle English uses of the word “reccheles” (“recchelees”) bear out those of the older language. A number of passages are at hand, but I select only a few. In *Old English Homilies* (First Series, p. 245) we find,

For alle hit beoð untohene ant rechelese hinen, bute ȝef he ham rihte;

For all these are untoward and “reccheles” servants, unless he directs them,—

referring to the senses, which lead the soul to its destruction. So in *Piers Plowman* (B, Passus 18, 2 f.), the writer speaks of himself

As a reccheles ranke pat of no wo reccheth,
And yede forth lyke a lorel al my lyf tyme,

in which the reference is clearly to neglect of the soul’s salvation. Several passages in Chaucer’s own writings might be cited, but I naturally refrain from using any examples which are not

conclusive as to the stronger meaning of the word. One in which the corresponding noun is employed may be noted:

Now, certes, this foule sinne Accidie is eek a ful greet enemy to the lyfode of the body; for it ne hath no purveaunce agayn temporel neces-sitee, for it forsleweth and forsluggeth and destroyeth alle goodes temporeles by reccheleesnesse.—*The Parson's Tale* (l. 610).

But conclusive proof that Chaucer's "recchelees" is used in a sense that would be especially applicable to the Monk, as a prelate, is found in two other passages. The first is in *Old English Homilies* (Second Series, p. 39), describing the good and bad parson. Of the latter it says,

Iners pastor aut sedet in ignorancia aut accubitat in negligencia, aut jacet in voluntate. Þe unwreste herde sit on unwisdomnesse, for he ne can is orf gemen; oðer hloneð and slepeð; and synegeð on gemeleste also he þat is recheles and non eige ne stand of loverde; oðer lið on lipere wille and feste slepeð on his synne.

The slothful shepherd sitteth in ignorance, for he knows not how to guard his flock; or lounges about and sinneth in negligence, as he that is "recchelees" and standeth in no awe of his lord; or lieth in evil desire and sleepeth fast in his sins.

The second occurs in the treatise "Of Confession" in the *Cursor Mundi*. I quote first from the directions given to a priest as to confessing the inmate of a religious house (ll. 27, 232 f.):

Þe preist agh spere al wit resun
O men es in religion,
Namli hu þai lede þamself
Anentes þe abusiones tuelf;
Þe formast, reccles prelat es.

—Cotton MS.

The Fairfax MS is even more direct:

Þe prest agh spere in gode resun
Of men þat ar in religioun,
Quelk reccheles prelat is.

I may add from another part of *Cursor Mundi* (ll. 28, 238 f.) a typical confession, part of which at any rate relates to a priest:

I ha bene reckeles on many wys
Anentis Crist and his servise

* * * * *

Mi childer als and my menȝe

A reckeles ledar pai fand me.

* * * * *

Quare I was scheperd, hade sauls to kepe,
To reckelesly I geit my schepe;
I chastyd pam noght als me bird,
Ne teched trouth als saul hyrd;
Over slaw I was for pam to ris,
Reckeles to do pam pair servise.
I ha ben bath reckeles and suere
To helpe nedy in pair mistere.

In the first of the above quotations from *Cursor Mundi* the allusion to "De abusiones tuelf" is especially significant, since it leads us to the treatise *De Duodecim Abusionum Gradibus* attributed to Cyprian or Augustine (Migne 4, 847, or 40, 1079). In this the tenth is called "Episcopus negligens"—the "recceles prelat" of *Cursor Mundi*, and ample explanation of Chaucer's "monk whan he is recchelees."¹

The question will still arise why did Chaucer explain the expression "reccheles" by reference to the "monk out of his cloystre." This, I believe, is not a serious objection to retaining the MS reading, after a proper appreciation of the meaning of "reccheles." A "reccheles" monk, neglectful of all the duties and requirements of the monastic life, was felt to be as anomalous, compared with the true observer of that life, as a fish out of water. Then remembering, perhaps, that the latter expression had been used in special connection with the idea of a monk out of his cloister, one in the fullest sense neglectful of rule, Chaucer adds the explanatory phrase. Besides, a "reccheles" monk and one out of his cloister were regarded as practically the same in mediæval conception. The Benedictine Rule takes account of four classes of monks. The first and second are monks and nuns of the regular sort, a third the Sarabaites, an eastern class, and a fourth the wandering monks.² With the latter, the bane of the

¹ Compare the "Ten Abuses" in two versions as printed by Morris in *An Old English Miscellany* (*Early English Text Society*, 49, 184); one of these is:

"Preost þat is wilde,
Biscop slouh."

² Quartum vero genus est monachorum quod nominatur gyrovagum; qui tota vita sua per diversas provincias ternis aut quaternis diebus per diversorum cellas hospitantur, semper vagi et numquam stabiles. Et propriis volutatibus et gule illecebris servientes et per omnia deteriores Sarabaitis.—*Benedictine Rule*, chap. i.

monastic order, were associated all forms of evil, as shown by many references, so that it is not at all strange that Chaucer should have used these two expressions as practically equivalent. In brief, then, the content and use of the word "reccheles," as shown by Old and Middle English examples, prove that it is entirely adequate to the line in which Chaucer uses it; and that there is no real conflict between the expressions "reccheles" and "out of his cloistre" in the following line.

In further exposition of the lines on the monk it may not be out of place to recall the number of specific precepts of the Benedictine Rule and the canons which Chaucer's monk was guilty of disobeying. He disregarded, as we have seen, the canons against hunting (ll. 166, 177-82, 189-92). His fine horses and dogs were equally opposed to the vow of poverty taken by the monks. His fine clothes (ll. 193, 197, 203) were in direct contravention of the Benedictine requirement of the simplest and coarsest clothing. He paid no attention to the rule of study and of labor with the hands "as Austin bit" (ll. 184-7); in short, he was utterly neglectful of any part of the Rule he had solemnly sworn to observe, whenever it interfered with his interests in "the newe world" (ll. 173-6).

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ROMANTISME ET PROTESTANTISME.

ON a essayé souvent de définir le romantisme; on l'a essayé avec plus ou moins de bonheur. A ces définitions si nombreuses, toujours incomplètes, je n'ajouterai pas la mienne. Je signalerai seulement les traits principaux qu'on lui attribue: réaction contre le classicisme, amour de la nature, soif d'indépendance ou de liberté dans l'art. Mais j'ajoute tout de suite qu'à mes yeux le romantisme n'en tire pas son originalité. Avant V. Hugo, à un intervalle de deux siècles, Ronsard et A. Chénier tentèrent d'assouplir le vers français et réussirent dans leur tâche. La rime riche, le vers libre, la césure variée, les enjambements, tout cela était déjà connu et pratiqué avec art. Avant la préface de *Cromwell*, les trois unités furent battues en brèche par des poètes qui n'eurent aucune ambition romantique, Népomucène Lemercier, Ancelot, Pierre Lebrun. On était depuis longtemps d'accord pour rejeter ces chaînes, alléger cette armure, jadis portée avec une grâce aisée par Racine, mais trop lourde à ses successeurs. Si l'on disait que le lyrisme constitue la marque distinctive du romantisme, on toucherait de plus près la vérité. Mais je rapellerai que l'expression du sentiment personnel était connue au XVIII^e siècle. On y fut sentimental si Parny, les *poetae minores*, A. Chénier surtout, chantèrent la nature, l'amour, la mort, tous les thèmes magnifiquement exploités depuis. Mais ce qu'ils n'éprouvèrent jamais, ce fut le sentiment religieux. Voilà pourquoi, à côté des autres traits, je note celui-ci chez les romantiques, du moins à l'aube de leur poésie naissante, comme le plus nouveau, le plus original. C'est le sentiment religieux qui ranima la poésie décolorée de l'âge précédent. Il germa des ruines qui jonchaient le sol après la tourmente révolutionnaire, des désillusions, après tant d'espérances fauchées, du présent tragique, du lendemain sombre, du besoin pour les esprits déracinés de se rattacher à quelque chose d'impérissable.

Mais que fut-il au juste? Que fut le mouvement romantique en sa véritable essence? Quand on ne songe qu'au *Génie du*

Christianisme, aux premiers essais des poètes romantiques, il semble qu'on assiste à une renaissance du catholicisme. Or, les esprits lettrés subirent d'autres influences, d'allure plutôt protestante, et dont la trace m'a paru aussi sensible. D'abord l'influence anglaise avec Milton, Young, Gray, Hervey, Byron, Shelley, qui passionnèrent tous les écrivains de l'époque impériale, et en particulier le maître de sa nouvelle littérature, Chateaubriand. Il vécut en Angleterre du 21 mai 1793 au 8 mai 1800, autant dire les années décisives de sa vie. Dans ses *Mémoires*, il écrit sur ses dispositions à cette époque (1800): "J'étais Anglais de manières, de goûts, et, jusqu'à un certain point, de pensée." Dans son *Voyage en Angleterre et en Écosse* (1825), A. Pichot parle longuement de Wordsworth, de Coleridge, de Southey, et même de Shelley, même de Keats. Dès cette époque, les lakistes séduisent les cœurs par une poésie toute pleine d'intimité charmante. Au même moment, je veux dire au déclin du XVIII^e siècle et à l'aube du XIX^e, la littérature allemande intéressait aussi vivement les intelligences françaises. Qu'il me suffise de citer Klopstock, Herder, Wieland, Goethe, Schiller, les frères Schlegel, dont les œuvres provoquèrent l'admiration et la sympathie. A leur souffle puissant s'envolèrent à l'envi les germes de rénovation qui devaient féconder en France la poésie renaissante. Or, pour m'en tenir au seul point de vue de cette étude, est-il possible que leur influence, si vague qu'on la suppose, ne s'étendit pas au sentiment religieux? Et sans nier les teintes catholiques dont elle se para, la religiosité des romantiques, leur déisme sentimental n'est-il pas plus voisin du spiritualisme philosophique de ces écrivains protestants? Je pose ici simplement la question, me réservant de préciser la réponse à propos de Dieu, tel qu'il fut chanté par nos poètes. Mais il était bon, pour aider à déterminer l'origine et la qualité du sentiment religieux, d'appeler l'attention sur ces fréquentations littéraires, et de ne pas se borner, comme on le fait trop souvent, à nommer Chateaubriand, à lui attribuer tout le mouvement de restauration religieuse.

Cette remarque s'impose davantage, si l'on veut bien ne pas oublier Rousseau, ni M^{me} de Staël, dont les œuvres, celles de Rousseau surtout, nourrirent l'imagination et la sensibilité du

nouveau siècle. Jean-Jacques se glorifia toujours d'être protestant. M^{me} de Warens, avant sa conversion plus ou moins sincère au catholicisme, avait été l'élève d'un réformateur vaudois Magny, adepte fervent du piétiste allemand Spener; or, ce fut dans ces longues conversations avec "maman" que Rousseau—lui-même le raconte—puisa toutes ses pensées sur la Religion et les religions.¹ Il n'accepte pas la révélation, ni ses dogmes; mais dans la *Profession de foi du Vicaire savoyard*, il embrasse par le cœur toutes les grandes vérités de la religion naturelle; il ose rendre, dans le siècle de Voltaire, un hommage ému au Christ et à l'Évangile. Or, y a-t-il si loin de ce chaud spiritualisme au christianisme poétique de Chateaubriand, au christianisme sentimental de Lamartine? Non, et tout à l'heure nous verrons leur parenté intime. Quant à M^{me} de Staël, longtemps imbue de la philosophie du XVIII^e siècle, elle s'achemine, au cours de sa vie, vers un christianisme large, issu du protestantisme. Si les littératures du Nord lui paraissent supérieures à celles du Midi, c'est au protestantisme qu'elle en fait remonter l'honneur, à lui qu'elles doivent leur gravité morale et leur profondeur de sentiment, à lui, semble-t-elle dire, que les lettrés doivent demander le renouvellement de la littérature française. Pour son compte, guérie des ivresses rationalistes, elle se résout, en pleine force du génie, à n'écouter plus que la voix de son cœur; et docile plus ou moins aux impressions de son enfance calviniste, elle se fit une religion d'où elle retranchait ce qu'elle appelle les inventions sacerdotales, une sorte de latitudinarisme piétiste; ou, si l'on veut, elle adopte le christianisme du Vicaire savoyard. Et alors, de ce déisme exalté, très protestant d'origine et de nature, n'ai-je pas raison de rapprocher les vagues effusions religieuses, détachées de tout dogme, où se complurent les premiers poètes romantiques? Ce rapprochement n'a rien de téméraire, puisque M^{me} de Staël fut beaucoup leur mère ou marraine, ainsi qu'on l'a dit d'elle, à propos des doctrinaires en politique,² puisqu'elle a initié leur esprit à la pensée germanique, puisqu'ils ont appris d'elle, non moins que de Chateaubriand, à unir religion et poésie. Pour

¹ *Revue de Paris*—15 Fév. 1895—De l'Influence des littératures étrangères, p. 825.

² LANSON, *Histoire de la littérature française*, édit. 1895, p. 867.

résumer ces observations sur des influences étrangères très certaines, il semble donc qu'elles ont dû créer une atmosphère plutôt favorable au protestantisme qu'au catholicisme. Et ici, je n'oublie pas Chateaubriand. A Dieu ne plaise en effet que je méconnaisse l'originalité du *Génie du Christianisme*, sa large part dans la restauration du sentiment religieux ou poético-catholique. Mais il est bon de se souvenir qu'avant de l'écrire, il fut l'élève de Rousseau, qu'il y a aussi *René*. Or *René* c'est du pur Rousseau, le Rousseau des *Confessions*, inquiet, orgueilleux, sensuel, celui de la *Nouvelle Héloïse*, s'ingéniant à composer un mélange pervers de religion et de passion; celui de l'*Émile*, cherchant dans la nature la nourrice et la maîtresse de sa vie. Et s'il est vrai d'ajouter qu'aucune œuvre, non pas même le *Génie du Christianisme*, n'égala l'influence de *René* sur l'âme française, sur la poésie romantique en particulier, j'ai bien le droit de joindre Chateaubriand à sa rivale, M^{me} de Staël, à son maître, Rousseau, et, que certains catholiques me pardonnent, de lui attribuer sans trop d'étrangeté paradoxale quelques teintes de cette couleur protestante que je vais analyser plus en détail.

Car il y a plus que des affinités extérieures entre le romantisme et le protestantisme. Non-seulement ils ont ce trait commun d'être une protestation, l'un contre l'autorité et la tradition catholique, l'autre contre l'autorité et la tradition classique, mais ils se rapprochent intimement par leur principe même. Le principe protestant, c'est le libre examen, la pensée libre, le libre sentiment. Le principe romantique, c'est tout cela en matière littéraire. Il suffit de relire les préfaces de Victor Hugo, en qui le romantisme est à bon droit personnifié. Se débarrassant des vaines formules, il proclame la révolution poétique, dont il reste le promoteur, fille de la révolution politique par la liberté. Cette liberté, sans doute, il ne la revendique pas du même ton partout. En 1824, dans la première préface des *Odes*, il la voile du mot vérité; puis, dans la seconde (1826), il réclame pour la pensée, terre vierge, le droit de croître librement; enfin, à la date de 1828, il fait observer dans ses idées une progression de liberté toute pleine de signification. Le vrai sens est celui-ci: ni règles,

ni codes; franchise absolue de l'inspiration. Et voilà ce que j'appelle le principe protestant. D'où les mêmes conséquences. Le protestantisme aboutit à l'indépendance de l'individu en matière de foi, au sens propre, chacun ne relevant que de sa conscience religieuse, et alors réclamant très légitimement le droit d'avoir sa religion. C'est le triomphe de l'individualisme. Or, l'émancipation entière du *moi* constitue précisément un trait essentiel du romantisme. Cela veut dire d'abord non-seulement liberté d'éprouver toutes sortes d'émotions, mais droit souverain de les communiquer, d'être soi en tout, de ne reconnaître d'autre loi que celle de la fantaisie. Ainsi parlait Victor Hugo, ainsi chantait-il, lui, et Lamartine, Vigny, Musset. Seulement rappelons-nous que Rousseau fut le premier théoricien passionné de l'individualisme, son premier modèle en littérature, que la victoire de l'individualisme est sa victoire, qu'enfin il n'est pas arbitraire de le faire découler de son protestantisme, si celui-ci tend très naturellement à développer la personnalité, le jugement propre, à provoquer l'expansion du sentiment individuel. C'est donc du même coup rendre plus sensibles les affinités dont il est ici question. Du reste, si l'excès d'individualisme a entraîné les manifestations bizarres, malades même d'un *moi* trop aimé, trop écouté, comme l'esprit de la Réforme a multiplié autour de lui les sectes les plus variées; si même par cet excès d'individualisme, le plus beau mouvement littéraire qui fut jamais a peut-être avorté, ou du moins grandement dévié, en revanche il faut reconnaître que de cette liberté absolue naquit l'abondance, la richesse, l'éclat incomparable de notre poésie lyrique; que nous lui devons les *Méditations* de Lamartine, les belles *Odes* et les *Contemplations* de Victor Hugo, les *Nuits* de Musset. C'est de quoi nous consoler beaucoup de ses erreurs.

Est-il possible encore de pousser plus loin ces rapprochements avec le protestantisme, quand il revêt surtout la forme rationaliste ou panthéistique? Je le crois. Ainsi il n'est pas rare qu'on veuille retrouver chez Lamartine une inspiration chrétienne.¹ Et peut-être en effet n'est-il pas trop malaisé d'y réussir. Mais à coup sûr,

¹ Je l'ai essayé moi-même avec les réserves nécessaires dans mon livre sur *Le sentiment chrétien dans la poésie romantique*, édit. Poussielgue, 1901.

cette inspiration n'est pas catholique, sauf en quelques rares pièces.¹ Elle paraît plutôt voisine de l'inspiration déiste, dont l'accent chaleureux anime la *Profession de foi du Vicaire savoyard*; et ainsi Lamartine semble appartenir à la religion de Rousseau. Je ne parle pas de sa religion personnelle; près d'une mère sincèrement pieuse, il n'éprouva que des impressions catholiques. Mais quand il chante Dieu dans ses vers, surtout à partir de 1830, c'est le disciple de Rousseau, le lecteur enthousiaste de la *Nouvelle Héloïse*, des *Confessions*, qui apparaît. En effet, si son Dieu n'est pas l'Être suprême des philosophes, vague abstraction, Dieu fainéant retiré dans les profondeurs du ciel, il n'est pas non plus catholique, ni souvent chrétien. Dans les poèmes où s'exprime le sentiment de la nature, cela va de soi. Lamartine en a le sens religieux, il traduit merveilleusement ses harmonies avec le Créateur, dont elle révèle la puissance, la sagesse, la vie immense. Les élans vers l'infini, que suscite la contemplation de l'univers, il les éprouve vivement. Mais rien de catholique dans ces impressions; et je ne m'en étonne pas. La nature n'appartient à aucune religion positive; elle ne nous apprend rien sur la Révélation, sur ses dogmes, sur le Christ; à l'esprit religieux elle apparaît déiste simplement. Lamartine est comme la nature. Dans son déisme, point spéculatif, tout sentimental, je reconnais, outre l'effigie de son âme, l'influence de Rousseau, dont il est la marque propre. Mais cette influence est encore sensible dans les hommages adressés directement à Dieu, et ceci est plus caractéristique. Par exemple, les *Harmonies* sont avant tout des hymnes pieux, admirables souvent de ferveur, et cependant à peu près toujours déistes, même quand il s'y mêle des souvenirs d'une religion positive. Ainsi, le poète pénètre dans un temple, le soir; or, il n'y voit pas Jésus-Christ, ce qu'aurait fait un catholique convaincu.² Une autre fois, il est captivé par la douce et faible lumière d'une lampe dans le sanctuaire. C'est le symbole de la prière, de l'âme qui s'épanche silencieuse devant le Seigneur; mais Lamartine oublie que pour des croyants elle veille devant l'Eucharistie.³ Cet oubli d'un Dieu révélé, je le constate à peu près partout. Dans ses élans, d'ailleurs magnifiques, vers l'infini, vers la

¹ Par exemple, le *Crucifix*, l'*Hymne au Christ*.

² *Harmonies*, Livre I, 8.

³ *Ibid.*, 4.

divinité, aucune place n'est faite à Jésus-Christ, ou presque; il n'y a aucune trace précise des espérances surnaturelles qu'aurait dû pourtant retrouver en son cœur l'adolescent de Milly, l'élève de Belley. Je sais que l'on peut citer quelques pièces plus chrétiennes de pensée et de sentiment, le *Crucifix* par exemple, l'*Hymne au Christ*. Mais en général les poèmes religieux, même dans les *Méditations* et dans les *Harmonies*, reflètent un déisme splendide plutôt qu'une inspiration catholique. A plus forte raison cela est-il vrai de *Jocelyn*. Le curé de Valneige n'a pas de théologie encombrante; Dieu, l'âme, voilà ses dogmes; ni miracles, ni révélation; tolérance doctrinale qui met sur le même pied toutes les religions; Jésus-Christ, dont il est pourtant le prêtre, pratiquement oublié, quoique célébré en un beau langage ému. C'est un autre Vicaire savoyard. Que dire de la *Chute d'un Ange*, œuvre inférieure à la précédente, mais remplie du même esprit rationaliste? Il s'étale au *Livre primitif*; le vieillard du Carmel instruit Cédar et Daïdha; il leur parle de Dieu, de l'immortalité, des progrès indéfinis; mais il proscriit toute religion révélée.¹ Je sais bien que ceci n'est pas du protestantisme orthodoxe; il serait même puéril d'en rechercher la trace dans les œuvres de Lamartine, catholique de naissance, d'éducation, et enfin de mort. Tout simplement le poète fut spiritualiste, et, depuis 1830, à tendances rationalistes. Mais si l'on observe qu'il y a bien des manières d'être protestant, depuis celle de Calvin jusqu'à la manière de Rousseau et de M^{me} de Staël; si l'on veut se rappeler l'influence sur Lamartine de ces deux illustres écrivains, protestants même en littérature, on ne trouvera pas étrange que je signale dans la poésie de Lamartine des affinités, peut-être involontaires, mais réelles. Au fond, la religion de toute sa vie est celle du Vicaire savoyard. C'est par là qu'il se rapproche plus de l'esprit protestant que du catholicisme. C'est tout ce que je prétends ici.

Je puis le dire encore et davantage de V. Hugo. Premièrement, il ne fut jamais catholique. Il naquit de parents sans religion. Son père fut d'abord un républicain farouche; je dis "d'abord,"

¹ Le seul livre divin dans lequel il écrivit
Son nom toujours croissant, homme, c'est ton esprit.
L'intelligence en nous, hors de nous, la nature,
Voilà le vrai Dieu: le reste est imposture.

car, sous la Restauration il devint un "rallié" fervent. Mais pendant l'époque révolutionnaire, il changea son nom en celui de Brutus, et dans une adresse à la Convention, il s'offrait "à répandre la dernière goutte de son sang pour écraser les tyrans, les *fanatiques*, les royalistes, les fédéralistes." Donc, beaucoup de civisme, point de religion. De M^{me} Hugo, son fils nous conte que, pauvre fille de quinze ans, elle fuyait à travers le Bocage, brigande comme M^{me} de Bonchamp et M^{me} de la Rochejaquelin. Poétique illusion, comme on sait. Sa mère fut royaliste, si l'on veut, mais très loin des chouans, et plutôt voltairienne que chrétienne, bien que de pieuse famille. Les deux époux s'unirent civilement (1796), forcés peut-être par les circonstances, mais sans regret, s'il faut en croire V. Hugo. "Les églises étaient fermées en ce moment, les prêtres enfuis ou cachés; les jeunes gens ne se donnèrent pas la peine d'en trouver un; la mariée tenait médiocrement à la bénédiction du curé, le marié n'y tenait pas du tout."¹ Donc, entre le père et la mère, un trait commun: l'absence de religion. C'est dire qu'aucune influence chrétienne n'entoura le berceau du futur grand homme. Puis, commence la série des voyages imprévus en Corse, à Gênes (1805), à Naples (1807), en Espagne vers 1811. Ils laissèrent peut-être en son jeune esprit quelques reflets de visions pittoresques. Mais, à coup sûr, ils ne favorisèrent pas son éducation religieuse. En Espagne, il est élevé au collège des Nobles de Madrid. Des prêtres le dirigeaient. Sa mère, pour le soustraire à l'obligation de servir la messe, le déclare protestant, et, après avoir conté ce trait, V. Hugo ajoute qu'il n'allait pas à confesse et qu'il ne communiait pas.² Cela va de soi, puisqu'il passait pour protestant. Devant ces détails contradictoires, j'inclinerais à penser que le récit fut arrangé plus tard, pour montrer que le Hugo irréligieux de 1868³ perçait sous le jeune Victor de 1811. En tout cas, il en ressort que l'enfant échappait à l'action de ses maîtres.

Il revient à Paris en 1813. M^{me} Hugo abrita sa famille aux Feuillantines, et l'on sait par le poème xix des *Rayons et Ombres* ce qu'il se passait en cet asile.

¹ *Victor Hugo raconté par un témoin de sa vie*, chap. ii, n° 1 (édit. ROUFF).

² *Ibid.*, chap. xx, n° 3.

³ Date de cet ouvrage.

J'eus dans ma blonde enfance, hélas ! trop éphémère,
Trois maîtres, un jardin, un vieux prêtre et ma mère.

Le jardin, par la voix de ses insectes, de ses broussailles, de ses arbres verts et de ses fleurs, lui enseignait surtout l'école buissonnière. La mère avait des idées bizarres en pédagogie. V. Hugo nous raconte que, passionnée pour les romans, elle envoyait ses fils chez un vieux bouquiniste du voisinage, pour essayer les livres qu'elle pourrait lire sans ennui. Ainsi lurent-ils Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, *Faust*. On devine qu'ils n'y puisèrent pas un sentiment religieux bien vif. Quant au vieux prêtre, c'était le Père Larivière. Que valait-il ? Les témoignages de V. Hugo sont opposés entre eux. Tantôt c'est un souvenir aimable : son maître, "tout nourri de Tacite et d'Homère, était un doux vieillard, un prêtre à l'accent calme et bon, au regard réchauffant, naïf comme un savant, malin comme un enfant."¹ Plus tard Larivière est un Loriquet, inoculant à sa jeune intelligence la vieillesse des préjugés.² J'imagine que cette idée dut venir au poète, après coup, en 1875, pour se faire pardonner le vague catholicisme de sa jeunesse, comme s'il disait : je fus catholique, mais c'était la faute de l'éducation cléricale. Et puis, son ascension vers la lumière n'en devenait que plus méritoire. Enfin, V. Hugo nous donne de ce premier éducateur une image plus vraie, quand il écrit :

Ce Larivière était un homme instruit et qui eût pu être mieux que maître d'école. Il sut très bien, quand il le fallut, enseigner aux deux frères le latin et le grec. C'était un ancien prêtre de l'Oratoire. La Révolution l'avait épouvanté, et il s'était vu guillotiné, s'il ne se mariait pas ; il avait mieux aimé donner sa main que sa tête. Dans sa précipitation, il n'était pas allé chercher femme bien loin ; il avait pris la première qu'il avait trouvée auprès de lui, sa servante."³

Ce "vieux prêtre," avouons-le, représentait assez mal le catholicisme et dut manquer d'autorité pour l'implanter au cœur de ses élèves. En 1815, le général Hugo mit ses fils à la pension Cordier. C'était aussi "un ancien abbé qui avait jeté sa soutane aux orties . . . passionné de Jean-Jacques Rousseau."⁴ Son

¹ *Rayons et Ombres*, III, 44.

² *Actes et Paroles*, Introduction, I, 12 (1875-76).

³ *Victor Hugo raconté*, chap. vii, n° 1, p. 59.

⁴ *Ibid.*, chap. xxvi, n° 3.

professeur de philosophie s'appelait Maugras, encore un prêtre défroqué. Au contact de tels maîtres, quelles impressions religieuses purent pénétrer dans l'âme du jeune Hugo? Il n'en reçut aucune sur les genoux de sa mère, aucune sur les bancs de l'école.

C'est hors du collège, par la littérature et par ses relations royalistes qu'il se rapproche d'un certain sentiment catholique. Il fréquente au *Conservateur*, où écrivent Chateaubriand, Lamennais, de Bonald, Genoude, Polignac. C'est à leurs articles qu'il alimente sa verve naissante, et désormais c'est dans ses œuvres à peu près exclusivement qu'il nous faut étudier l'évolution de ses sentiments religieux. Les intentions catholiques sont évidentes dans le premier recueil lyrique. En tête des *Odes et Ballades*, V. Hugo écrit que "l'histoire des hommes ne présente de poésie que jugée du haut des idées monarchiques et des croyances religieuses; qu'il faut substituer aux couleurs usées et fausses de la mythologie païenne les couleurs neuves et vraies de la théogonie chrétienne" (1822). Au catholicisme est due la renaissance de la poésie:

La foi, dit-il, épure l'imagination, nous avons des poètes. . . . De même que les écrits sophistiqués et déréglés de Voltaire, de Diderot, de Helvétius ont été d'avance l'expression des innovations sociales écloses dans la décrépitude du dernier siècle, la littérature nouvelle, que l'on attaque avec tant d'instinct d'un côté et si peu de sagacité de l'autre, est l'expression anticipée de la société religieuse et monarchique qui sortira sans doute du milieu de tant d'anciens débris, de tant de ruines récentes [1824].

Quant à lui,

. . . . Soit que mon luth pleure ou menace ou console,
Mes chants volent à Dieu comme l'aigle au soleil,¹

et il invite Lamartine à marcher avec lui et à confesser le nom de Jéhovah. En général il semble bien que dans les *Odes et Ballades* retentisse l'écho d'un certain catholicisme.² Est-il sincère? Non, assurément. Aucun germe n'avait été déposé dans son âme par l'éducation première; et depuis, il n'avait eu ni le loisir ni le goût d'études religieuses solidement menées. Tout au moins, les

¹ *Odes et Ballades*, XI, 10.

² Cf. "Moïse sur le Nil," "La Liberté," "Dévouement."

témoignages manquent. Il reste donc qu'inaugurant ce rôle de cristal sonore qu'il devait remplir toute sa vie, il donne à ces jeunes essais un air de catholicisme, parce que c'est l'air du jour. Remarquez en effet que dans les passages de la Préface, cités plus haut, il ne sépare pas les intentions monarchiques des visées catholiques. Royalisme et catholicisme étaient plus ou moins liés. V. Hugo partisan du premier avec ferveur devait chanter le second avec une ferveur égale. D'autant que son guide, le Maître, Chateaubriand, lui offrait le modèle de cette union, modèle docilement suivi. J'ai dit tout à l'heure qu'à cette époque les *Odes* ne sont guère qu'un reflet des opinions du grand homme et de son groupe. C'est pourquoi l'accent plus ou moins religieux de ces poèmes me paraît faire simplement écho aux sentiments catholiques de ces personnages, de leur milieu. Donc religion de convenance pour une bonne part. En outre, le catholicisme littéraire de Chateaubriand ouvrait des sources de pittoresque bien plus que des sources de foi. Il ramenait la pensée aux souvenirs bibliques, aux martyrs tombés sous la dent des fauves, dans le cirque de Néron, au décor religieux du moyen-âge, à un christianisme de chapelles et d'ermites. Donc chez V. Hugo, christianisme d'imagination; aussi n'imprime-t-il aucune trace profonde dans son esprit. En 1828 il écrit *Marion Delorme*, dont la pensée fondamentale est que toutes les ignominies disparaissent devant un amour sincère, légitime ou non; ce qui ne témoigne pas, je crois, d'un grand sens catholique ni chrétien. Une année après, il publie les *Orientales* où, parmi les tours de force du versificateur, règne à peu près le seul matérialisme ou le sensualisme d'imagination. Et si je note cette tendance, c'est qu'elle sera forcément fatale à ce catholicisme sans racines, tout en vernis. Il craquera plus sûrement encore au souffle d'indépendance qui agite déjà cette âme naturellement révolutionnaire. Dans les trois préfaces des *Odes*, V. Hugo garde la neutralité entre classiques et romantiques; "il ignore même profondément ce que c'est que le genre classique et le genre romantique" (1824). Mais il incline à l'indépendance, ce qui est du romantisme. Dans les *Orientales* triomphe la fantaisie fièrement revendiquée à l'avant-propos comme un droit du poète. Je n'ai pas besoin de

rappeler la préface de *Cromwell*, où il se dresse contre le despotisme des règles et des codes. Mais voici où je veux en venir. V. Hugo n'ignorait pas "que la main courroucée qui délivre le mot délivre la pensée." Le légitime orgueil qui a proclamé la révolte littéraire suscitera bientôt et infailliblement la révolte contre le dogmatisme de la foi. Et c'est ici que s'affirme la ressemblance ou la sympathie secrète avec le protestantisme. Il écrit dans la préface des *Feuilles d'automne*: "Voyez le XVI^e siècle. C'est une immense époque pour la société humaine. . . . C'est le passage de l'unité religieuse et politique à la liberté de conscience et de cité, de l'orthodoxie au schisme, de la discipline à l'examen, de la grande synthèse sacerdotale qui a fait le moyen-âge à l'analyse philosophique qui va le dissoudre." Pour lui ce travail de décomposition catholique a commencé. Dans une pièce fameuse, la *Prière pour tous*, il suggère à son enfant une prière assez singulière pour son âge:

Ah ! demande à ce père auguste
Qui sourit à ton oraison,
Pourquoi l'arbre étouffe l'arbuste,
Et qui fait du juste à l'injuste
Chanceler l'humaine raison, etc.

Ce doute s'affirmait déjà en deux pièces antérieurement datées:

Tout chemine ici-bas vers un but de mystère.
Où va l'esprit dans l'homme ? Où va l'homme sur terre ?
Seigneur ! Seigneur ! Où va la terre dans le ciel ?
Que faire et que penser ? Nier, douter ou croire ?¹

Dans la *Pente de la Réverie* (mai 1830) V. Hugo apparaît sondant la double mer du temps et de l'espace, d'où il revient, hâletant, éperdu, pour avoir entrevu au fond le mystère éternel.

Les Chants du Crépuscule publiés quatre ans plus tard (1835) marquent une étape encore vers le scepticisme complet, à l'égard de la foi catholique. Ce qu'il veut peindre dans ce recueil, dit-il, c'est un étrange état crépusculaire de l'âme . . . la brume au-dehors, l'incertitude au-dedans. V. Hugo constate en lui le doute,

Près du besoin de croire un désir de nier,
Et l'esprit qui ricane auprès du cœur qui pleure.²

¹ "A mes amis L. B. et S. B., mai 1830;" la *Prière pour tous* est de juin 1830.

² xxviii.

Il indique même deux au trois causes vraisemblables de cet état; d'abord ce je ne sais quoi d'à demi-éclairé qui l'environne, c'est-à-dire l'atmosphère irrégulière du temps qui pénétra son âme plus que toute autre, en sa qualité de cristal sonore, d'écho retentissant de toutes les voix du siècle. Ailleurs il insinue peut-être une cause plus intime du doute par ce vers :

C'est notre mal à tous, enfants des *passions*.

Surtout si l'on en rapproche le poème de la Cloche.¹ Comme sur la cloche, auguste et sévère surface, des passants ont parfois creusé des mots impurs, ainsi les passions ont rayé son âme, vierge métal. Mais la vraie cause c'est l'esprit d'indépendance, celui qui naît du libre examen. Un catholique, en effet, tremblant dans sa foi, interrogerait ses sources, l'Écriture, la tradition, l'autorité, enfin ses bases surnaturelles, puisqu'elle n'en offre pas d'autres. V. Hugo les rejette. Il interroge l'histoire mais contre l'Église, et par là il offre un trait plus personnel de ressemblance avec le protestantisme. On sait que, parmi les dissensions doctrinales, la haine de l'Église et de ses institutions, habita longtemps, sinon toujours, l'âme des réformés. L'histoire de la Réforme n'est-elle pas souvent l'histoire de cette haine ou, si l'on veut, de cette lutte contre l'esprit catholique ? Or, ce sentiment d'hostilité remplit aussi l'œuvre de V. Hugo à partir des *Châtiments*. Elle éclate de façon retentissante à propos de politique. Déjà, en 1841, son discours de réception à l'Académie française révélait un engouement révolutionnaire assez inattendu. Cela d'ailleurs ne l'empêche point de briguer et d'accepter la pairie en 1845, de fréquenter assidûment à la Cour, chez Guizot et parmi le monde officiel. Au fait, le règne de Louis-Philippe pouvait se réclamer de la Révolution. Chanter celle-ci, servir celui-là n'offrait rien de contradictoire. Dans le même temps, V. Hugo prête l'oreille aux théories sociales de P. Leroux, de Cabet, se laisse pénétrer d'un socialisme nuageux dont nous retrouvons l'écho dans les *Misérables*, enfin glisse de plus en plus aux idées anti-catholiques. Le 13 janvier 1848, à l'Assemblée constituante, il célèbre encore, et avec une illusion bien naïve, "le pape libéral," "le maître des consciences devenu le serviteur de la raison," Pie IX. Mais le 15 octobre

¹ xxxii: A Louis B.

1849, sur la question romaine, il parle à la Législative en adversaire de la papauté qui ne connaît plus sa mission, de Rome qui n'est pas libre, de l'inquisition, de l'esprit clérical. La haine de l'Église lui sert de pont pour passer des idées conservatrices aux sentiments révolutionnaires. Le rétablissement de Pie IX fut, dit-il, "la clarté définitive" qui le fit radical-socialiste.¹ Dès lors cette haine ne l'a plus quitté. Elle s'alimente aux excitations politiques du temps. Les adhésions catholiques à Napoléon III, après le coup d'État, l'exaspèrent et servent à des attaques furieuses dans les *Châtiments*. Montalembert bave, accoudé sur l'autel, VII, 13; Veuillot est Escobar, Patouillet, un pied-plat, triple gueux, cafard, IV, 4, 7; les Jésuites sont des ambitieux sinistres, des étouffeurs de liberté et de raison, I, 7; les sombres amants du mal, en rut devant le crime, qui dans leurs écoles dégradées mettent à l'esprit frémissant un linceul, un bâillon aux idées, V, 10, n° 2; les évêques sont des Iscariotes; la honte s'appelle Sibour. Ces hommes, revêtus de l'étole, pour être cardinaux, pour être sénateurs, pour avoir des palais, pour ceindre une mitre dorée, pour boire du bon vin, vendent leur Dieu, I, 6, 8. Pie IX n'est qu'un suppôt du diable, V, 2, un fusilleur, I, 12, un tyran II, 2. C'est la bête noire de V. Hugo; il est à ses yeux plus criminel que les soldats, les capitaines, les juges, les rois, puisque, au dire du poète, il approuva tous leurs crimes.² En vérité le Pape, j'allais écrire le papisme, lui fait horreur. Dans une pièce de l'*Année terrible*,³ il repousse avec emportement le catholicisme romain, dont il rejette ce que précisément la Réforme répudie comme un anthropomorphisme grossier ou des corruptions de la foi primitive.

Quant au rôle historique de l'Église, dans le passé, V. Hugo le néglige ou à peu près. Au moyen-âge, dans la *Légende des siècles*, il consacre sans doute cinq sections ou chapitres: l'Islam, le Cycle héroïque chrétien, les Chevaliers errants, les Trônes d'Orient, Ratbert. Mais l'influence catholique, si considérable pourtant à cette époque, lui échappe ou lui apparaît désastreuse. Sur ce point, les trois séries (1859, 1877, 1883) se ressemblent

¹ *Actes et Paroles*, Vol. I, p. 292. Cf. Introduction, p. 23.

² *Légende des siècles*, 3^e série, xx.

³ Novembre 9.

avec un peu plus d'apreté dans les deux dernières, le poète vieillit rajeunissant toujours sa haine vivace. Pour représenter la chrétienté, il y a Ratbert, histoire d'un roi qui commet une spoliation criminelle sur les conseils d'un prêtre. Il y a Welf, castellan d'Asbor, vieux burgrave en lutte contre le roi et le pape, et que sa bonté livre à ses ennemis. Ambition, intrigues, luxure, cupidité, c'est l'Église, du pape au dernier moine.

A la suite des savants germaniques dont l'exégèse rationaliste a triomphé quelque temps au XIX^e siècle, ou du moins comme eux, il considère, il admire même dans le Christ un doux philosophe, un sage divin, mais non un Dieu. Ou bien, sous l'influence protestante d'Outre-Rhin, il incline parfois sa pensée au panthéisme. Je ne veux point citer le *Satyre*, dont la conclusion est évidemment panthéiste. Ce poème symbolise la Renaissance, beaucoup plus qu'il n'exprime les opinions de V. Hugo. Mais les passages ne sont pas rares où s'affirme cette doctrine. Le mot de la pièce: *Tout le Passé et tout l'Avenir*, "le ciel rempli d'étoiles, ce dedans du crâne de Dieu," me paraît être un peu plus qu'une image bizarre. Ceci est encore plus significatif à propos de la nature:

Toute sa foule étant elle même, elle est seule;
Monde, elle est la nature; âme, on l'appelle Dieu.
Tout être, quel qu'il soit, du gouffre est le milieu.

Dans *l'Abîme*, l'Infini dit: "L'être multiple vit dans mon unité sombre." N'est-ce qu'une imprudence de langage? Mais voici la même pensée en prose réfléchie:

Par Dieu nous entendons l'infini vivant. Le moi latent de l'infini patent, voilà Dieu. Dieu est l'invisible évident. Le monde dense, c'est Dieu. Dieu dilaté, c'est le monde. . . . Dieu se manifeste à nous au premier degré à travers la vie de l'univers et au deuxième degré à travers la pensée de l'homme. La deuxième manifestation n'est pas moins sacrée que la première. La première s'appelle la Nature, la deuxième s'appelle l'Art. . . . L'esprit humain a une cime. Cette cime est l'idéal. Dieu y descend, l'homme y monte.¹

Je pourrais multiplier ce genre de citations; je n'en abuserai pas d'ailleurs pour conclure au panthéisme formel du poète. Sans doute, il est certain que sa pensée oscilla entre le panthéisme et

¹ William Shakspeare, I^e partie, 1 et 2.

la croyance à un Dieu personnel. Il affirme celle-ci dans les *Contemplations*, il la développe à travers la *Légende des siècles* et dans *Religions et religion*. Jusqu'à son dernier jour le poète proclame énergiquement sa foi, au point de préférer l'enfer à l'athéisme :

Rien ! Oh ! reprends ce rien, gouffre, et rends-moi Satan.¹

Ce que je veux pourtant constater, ce qu'on peut constater avec moi par les citations faites plus haut, c'est que le panthéisme séduisit par instants l'intelligence de V. Hugo, et cela, je puis le croire raisonnablement, au contact, si éloigné qu'on le veuille, de la philosophie allemande. En voici du reste une dernière preuve. Dans son livre sur *V. Hugo, philosophe*,² M. Renouvier observe qu'une idée originale revient souvent dans les œuvres du poète, dans les dernières surtout : c'est l'idée du devoir, sûre lumière de l'esprit et vrai guide de la vie.

Homme, ne te crois pas plongé dans l'inconnu ;

Tu connais tout, sachant que tu dois être juste.

* * * * *

L'ombre est une descente obscure de prodiges.

Sans cesse l'inconnu passe devant nos yeux.

Mais ombre, qu'est-il donc de stable, sous les cieux ?

La justice, dit l'ombre. Aucun vent ne l'emporte.

* * * * *

Tu dis : "Je vois le mal, et je veux le remède.

Je cherche le levier ; et je suis Archimède."

— Le remède est ceci : Fais le bien. Le levier

Le voici : tout aimer et ne rien envier.

Homme, veux-tu trouver le vrai ? Cherche le juste.³

Or le devoir, source de lumière, et ce qui se lie avec le devoir, la douleur, cause de mérite, fonction divine, ce sont là des idées kantienne. V. Hugo, malgré ses contradictions évolutionnistes ou panthéistiques, a toujours proclamé les trois grandes thèses de la raison pratique : immortalité, liberté, personnalité divine, avec sa conséquence, le devoir. Voilà le fond de son âme. Il est incontestable qu'un rapprochement avec la philosophie de Kant est légitime, et par suite avec l'idée protestante.

Je sais d'ailleurs que sur ces données il ne faut point presser les conclusions. On peut sans paradoxe soutenir, et nous l'avons

¹ *Religions et religion*.

² Pp. 301-7.

³ *Religions et religion*, II, Philosophie.

fait ailleurs,¹ que le romantisme, à ses débuts, favorisa quelques sentiments catholiques, bien qu'il soit plus juste de prétendre que ce fut un catholicisme d'étiquette, de décor ou d'imagination. On peut dire encore que libre examen, libre pensée, émancipation de l'individu, rationalisme, que tout cela n'est pas autre chose que l'esprit révolutionnaire ou moderne, qu'ainsi V. Hugo est tout bonnement l'écho sonore de son temps. J'y souscris volontiers, mais à condition d'admettre que cet esprit moderne est né de l'esprit protestant. Et alors cela revient à mon point de vue, le vrai, je crois. Chateaubriand a écrit que la littérature nouvelle venait de l'émigration et de l'exil. Il avait raison. En Angleterre, par exemple, vécurent Rivarol, Delille, Fontanes, Chateaubriand lui-même, qui tira profit de ce séjour. Il traduisit Milton, lut Shakespeare, Ossian, et s'intéressa aux idées de ce pays jusqu'à écrire un *Essai sur la littérature anglaise*, avouant qu'il était grandement redevable à celle-ci. L'Allemagne fut le refuge de Narbonne, Gérando, Camille Jordan, Charles de Villers, Quatremère de Quincy. Ils lièrent connaissance avec ses génies glorieux, Wieland, Klopstock, Goethe, Schiller, Schelling, traduisirent leurs œuvres, publièrent sous le Directoire des gazettes, comme le *Spectateur du Nord* ou les *Archives littéraires de l'Europe*, dans le but de propager en France la littérature et la philosophie allemandes. A la tête du mouvement littéraire brillent des écrivains cosmopolites: Bonstetten, Benjamin Constant, Sismondi, M^{me} de Staël, tous imprégnés de pensée germanique. Le romantisme est né en grande partie de ces influences. Par les œuvres anglaises, connues à travers Rousseau, par les œuvres allemandes ensuite, l'action étrangère et protestante a pesé sur toute la génération romantique. Aussi, selon le mot de M. Brunetière, "le romantisme fut une rébellion contre l'esprit d'une race latinisée à fond,"² c'est-à-dire catholicisée.³

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¹ Cf. encore E. DUBEDOUT, *Le sentiment chrétien dans la poésie romantique* (édit. Pous-sielgue).

² Cf. J. TEXTE: *J.-J. Rousseau et les origines du cosmopolitisme littéraire*, pp. 429-31, 452.

³ Nous reproduisons ici, pour une bonne part, un article publié par nous, il y a quelque temps, dans la *Revue chrétienne*.



reun. etc. dom. of. p. a. c. e. s. u. p. e. n. H. e. l. l. e. n. o. u. d. u. e. g. e. n. t. h. e. l. p. e. n. t.

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lop. plop. cale. rean. sap.

f. foeh. i. pecunia. R. Rad. i. cosilium

g. gfu. i. gratia. B. bert. i. cortex

h. hegel. i. grando. S. sigel. i. velu

e. ethel. i. patria. v. vx. i. nofter

d. deg. i. dies

th. thorn. i. spina

m. man. i. homo. vel. mann.

a. ar. i. reueret. a.

ae. aeth. i. fraxing

ea. geay. i. ann. vel. ear.

A. Aan. i. lapis.

HICKES'S ADDITIONS TO THE RUNIC POEM.¹

IN his *Thesaurus* (1705, Vol. I, p. 135) Hickes gives a copy of the Old-English Runic Poem from the manuscript *Cottoniana Otho*, B 10, which was burned in 1731. As the manuscript is gone, we shall always be dependent upon Hickes's printed copy, unless some manuscript closely related to *Cot. Otho* should turn up.

The chief question that presents itself is this: Did Hickes find in *Cot. Otho* all that he gives us in his transcription of the Runic Poem? And if he added to it, where did he get what he added? It is my object in this paper to answer these questions as far as the material at present accessible to me will permit.

Hickes arranged the poem so that the account of each rune begins a new line, and he placed the runes in a column in the left margin, so that each rune stands opposite the line in which it is treated of. Our knowledge of other Old-English manuscripts makes us doubt that this was so in the manuscript of the Runic Poem. The column of runes is preceded by a column of phonological values and is followed by a column of rune-names. In the case of some of the runes, one or more variant forms are given, and at the bottom of the column are added certain runes that are not dealt with in the poem.² It is, *a priori*, very unlikely that all this grammatical lore was in the manuscript of the Runic Poem. The way that Hickes writes the names makes it appear that putting them in was an afterthought with him; indeed, I believe I can trace them to their source, but I refrain from saying

¹ This paper is accompanied by two reproductions: (1) Page 10 of *Cottoniana Domit.*, A 9, slightly reduced from a photograph by Dossetter, London, and (2) the left edge of page 135 of the first volume of HICKES's *Thesaurus*, from a photograph by Randall, Ann Arbor. The reader will find it necessary to make constant reference to these reproductions.

² The *ea*-rune is the last one that has a verse. In some unaccountable way, WÜLKER (*Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie*, Vol. I, p. 336) gives Ψ for Υ , just as he does in the Love Letter, p. 308. He omits some of the variants, totally misrepresents the *p*-rune and the second *lv*-rune (*coh*), and, in general, represents the runes with such types as the printer chanced to have in stock, regardless of the forms in the original. I may state here that in this paper I am still using types cut by myself. But I take pleasure in announcing that, through the enlightened generosity of Mr Junius Beal of Ann Arbor, American scholars and American printers will soon have access to types that will enable them to print any ordinary inscription, whether Greek, Latin, or Runic.

more until the necessary material is in my hands. Of course, it is possible that the names stood above the runes in the manuscript of the Runic Poem, having been inserted by some later scribe, but before Hickes's day. As for the phonological values, the variant runes, and the extra runes below, it is easy to show that all this was not in the manuscript of the Runic Poem, but was taken from the manuscript *Cottoniana Domit.*, A 9, and that by Hickes himself.

With the futhorc¹ of this manuscript we know Hickes was familiar,² for he copied it and printed it on the very next page to the one on which he gives us the Runic Poem. Hickes's copy is reproduced by Stephens, Vol. I, p. 102. A better copy was made by Madden for Stephens, and was reproduced by the latter on page 830. As I shall deal with this futhorc in detail in my forthcoming volume on *The Old-English Runic Futhorcs and Alphabets*, I shall here call attention to only the more important of its characteristics.³ The futhorc is written in three lines and is the work of two scribes. The original writer set out to give only the runes, with phonological values below; but when he got to the end of the second line, instead of writing *ea*, he wrote *ear*, the name of the rune. And in the third line he continued to write the names below the runes, and the phonological values above. From this it would appear that he had two sources for his furthorc: (1) One that had the runes and below them their values, and that ended in *ea*. This is the stage of development of the Old-English futhorc that we find reflected on the Thames knife; there, too, we find the strange forms γ^4 and φ for \mathfrak{h} and \mathfrak{z} . (2) One that had runes for *io* and the differentiated velars *k* and *g*, as well as the spurious runes *cweorth* and *stan*. This furthorc apparently

¹In this paper I shall distinguish between a runic futhorc (in which the runes stand in the usual order: *f, u, þ, o, r, c*, etc.) and a runic alphabet (in which the runes are arranged in the A B C-order).

²It may be that he was entirely dependent upon the copy sent him by Wanley; cf. WANLEY, *Cat.*, p. 239, and STEPHENS, Vol. II, p. 829, bot.

³It seems to have escaped notice that the parchment is a palimpsest, at least so far as the lower half of the page is concerned. Under *.e. ethel. i. patria*, etc., I can read the beginning of a futhorc, and below that a runic alphabet, but not the one of Hickes's that Stephens refers to, p. 831, top.

⁴I am here going on the supposition that we may trust Stephens's very positive statements (3, p. 159) of the observations made by him and Franks, in opposition to those made by Gosch for Wimmer (*Die Runenschrift*, p. 82).

had the values above the runes, and the names below. In copying the values, the scribe first wrote the name *mg* instead of *ng*, but he then erased enough of the *z* to turn it into a dot or two dots (cf. the reproduction), similar to those about the other letters, and partially erased the one he had already made between *l* and *mg*.

The second scribe undertook to supply names for all the runes, squeezing them in above the writing of the first scribe. With both writers, acquaintance with the runes was at second hand only, a sort of antiquarian knowledge. It would appear that the later scribe knew them only from a copy in which they were arranged in A B C-order (as originally on the lower half of the page, cf. p. 2, footnote 3) and so had difficulty in identifying them when arranged, as here, in the futhorc order. It is strange that he did not avail himself of the aid that the first scribe's written phonological values offered him; in two cases, indeed, he undertook to change them. Thus he takes \mathfrak{M} to be *dæg*, and \mathfrak{X} to be *mann*, and changes the underwritten correct *m* and *d* to *d* and *m*. The tilted \mathfrak{J} he supposes to be an *s* and assigns it the name *sigel*. The odd s-rune \mathfrak{Y} he first took to be \mathfrak{V} and began to write the name *feoh*, but stopped after writing *fe*.¹ The name *tir* he assigns to \mathfrak{Y} as well as to \mathfrak{U} , and the name *inc* to \mathfrak{I} as well as to \mathfrak{X} . The similarity of the names and values of \mathfrak{Y} \mathfrak{J} \mathfrak{M} \mathfrak{X} caused him much trouble. The first he leaves without name, assigning *iolk* to *calc*, the second we have seen him take for an s-rune, the third he gives the name of the fourth, and this he leaves without a name. In the last line he got nothing at all right.

There are variants, in the original hand, written above the runes for *h*, *s*, and *æ*. The first of these is an *h*-rune whose erect shafts are near together and whose cross-bars extend beyond the shafts. It is preceded by \mathfrak{A} *vel* and between the top of the \mathfrak{I} and the rune is $\cdot \mathfrak{a} \cdot$.² This \mathfrak{a} is exactly like those made by the

¹ The *f* is more curved than the other *f*'s of the second hand and backs up against the square dot that the first scribe put at the side of the variant rune above. Unfortunately, there is at this spot an imperfection in the half-tone reproduction, whereby the lower limb of the rune is shortened and a part of the *f*, as also the preceding dot, obliterated.

² There was once something written where the second dot now stands, that extended above it; I cannot make it out. The \mathfrak{A} is faint but quite distinct in the photograph, though it is hardly discernible in the half-tone reproduction. It was probably written and then erased by the scribe who afterwards wrote *vel*.

second scribe and was probably made by him. Whether or not he wrote the **&vel**, I cannot say. He evidently took the variant *h*-rune at first for an **ſ**, but decided that that was wrong and so tried to erase the **.a.** and the **vel** and, in so doing, partially erased the adjoining portion of the *h*-rune. Thus a careless glance catches only one shaft with two cross-bars (cf. reproduction). Between the two runes for *æ*, the second scribe has written *pro*, meaning that the upper may be used for the lower. These two forms are found side by side in *Galba*, A2 (Hickes, 3, tab. VI.=Stephens, No. 13). The name *gear* was first written with a letter after the *e* that has generally been taken for an *o* but appears to me to be an *r*; this letter is underdotted and an *a* is written above it. The name *ac* was first written *ac* and then changed to *ar*, or *vice versa*. In the list of names below, in a later hand, we find **.a. ar .i. reuerētia**. The would-be names inserted above the third line, by the second hand, I shall consider at another time; they have no interest for our present study.

Hickes's copy¹ of this futhorc (on the back of the page on which he prints the Runic Poem) reveals the following inaccuracies and errors. The remnant of the variant *h*-rune is placed by the side of the regular rune. The variant rune for *s* (as also the following *fe*) is omitted and for the one in the line the letter *R* is substituted, probably because Hickes misinterpreted the long *s* below as *r*, on account of the similarity existing between these letters in the Old-English hand. The variant *æ*-rune is omitted, so that the word *pro* appears as the name of the usual rune. The name *inc* over *l* is reproduced as *eac*. The name *lagu* is reproduced as *lagir*.

Madden's copy too, as reported by Stephens (2, p. 830), has numerous errors. It is evident that practically all of these are not due to Stephens but originated with Madden. The variant *h*-rune is ignored. The name over *l* is read as *iac* instead of *inc*. *peorð* is read *peord*. The letters *fe* over the *s*-rune are conjectured to be *co* or *et*. *lagu* is read *lagir*. *ng* is read *ing* (cf. p. 3 above). *mann* (the **.** is one of the two dots about the upper

¹I have not deemed it necessary to reproduce this. GRIMM's reproduction (*Ueber deutsche Runen*, Tab. III, 2) is practically perfect.

E Co

f ^{fen} F
u ^{up} n
ð ^{ðoun} b
o ^o n
n ^{nad} R
c ^{cen} h
3 ^{syru} X
uu ^{pen p} P P
h H + H ^{haesl}
n + X ^{nyð}
i I ^{ir}
3e ^{3ep} φ
eo ^{coh} S Z
p ^{pep} l
x ^{colhx} Ψ

býþ þ
3if
býþ a
pe
býþ ð
mar
býþ o
eoþ
býþ o
uþa
býþ c
hi s
gumer
and
ne bþ
j bl
býþ hj
pa.
býþ ne
hæl
býþ o
cyr
býþ z
beoþ
býþ u
unt
býþ r
bliþ
reccas
bne

r ^{stet} 4
t ^{tin} ↑
b ^{beoþe} B
e ^{ch} M
m ^{d' 3ep} M ^{an}
l ^{lagu} M
m3 ^X X ^{u3}
oe ^{ere} n
ð ^m m ^{des}
a ^{nae} N
ae ^{ast} f
y ^{yp} A
lo ^{io} X ^{ian}
ean ^{zir} V ^{cap}
c ^{ceod} W
g. h






re me
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lic on
býþ ea
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býþ egle e
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3

æ-rune) is misread as *manis* ("plainly written," as Stephens says). The upper æ-rune is misinterpreted by Stephens as "an old Scandinavian type of the M." The application of *pro* is erroneous. *cweorð* is incorrectly given as *cwæorð*. The *cweorð*- and *calc*-runes are supplied with elaborate ceriphs. The K over the *calc*-rune is read *ic*. Stephens erroneously says, "R wanting." The *r*-rune is in its proper place, but the R that Hickes substituted (see p. 4 above) for the two forms of the *s*-rune does, of course, not appear.

There are two or three peculiarities about the futhorc of *Cot. Domit.* The first hand gave the *j*-rune the value *ge* and, as we saw above, wrote the name *ear*, instead of the value *ea*, under the *ea*-rune, and at first wrote *ing* under the *ng*-rune but later tried to change the *i* into *·* or *:*, though not very successfully. The second scribe gave the *w*-rune the name *wen* and, as we saw above, made numerous mistakes in identifying the runes.

Now, the values given in the Runic Poem coincide with those in *Cot. Domit.* even to the peculiarities pointed out above, namely, *ge*, the apparent *ing*, and *ear*. Even the would-be corrections of the later hand were copied by Hickes, and that with the identical spellings *deg* and *mann*, though he has *dæg* and *[m]an* in the column of names. The slight divergencies that appear are easily explained. Of the three values *z se st* given in *Cot. Domit.* for *stan*, Hickes has, for lack of room, omitted *se*. He was evidently in doubt concerning the K given in *Cot. Domit.* as the value of the *calc*-rune. In his copy of *Cot. Domit.* (Vol. I, p. 136), he correctly renders this as K, but as there is a horizontal line drawn through it in the manuscript, he gives the rune no value at all in his copy of the Runic Poem.¹

But not only did Hickes transfer the phonological values from *Cot. Domit.* to the Runic Poem, he also got from the same source the variant runes that he gives in his transcript of the Runic Poem. This is true of the first *w*-rune, the first and the

¹ In this way Sievers (PAUL's *Grundriss*, Vol. I, plate "Runenalphabet") was misled into supposing that the rune in *cweorð*  above the *calc*-rune  was a repetition of the rune in *tir*  *ear* just above it, and that *cweorð*  really belonged to .

second *h*-runes, the first *n*-rune,¹ the first *hw*-rune (𐌺), the first *ng*-rune, as well as all the runes that have no corresponding verses in the Runic Poem. It is interesting to observe that the runes that were taken over from *Cot. Domit.* are in all cases the first ones. It is evident that Hickes copied the Runic Poem with the runes in it in a column. He then prefixed the variant runes from *Cot. Domit.*, just as he prefixed the values. But the engraver (or Hickes himself, in making copy for the printer), not wishing to let the extra runes project at the left, moved the original runes a little to the right. Of the variant runes transferred from *Cot. Domit.*, the most interesting is the supposed 𐌺 *h*. We have seen that this form is due to Hickes's misreading of a half-erased 𐌺 and that, therefore, no such rune ever existed, either in the Runic Poem or in *Cot. Domit.*, though it has figured in all books on runes since Hickes's day.

It is clear that the rune-names that Hickes gives in his copy of the Runic Poem were not taken from *Cot. Domit.*, whatever their origin. There is, however, one exception to this. A glance at the reproduction makes it clear that Hickes (or his engraver) placed over the *w*-rune that was taken from *Cot. Domit.* the name that it has in that manuscript, that is, *wen*, and that he started to write over the rune from the Runic Poem the name it had in the Runic Poem, but that he did not write more than the first consonant.² How this happened may be explained in various ways. What is of importance to us is the fact that the name *wen* was introduced into the Runic Poem from *Cot. Domit.* The name is found nowhere else and has therefore no more authority than its occurrence in *Cot. Domit.* gives it. But we have seen that it was inserted into *Cot. Domit.* by the second scribe, a man who has shown that he was grossly ignorant of runes and runic matters. Under the circumstances, we are justified in assuming that he wrote *wen* for *wyn* under the influence of the preceding *cen*. Some years ago, Sievers showed (*Anglia*, Vol. XIII, pp. 3 ff.) that the Runic Poem and all other texts containing the

¹ The peculiar upper back-stroke seen in Hickes's reproduction is due to his misinterpretation of a crease in the parchment.

² All this is concealed by the disarrangements that WIMMER introduced (p. 85) into his copy of HICKES. Compare also his systematizing treatment of the latter part of the futhorc.

w-rune demand the name *wyn*, Gothic *uwinne*, and that this must, therefore, have been the original name of the rune; but, in deference to the occurrence of the form *wen* "in mehreren ags. runen-alphabeten," Sievers concedes that this name had currency later. I do not know what Sievers had in mind when he said the form *wen* was found in several Old-English futhorcs. We have seen that it is found only in *Cot. Domit.* and the Runic Poem; furthermore, that it was copied into the latter from the former, and that it owes its existence in the former to a late scribe who was guilty of numerous glaring errors. We may now, therefore, regard this specter name as finally laid.

Hitherto the forms, values, and names found in Hickes's transcription of the Runic Poem have been assigned chief importance in runic studies, for example, by both Wimmer (p. 85) and Sievers (as cited above). The bearing of the present study is this: The Runic Poem can be appealed to as evidence on runic matters only in regard to the right-hand forms (and perhaps most of the names) of those runes that have corresponding verses in the poem. The remaining runes and the phonological spellings added by Hickes have only so much value as they have in the *Cot. Domit.* manuscript. For the same reasons, the alphabet constructed by Hickes from the runes given by him as appearing in the Runic Poem, and published in his *Thesaurus* (Vol. III, tab. 2., No. 2, = Stephens, Vol. I, p. 104, No. 16) has no greater value. In other words, I have removed from the Runic Poem most of the rubbish that became attached to it in the process of its transmission to us, and which has been preserved, with more or less care, by those who have edited the poem.

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MILTON AND OVID.

OF course, all or most commentators on the proem of the seventh book of *Paradise Lost*—that is on the part of it, ll. 30–39, that describes the death of Orpheus—refer to the opening passage of the eleventh book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; but I do not think anyone has perceived how very closely Milton in this instance follows Ovid—how evidently he had Ovid's verses running in his head when he wrote that description, and in his own wonderful way reproduced and bettered the very picture drawn by a poet whose writings he knew intimately and highly appreciated—more highly perhaps than they are commonly appreciated nowadays.

The lines that specially concern us are these:

Still govern thou my song,
Urania, and fit audience find, though few;
But drive far off the barbarous dissonance
Of Bacchus and his revellers, the race
Of that wild rout that tore the Thracian bard
In Rhodope, where woods and rocks had ears
To rapture, till the savage clamour drowned
Both harp and voice; nor could the Muse defend
Her son. So fail not thou who thee implores;
For thou art heavenly, she an empty dream.

Ovid portrays the Bacchic rout in all its frenzy. There rush before us

Nurus Ciconum tectae lymphata ferinis
Pectora velleribus

(Ciconian wives their frantic breasts covered with the skins of wild beasts) and we hear their furious uproar, and how it drowned Orpheus's sweet notes.

Ingens
Clamor et infracto Berecynthia tibia cornu,
Tympanaque, et plausus et Bacchei ululatus
Obstrepuere sono citharae.

(A vast shouting and the Berecynthian pipe with its cusp of horn, and the timbrels, and the clappings, and the Bacchic yellings overpowered the sound of the lute.)

Till this uproar prevailed, Ovid tells us stones flung at the lyrist had not the heart to harm him; but then the Mænads advance in a ferocious circle and turn on him with hands already stained

with the blood of the countless birds and snakes and wild creatures that had been listening with astonishment to his song. On every side and with all sorts of weapons they assault him; and at last, having departed for a moment to equip themselves with yet more implements—hoes and heavy rakes and long mattocks—

Ad vatis fata recurrunt,
Tendentemque manus atque illo tempore primum
Irrita dicentem, nec quicquam voce moventem,
Sacrilegae perimunt; perque os, pro Juppiter! illud,
Auditum saxis intellectumque ferarum
Sensibus in ventos anima exhalata recessit.

(They run back to make an end of the bard; and him stretching out his hands toward them, and on that occasion for the first time speaking vainly and moving nothing with his voice, sacriliciously they slay; and through those lips, Oh! Jupiter! that stones heard and the senses of wild beasts understood, his soul breathed out and passed into the air.)

Observe Milton's "Thracian bard" and Ovid's "Threicius vates;" Milton's "where woods and rocks had ears to rapture," with Ovid's detail of the stone that would not hit the harper so long as his harping was audible:

Alterius telum lapis est, qui missus in ipso
Aere concentu victus vocisque lyraeque est;
Ac veluti supplex pro tam furialibus ausis
Ante pedes jacuit.

(The weapon of another is a stone which when flung was conquered in mid-air by the harmony of voice and lyre, and lay at his feet as if suppliant for its infuriated attempt);

and also Ovid's "Os auditum saxis intellectumque ferarum sensibus;" Milton's "Till the savage clamour drowned both harp and voice;" and Ovid's "ingens clamor" and "obstrepuere sono citharae," and "concentu vocisque lyraeque."

Professor Masson, to whom all students of Milton's works are so immensely indebted—we wish him many happy returns of his recent birthday—has called attention to the fact that often the great poet's sentences are a wondrous fusion of biblical words and phrases. In the case just considered, not less remarkable assuredly are his reminiscences of what was presumedly a favorite passage in a favorite poet.

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London.

A VARIANT OF THE GAELIC "BALLAD OF THE MANTLE."

THE Irish poem printed below seems worth publishing, even though the text is so bad as to be in places barely intelligible, because it is in some respects a significant variant of the "Ballad of the Mantle," which has interesting bearings on a large group of mediæval stories. The earliest known version of the ballad is preserved in the "Book of the Dean of Lismore," and was edited, along with other selections from that manuscript, by Rev. Thomas McLauchlan in 1862.¹ McLauchlan's text, with his translation, was reprinted by Thomas Wright in 1867,² and the text alone was once more published by J. F. Campbell in 1872.³ An improved edition of many of the pieces in the Dean's Book was begun by the late Alexander Cameron and published after his death by Alexander Macbain and John Kennedy. The "Ballad of the Mantle" is among them, and the *Reliquiae Celticae*⁴ (the posthumous collection of Cameron's works) contains, besides the Dean's version of the poem, a very similar Irish ballad from Edinburgh MS 54. Finally, in 1896, the ballad was re-edited and discussed in a masterly article by Ludwig Christian Stern,⁵ who called it, however, by some strange oversight, "eine bisher unbeachtet gebliebene Version" of the story. As a matter of fact the connection between the Gaelic ballad and the similar Arthurian tales was long ago noted by Thomas Wright in the article already cited,⁶ and the whole body of related material was analyzed at length by Professor Child in

¹ *The Dean of Lismore's Book*, Edinburgh, 1862, pp. 72 ff., of the English, and pp. 50 ff., of the Gaelic.

² *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 3d Series, Vol. IX, pp. 30 ff.

³ *Leabhar na Feinne*, London, 1872, pp. 138 ff. In his very brief introductory note Campbell says: "This ballad, or the story of it, is known in Irish writings." It is not clear from his language whether he had in mind Irish ballads such as have since been published, or had seen the story in some other form in Irish.

⁴ Inverness, 1892. The Dean's version is on pp. 77 ff.; the Edinburgh text on pp. 116 ff.

⁵ *Zt. f. celt. phil.*, Vol. I, pp. 204 ff.

⁶ *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 3d Series, Vol. IX, p. 7 ff.

his introduction to the English ballad of "The Boy and the Mantle."¹ But both these earlier discussions were based upon an imperfect understanding of the Gaelic text, and it remained for Stern to make a correct translation, and to point out the close parallelism between the account of Mac Reithe's wife and that of Sir Craddocke's. In addition to the copy of the ballad in the Dean's Book, Stern cited Irish versions of it from four manuscripts: the *Duanaire Fhinn*, of the seventeenth century, previously noted by Zimmer;² Edinburgh MS 54, of the eighteenth century, printed in the *Reliquiae Celticae*; and MSS 23. C. 31 and 23. G. 21 in the Royal Irish Academy, both of more recent date. The text of the *Duanaire Fhinn*³ he printed from a copy furnished him by P. M. MacSweeney, and variant readings were recorded from the Edinburgh manuscript. Both the printed Irish copies correspond closely (except for the omission or addition of two or three stanzas) to the poem in the Dean's Book, upon which Stern's discussion of the story was based. Whether the same is true of the versions in the Academy manuscripts I cannot say, since Stern gave no account of them, and I have not yet had an opportunity to look them up.⁴ Very likely Stern's texts will prove in the end to represent the oldest and purest form of the Gaelic ballad. But the version printed below differs from them considerably, and some of its features must be taken into account in reconstructing the history of the story on Gaelic ground.

The Harvard variant represents an amplified form of the poem which, so far as I know, is here published for the first time. It is taken from a very poor paper manuscript in the Harvard University Library (shelf-mark A R f. 4. 46. 8). The handwriting is

¹ *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, Vol. I, p. 257-74. See also, for additions and corrections, Vol. I, p. 507; Vol. II, p. 502; Vol. III, p. 503; Vol. IV, p. 454; Vol. V, pp. 212 f., 289.

² *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1887, p. 173.

³ A complete edition of the *Duanaire Fhinn* is announced among the forthcoming publications of the Irish Texts Society.

⁴ There seems to be still another copy in MS, Egerton 175 (British Museum), fol. 59^b ff. See S. H. O'GRADY, *Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts*, p. 652. From O'Grady's statement that there are nineteen quatrains I infer that this copy corresponds rather to Stern's versions than to the Harvard variant. Since the last part of O'Grady's catalogue has not yet reached the Harvard Library, I cannot say whether the ballad is found also in other MSS at the British Museum.

said in two places to be that of Peter McCarthy (once spelled "Peter McCarthys handwritting"), and one of the English entries is dated "this 7th Day of March one thousand Eight Hundrid and forty two—1842." The volume consists almost entirely of Ossianic poems, which are closely similar in contents to several of those in O'Daly's *Laoithe Fiannuigheachta*.¹ They constitute, in fact, an incomplete copy of the compilation often entitled the *Agallamh Oisín agus Pátraic*. The following table will indicate more definitely the pieces included and the order in which they come:²

Laidh Mheargaigh, Oss. Soc., IV, 94–162. Incomplete at the beginning in the Harvard MS (H.)

Laoi Mná Mheargaigh, *ibid.*, IV, 164–92.

Anmanna na b-Príomhlaochradh, *ibid.*, IV, 194–200.

Seilg Locha Léin, *ibid.*, IV, 200–224. Six stanzas on pp. 200–202 and three on pp. 217, 218, are not found in H.

Seilg Shléibhe g-Cuilinn, *ibid.*, V, pp. 2–18. H has fifteen additional stanzas containing a typical dispute between Patrick and Ossian on the subject of love.

Except for the differences indicated, and a few unimportant changes of order, the poems in H correspond almost stanza for stanza to those printed by O'Daly. But the verbal variations are so numerous and constant throughout that the manuscripts cannot stand in any close relation.³ After the "Chase of Slieve Gullion" H has eight stanzas of dialogue; and then comes the "Ballad of the Mantle," which O'Daly did not include in his collection. If he found it in his manuscripts, which is not unlikely, he may have omitted it from considerations of delicacy. The pages that follow the ballad in H seem to have belonged originally to a different manuscript. They contain, besides scribbles in English and Irish, copies of the *Bharántas an Hata* and the *Bharántas Dhonnchadha uí Núndáin* of Owen Roe O'Sullivan,⁴ and an incom-

¹ *Ossianic Society*, Vols. IV and VI.

² The titles are copied from O'Daly's edition. In H the pieces are written continuously without a single division.

³ The MS from which most of O'Daly's pieces come is a trifle later than H, having been written in 1844. But it has a much better text. The readings in H agree occasionally, though not regularly, with variants printed from other MSS in O'Daly's footnotes.

⁴ Both these "warrants" have been edited by Father Dinneen, *Amhráin Eoghain Ruaidh uí Shuilleabháin*, Dublin, 1901, pp. 103–12.

plete copy of the *Cúirt an Mheadhoin Oidhche*.¹ At the end of the last piece is the following signature: "Petir Crimin's handwriting, dated this 10 day of June one thousand & 41 one."

The text of the Harvard manuscript is uniformly bad throughout, as may be judged from the sample printed below. Spelling, meter, and grammatical construction are all hopelessly out of gear; and nearly every stanza affords examples of words wrongly divided, or of letters and marks of aspiration carelessly omitted. There are many mistakes of the kind familiar with illiterate writers who spell largely by sound, such as the constant confusion of *mh* and *bh*, or of *dh* and *gh*, and the incorrect insertion or omission of the last two. A number of errors, on the other hand, are blunders rather of the eye than of the ear, and make it clear that Peter McCarthy was copying, and not writing from memory or dictation. If his manuscript goes back at all to a correct written source — which it is not necessary to assume, since the bad spellings may have been in the first copy — I judge that it is several stages removed from such an original. In many places it is easy to correct the writer's blunders, and to restore lines which he has distorted; sometimes the older printed texts point the way to readings which he has disguised beyond recognition; but a few cases remain where I have not been able to make any satisfactory guess. Under the circumstances I have thought best to print the ballad just as it stands, in the hope that a better copy may soon be found. A complete translation, with the present materials, would involve some useless guess-work, but the main course of the narrative is clear. The summary which follows will show the relation of this version to the other ballads on the subject.

Ossian relates the story to Patrick. Finn was one day drinking in Almain, accompanied by only a few followers. There were six warriors in all — Finn and Ossian, Caoilte, Oscur, Diarmuid and Conan — and their six wives. (Stanzas 1, 2.) When drunkenness had overcome the women, they swore that there were not six wives in the world as faithful as they were. Finn warned them that though they might be good, there were many

¹ Recently printed by Patrick O'Brien, Dublin, 1893. The edition of 1800 is now rare.

women who had remained true to one man alone. (Stanzas 3, 4.) Not long after this, a beautiful girl entered with a mantle about her, and Finn asked her what she brought. She replied that it was the virtue of her mantle to reveal the unfaithfulness of women. (Stanzas 5-7.) Conan at once bade her give the mantle to his wife, that they might know the value of the women's boasts. His wife said she would take it, but she tried to evade the test. Then after Conan had taunted her, she put the garment on and it failed to cover her. When Conan saw it curling up about her side, he seized his spear and killed her. (Stanzas 8-16.) The wife of Diarmuid next took the mantle, and it also failed to cover her. She begged her husband not to trust in the virtue of the garment; but he replied that he believed the mantle rather than women's words. When she persistently refused to admit her guilt, he commanded her to leave his presence forever; and from that time forth Diarmuid never had a wife. (Stanzas 17-26.) Then Oscar asked Gealluir to try the loan of the mantle. She put it on, and it would not cover her middle. After protestations, and an appeal to the woman who brought the mantle, Gealluir was banished from her husband's presence with a curse. "Never again did my son take a wife," says Ossian to Patrick. (Stanzas 27-34.) Then Finn bade Miadhnuis, his wife, take the mantle. It floated above her ears and would not come down. Finn bared his sword and killed her in his anger. (Stanzas 35-38.) "Then my wife took the mantle," Ossian continues with pride. Of all the women she alone met the test successfully, and the garment covered her whole body. "It was pleasant to me, Patrick, to see my wife's faithfulness confirmed." (Stanzas 39-42.) Finally Mac Criomhthain's wife put on the mantle, and it fitted her smoothly except for her little toes. She confessed that she had been guilty of giving one kiss to Diarmuid. (Stanzas 42, 43.) Then the strange woman asked to have her mantle back, declaring that she herself had never bestowed her favors on any man but her husband. She departed, saying that she had "a little story about them;" and Finn cursed her for the trouble she had brought. (Stanzas 44-46.)

Several differences are to be noted between this ballad and

those printed by Stern. In the first place, the new variant has forty-six stanzas to their nineteen. The additions consist principally of dialogue and a more circumstantial account of the testing of the women. But the longer poem cannot be accounted for simply as an embellishment of either one of the others. It agrees now with one of them, and now with the other, and contains some elements (whether early or late) not found in either. It also omits stanzas occurring in one or both of them: such as Lismore stanza 3, giving the names of the women, and Lismore stanza 7, describing the entrance of the damsel (both of them also missing in *Duanaire Fhinn* and the Edinburgh MS); Lismore stanza 16 (which DF and Ed. have), containing the words of Mac Reithe; and Lismore stanza 17 (which DF and Ed. lack), containing the answer of his wife. Stanza 45 in H, on the other hand, is missing in Lismore, but found in both DF and Ed. Most of these variations are insignificant, since stanzas are freely added or dropped in popular ballads. But the list of the women's names in Lismore (stanza 3) is really inconsistent with H, which calls Oscur's wife *Gealluir*. No such name occurs in Lismore, and no name at all is given Oscur's wife in DF and Ed. H also disagrees with Lismore (and agrees with the Irish ballads) in assigning the words of warning in stanza 5 to Finn, and not to the maiden with the mantle.

Of the stanzas which H has in common with the older ballads—about fifteen in all—some show only loose correspondences, and some have been very much corrupted by copyists, or in process of oral transmission. A typical instance of the latter sort will be found in stanza 44, for which Lismore has:

Tabhraidh mo bhrat domh, a mhná,
is mi nighean an Deirg ghráin,
nocha dearnus do locht
ach feis re Finn faobhar-nocht.

The references to Dearg and Finn have disappeared from H, though they are perfectly clear in Ed. The whole stanza is missing in DF.

H agrees with Lismore in mentioning Caoilte among the company. In Ed. and DF Mac Reithe takes his place, and the six

men named in the preliminary list are the same as those concerned in the narrative. Since in Lismore also Mac Reithe figures in the action, and not Caoilte, Stern concluded that the former should be substituted in the list. But it is not necessary to assume an error here, or even an inconsistency. Apart from the fact that Caoilte is mentioned in H—an odd coincidence, if his appearance in Lismore is a mere mistake—there is some authority for the name "Caoilte mac Reath" (or "Retha") in other ballads.¹ In H, to be sure, the situation is more complicated, for the husband of the venial transgressor in this latest version is Mac Criomhthain, and not Mac Reithe. Now at least two Ossianic characters are called Mac Criomhthain: Catluan, who is mentioned as a member of Finn's household;² and Cael Crodha, who has several adventures in the *Agallamh na Senorach*.³ If the second of these is intended, the discrepancy between the opening stanzas in H and the actual tale may be due to some confusion between his name and that of Caoilte.⁴

The most striking difference, however, between H and the other ballads is in the treatment of Ossian's wife. Lismore has no account of her experience with the mantle, presumably because one or more stanzas have been lost. DF and Ed. each have a stanza declaring that the garment did not fit her, but brought her to shame. In H, on the other hand, Ossian boasts that his wife was triumphantly vindicated. She has not even a peccadillo to confess. How old this feature of H is, cannot be satisfactorily determined with the evidence at hand. The foreign analogues, as Stern suggests,⁵ lead us to expect the complete exoneration of one of the women; and it might perhaps be maintained that the Lismore version, if we had the missing stanzas, would show the

¹ See *Leabhar na Feinne*, pp. 98 and 103; *Reliquiae Celticae*, Vol. I, pp. 210, 304, and 327; and compare Fhoilte mic Rea', *Inverness Transactions*, Vol. XIII, p. 279.

² *Silva Gadelica* (S. H. O'GRADY), Vol. I, p. 92.

³ *Irische Texte* (WINDISCH AND STOKES), Vol. IV, pp. 7, 22-5, 132, 133. See also *Reliquiae Celticae*, Vol. I, pp. 86, 202 ff., 259, 345 ff., 395, 422 ff., and *The Battle of Ventry*, pp. 52-7 (containing the account of his death and that of his wife Gelges). Cael Crodha's nurse, it may be worth noting, is Muirenn, a daughter of Derg. She seems to be a different person from the daughter of Derg who brings the mantle.

⁴ With regard to the possibility of such a confusion it is interesting to note that Cameron, in transliterating one of the poems in the Dean's Book, rendered *Keilcroy*¹ (or *Keiltroy*¹) ² *Kreyvin* as *Caoilte-cruaidh mac Criomhthain*. Stern has pointed out that this should be *Cael-crodha* (*Zt. f. Celt. Phil.*, Vol. I, p. 326).

⁵ P. 309.

innocence of Ossian's wife. But this supposition appears to me unlikely. The exoneration of Mac Reithe's wife is nearly enough complete to furnish a good parallel to the account of Sir Craddock's wife in the English version. The statement that the latter, after her confession, found the mantle to fit perfectly, is prettily devised, but it makes no essential difference in the story. Moreover, if the innocence of Ossian's wife was an original feature of the Irish ballad, it is strange that it should have been changed in DF and Ed. If, on the contrary, she was originally disgraced like the rest, it is easy to see how the account of her innocence may have been introduced for dramatic effect, after the whole story had been put into Ossian's mouth. It will be observed that in DF and Ed. the tale is not narrated in the first person. Whatever the relative age of the two accounts, the absolute age of the vindication of Ossian's wife remains doubtful. It is not proved to be recent because it happens to have been found only in a late manuscript.

But it is not the purpose of this article, necessarily very short, to reconstruct the history of the Gaelic "Ballad of the Mantle." I have meant simply to call attention to the new variant and to some of the questions it raises—questions which will very likely be easy to settle when a larger body of Ossianic literature is in print. The following text, I also beg to say, is not an edition of the poem, but is offered—errors and all—as material toward an edition.¹

- 1 La da raibh Fionn aig oil
an Almhuinn ar bheagan sloig
seisear fear agus seisear bann
is dob iad sinn iomlan ar mbionne

¹The Harvard Library has acquired, since the present article was put in type, another manuscript of the *Agallamh Oisín agus Pátraic*, which contains a version of the "Ballad of the Mantle" substantially identical with the one here published. This second manuscript (shelf-mark ARf. 4. 46. 10) is dated 1800, and is much more accurately written than the other. Unfortunately it comes to hand too late for use at this time. The two texts frequently show different readings, but there is no disagreement in the narrative or the names of the characters. The existence of the second copy does not, so far as I can see, affect any of the statements made above. It simply suggests that the longer form of the ballad, as well as the shorter, may prove to be common in Ossianic manuscripts. A careful study of the whole *Agallamh*, investigating the date and manner of its compilation and the history of its component parts, is much to be desired. The title is sometimes used for a single dialogue, and sometimes serves (after the manner of the *Agallamh na Senorach*) to designate a whole cycle of somewhat disconnected poems.

- 2 Fionn agus Oisinn do bi ann
Cuilte Usgar 7 Diarmuid
Conan maol nar mait meinn
is mna na seisear laoc sinn
- 3 An tan do ghaibh meisge na mna
tuig siad alluidhe mhionne gnaith
na raibh ar an ttlamh dtirim
seisear bann chomh hionnraic leo.
- 4 Adubhairt Fion faith an duinne
ilcheardach é an dobhann
cia mait sibse is iomdha beann
nar cumaisg riabh ac haon fear *amhain*.
- 5 Ni fada biodhar mar sinn
an tan tainig aon beann chuicha
brait iompe go naile
agus í na haon tsanaithedh
- 6 Fiafrios Fionn go nairach
dinngionn an bruit go naile
Cread do beir tu ad taonn tsnaoite
ataecht anis dar laithir
- 7 Cuid do bhuaedh mo bhruit go naile
ar an ingionn ailion uidh
mi ionracas gac mna do nochta
afhin sheibh shochma mhicuaile
- 8 Tabhair an brat dom mhnaoi feinn
ar Connan maol a rioghbhan og
no go bhfeasam an briathar mear
tuig na mna ar mhaithedh leo
- 9 Glacadsa an brat a Connann
ar an bhean dob aile gnuis
cia mor a ghuilas orm fein
an deinan-tu dom miodreir gan cuis.
- 10 Gabus bean Connann gan chiall
an brat iompe feinn go dluit
nuar fuar si an brat a caise
gan fios donn fhear mhaite duig.
- 11 A bhean ar Conan go borb
cread is eagal duit mas fíor
na briathradh grod ó cianaibh
an brath ar iasacht tomáis read cli

- 12 Do gaib-asa an brat riomhaso
A Conan coisg do beal ar sidh
is brid ar bith ni gealtar liom
do bheith an suid fhear na mnaoidh
- 13 Na bi da luadh a bheann ar Connann
gaibh an brat go naile chugad
no go bfeasad an fíor an glór
mar aon leo do taint liom.
- 14 Gaibhadsa an brait uid airis
a Connann ar si do chrith glór
ni bhfuil ae neabh ní dhe ansa bhrat
chuirim anaith dhuit gan ghó.
- 15 Do gaibh bean Connann maoill
an brat fíor iompe go mear
is gairid do cúaig a cuard
is bo gairid feadh gruaim an bheann.
- 16 Anuar do conaire Conan maoll
an brat fe na taob acasa
nochtas a chiochras go níbh
an ríogh bean nar glic *gur* mairbh.
- 17 Glachas beann Dhiarmada ui Doinn
an brat ó mhnaoi Conan maoil
cia guir bhi sin an tsaoi gan locht
adeadh-nocht níor fhuilling se amhain.
- 18 A Dhiarmuid air an bhean chaobh
na tabhair geile do bhuadh an bhruit
taim fein ionraic go lor
ar son na fonnann se dhuim.
- 19 Geilimse do bhuadh an bruit
a bheann go fíor air Diarmuid Donn
níor geilis fos do bhriaraibh bann
anunracais air feag an domhain.
- 20 A Dhiarmuid ar an bhean caobh
na caisa liom fein go brach
mheith miodh-ionraich dhuit mar fear
trei bhuadh feasa an bhruit bhann.
- 21 Is fídhneadh me a bheann go miníoc
ar ionnracas fuill uightheac mna
níor creidis riamh da nglór
is ní mo deon go brach

- 22 Ni raibhas go *teacht* don inghionn uid
aon traith mi-ionnraic duit mar mnaoi
tabair dom aithneadh ar an eag
a Diarmuid mas geile don brat ban
- 23 Ni chuirfad a bhean cum bais tú
amhain gach traith is feasach liom
fear *uile* ma fuar uait pairt
ni baoghal dhuit trait is inis duinn.
- 24 A Dhiarmuid mas bas no beathadh
san ceas so do gealag duim feinn
ni fuidh mo cuir anis aluadh
is ni nocht-far í uaim leam readh
- 25 Imig a bhean slann fe bhuadh
ar Diarmuid uaim go la an bhrach
do gheibhairse ceile fir caomh
is na feicimse do gnuis go brach
- 26 Dimig beann Dhiarmada ui Dhuibhinn
is ni haithiristear linn car gaibh
nior ceanail Diarmuid *accomh*-dhail
daonn ceile gnath ónn la do sgair
- 27 A Gealluir ar Usgar na lann
is fada ar ngrun agcomh-dhail
ghaibh chugaid *iasacht* an bhruit
go bfeasam anis ambeadh do gnait
- 28 Glachas beann Usgur an bhreat
gear bhfada chomhairsing chomhreig
gear cuard an bhrít bain
a hiomlachainn nior fulaing se
- 29 A Usgair ar Ghealluir chaoimh
na-cuirse a sim andearna cuir
mas feasac e don ingion uidh
is cead liomsa insint duit
- 30 Ingion ailin an bhruit bhan
ar Usgur an ail leat suid
mas fas dhuit cionta mo mhna
e *nochta* gan cairde duinn
- 31 Do till go meallfadh si
inngionn caoinn an bruit bhainn
is go *nocht*fac cuirsa a mna feinn
d' Usgair da ceile caig

- 32 Usgur na geruadh lann ngear
is tuigite fein an gníomh
feach go cruinn ar luidhe an bhrúit
is ní beag dhuit sin ar an mnaoi
- 33 A Dhealluir ar Usgus trean
imig mar aonleó na mhaoinn
na ficim do gnuis go lá an brach
mo mallocht gac lá ad tslighe
- 34 Do ghluais Gealluir óna cheile chaomh
is ní feasach me cáir triail
níor gaibh mo mac re haon mnaoi gnath
ó dimig a Padruig na ccliar
- 35 Adubart Fion na mnaoi fein
dar bo chobhanim glaoit Miadhnuis
Gaibse an brat a ceile go mear
is nar sgara leat mar sgar le chaich
- 36 Ma geiltéar leat do bhuadh an brúit
a Fhín fhaith glíe mic Cubail
cuibhnig *guir*abhe buadh ata aige
na geasa ata astig na cluid
- 37 Ghaibhas Maighnais bean Fhinn na sloigh
an brat fa chorle mhighraunn
do chrap is do chruadh mar sin
tar a clúasaibh anuas ní dheachaig an bhrat bann
- 38 Nochtas Fion do lan phreib
a chliobh is bo dhoilg ris fein
do mairbh a bhainn ceile go mear
is do teilg an brat da taobh
- 39 Glacas mo bheannas a gan fonn
an brait is bo throum a ghlór
dob aithríeh liom fein fin
anuar gur dí bho dhobron
- 40 Do ghaib sise iompe an brat
is bo dhubhach a chruith sa gnuis
dfullaing an brat a corp
ó rin *guir* chuimil donn uir
- 41 Bo mait liom a Padruig
ionnracas mo mna bheith fíor
is daistrig sí go minnic daith
suil do bainnaig an brat da taobh

- 42 Nochtas bean mic Criomhthain a taobh
is gabas impe fein an brat
do chuaig an brat go sleamhuin slan
sios go lar a luidhcain
- 43 A mhic Criom-thain na mbriathair nolce
ni dearna riab do chiontaibh
ac aon poag *amhain* agus ni mar guid
do mac ui Dhuibhinn do Dhiarmuid
- 44 Tabar duim a mhna mo brat
is me ingion as dearbh diob
nar shinn mo thaobh re fear ar bith
ac ream aon fear fein amain.
- 45 Rachadsa feasta uaibh amna
fagbhaid an teach agaibh fein
sgeal ni beag agaib orm
sgeal beag aguim orrib ata.
- 46 Beir ar mallocht ar himeacht uainn
do rad Fionn bo cruad glic laibh
dubac anaidh *ar mban* dfuigis sinn,
immig is na tar cugain go brach.

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THE AUTHENTICITY OF GOETHE'S SESENHEIM SONGS.

WHILE preparing my edition of Goethe's poems I found it necessary to examine again the arguments which in recent years have been advanced against the authenticity of Goethe's so-called Sesenheim songs. The results of my investigations were such as to warrant a new discussion of a question which, in my opinion, is no less important and interesting than similar problems connected with literary documents of greater antiquity. I begin with a brief statement of the facts.

When Goethe in 1779 paid his final visit to Friederike Brion, he said in the account of this visit which he gave to Frau von Stein: "Ich fand alte Lieder, die ich gestiftet hatte." And in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (Hempel, Vol. XII, p. 20) he writes of these songs: "Ich legte für Friederiken manche Lieder bekannten Melodien unter. Sie hätten ein artiges Bändchen gegeben, wenige davon sind übrig geblieben, man wird sie leicht aus meinen übrigen herausfinden." There are, in fact, among the poems which Goethe published only two songs that belong to this period. What became of the other songs, the original existence of which is beyond question?

In 1835 Heinrich Kruse, the German poet, paid a visit to Friederike's younger sister, Sophie, who allowed him to make a copy of a number of songs which she still had in her possession. In his account of this visit, published in Vol. XVII of the *Deutsche Rundschau*, Kruse says: "Sie [Sophie] zeigte mir zuletzt noch einige Kleinigkeiten, die sie von Goethes Hand zufällig übrig behalten, und erlaubte mir herzlich gern, sie abzuschreiben." Three of the eleven songs which he copied were, according to Kruse, in Friederike's handwriting: "Kleine Blumen, kleine Blätter," "Jetzt fühlt der Engel," and "Nun sitzt der Ritter." Whether the remaining eight poems were in Goethe's handwriting he does not state directly in his account, but in a letter to

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Adalbert Baier he writes that the poems were partly written in Goethe's, partly in Friederike's hand.

In spite of this positive assertion, the question has been raised: Were the songs which Kruse copied really in Goethe's handwriting? Bielschowsky in an essay published in Vol. XII of the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* denies this, saying that what Kruse had before him was *not* Goethe's handwriting, but that of Lenz who, as is known, after Goethe's departure from Strassburg made the attempt to become the latter's successor in the affections of Friederike. Bielschowsky believes that his opinion finds support in the fact that August Stöber, the Alsatian poet, who visited Sophie Brion in 1837, found only eight poems, all of which were copies, the originals having been lost. Stöber printed these eight poems in his book *Der Dichter Lenz und Friederike von Sesenheim* (1842), remarking in a footnote (p. 111): "Diese Gedichte, die ich 1838 schon im Musenalmanach von Chamisso und Schwab mittheilte, waren im Besitz von Sophie Brion, Friederikens jüngster Schwester; die Originalien kamen ihr abhanden; allein sie versicherte, die Abschriften seien getreu."

It seems to me most peculiar reasoning to conclude that, because Stöber did not find the originals, the poems which Kruse copied were in Lenz's handwriting. But even if we should grant Bielschowsky his remarkable conclusion, would it not be equally remarkable that Lenz had written or copied for Friederike the songs which are Goethe's unquestioned property? Would a jealous and envious lover, and a poet of unusual ability such as Lenz was copy the poems of his predecessor, whom he was anxious to supplant in the affections of the girl? With the air of a district attorney who is trying to win his case Bielschowsky asks:

"Wie ist Sophie auf den Gedanken verfallen, sich eine Copie herzustellen? Ahnte sie den Verlust der Originalien im Voraus? Das Gleiche fällt bei Friederiken auf. Wozu hat sie sich Abschriften verfertigt? Sollte es nicht wahrscheinlich sein, dass schon Krusen, in denjenigen Blättern, die er für Abschriften Friederikens hielt, Abschriften Sophiens vorlagen, die sie sich zu der Zeit machte, wo die Originale noch in den Händen der Schwester waren? Denn von Goethe's Briefen und Liedern durfte [?] Sophie im Original nichts ererbt haben, obwohl sie das Gegenheil versichert hat. Es lag für eine alte Dame, für die Schwester

Friederikens, die fortwährend nach Goethischen Handschriften gefragt wurde, die Verführung nahe, auch über den Rahmen dessen hinaus, was sie als Goethisch ansah, von Goethischen Autographen zu sprechen."

But is it really so strange a fact that Sophie, in order to guard against the possible loss of the original poems, for which she was asked so frequently, made a copy, or had one made, since we are not told that she made it herself? And is it really so incredible that Friederike made copies of the poems which, without doubt, were originally contained in Goethe's letters? Would a woman of fine feeling, in her position, not guard such letters as sacred treasures, and allow to curious visitors only the inspection of copies? There is, in my opinion, not the least reason to impeach the honesty and veracity of either Sophie or Kruse, and, until stronger and more convincing arguments are brought forward, we must believe that Kruse in 1835 saw the originals, and that these had been lost or were withheld in 1837, when Stöber saw the copies. What became finally of Sophie's copies is not known.¹

But the question concerning the authenticity of the originals which Kruse copied is not decided, after all, by our mere belief in the latter's veracity. Of the eleven poems, which he copied and afterward presented to Salomon Hirzel, three have since been discovered among the papers of Lenz at Moscow and are now in the possession of P. Th. Falck, the author of the book *Friederike Brion*. Does this discovery not make it possible that Kruse was after all deceived in the handwriting, and that, among the originals which he saw, there were some in the handwriting of Lenz? It seems to me that we must choose between two possibilities. The originals which Kruse saw were either all in the handwriting of Lenz, or else the latter copied the three poems found among his papers from the originals in Friederike's possession. We have seen already that the first possibility is excluded, because it seems impossible that Lenz should have written or copied for Friederike the poems dedicated to her by Goethe. And had there been, beside Friederike's, two different handwritings in the

¹ It may be worth mentioning here that Sophie Brion is said to have entrusted the manuscripts to a young clergyman by the name of Spohr, who soon afterwards perished in America. See LUCIUS, *Friederike Brion*, p. 172.

originals, Kruse would certainly have recorded the fact. There is, however, sufficient proof that Lenz tried to get possession of everything concerning Goethe's relations to Friederike, and it does not seem to me impossible that he obtained from her a copy of the poems in question, as he obtained from Goethe a copy of the latter's drama *Prometheus*.

Far more important and decisive than the complicated exterior criteria for the authenticity of our songs is, in my opinion, the inner evidence which the poems furnish of Goethe's authorship. Bielschowsky, who in the essay quoted above is following von Loeper, Strehlke, and other critics, has collected material from Lenz's poems for the purpose of disproving the authenticity of at least five songs. I hope to show in the following that Bielschowsky is mistaken in his essential arguments. Before I discuss, however, the poems in question singly a few general remarks may be in place.

Although the eleven poems originated from various situations and at various times, they have in common certain characteristics of thought and expression which stamp them as the product of *one* author. Thus, in four of the songs Friederike is represented as the sun of his life, giving happiness and sunshine, as, e. g., in No. 9 (I quote according to the numbering of *Der junge Goethe*, Vol. I, pp. 261 ff.):

In einem deiner Blicke
Liegt *Sonnenschein* und Glück.

* * * * *

Der Wiesen grüner Schimmer
Wird trüb wie mein Gesicht,
Sie seh'n die *Sonne* nimmer,
Und ich *Friederiken* nicht.

Again in No. 1, the authenticity of which Bielschowsky questions:

Erwache Friederike,
Vertreib die Nacht,
Die einer deiner Blicke
Zum Tage macht.

Again in No. 5:

Seit du entfernt *will keine Sonne scheinen*,

and in No. 4:

Die Sonne scheint ihm schwarz, der Boden leer,

both of which poems are assigned to Lenz by von Loeper, Strehlke, Weinhold, and Bielschowsky. It seems to me impossible, however, that Lenz, unless he copied and imitated it directly, should have used for Friederike the same comparison with the sun. Nor have the commentators and critics of our poems as yet pointed out the close correspondence between Goethe's account of his experiences at Sesenheim in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* and certain passages in our poems. And this correspondence speaks all the more for the authenticity of the "doubtful" songs, since we have no evidence that Goethe possessed more than two of the poems of this period when he wrote his account.

The first poem which von Loeper, Weinhold, Bielschowsky, and others assign to Lenz is No. 4, beginning: "Ach bist du fort," etc. It is not necessary to assume, as Bielschowsky does, that this poem, which suggests to the careful reader in more than one way the passionate strains of the later *Elegie*, was written at Sesenheim. It is, on the other hand, quite possible that it was composed after Friederike's departure from Strassburg, and it is not improbable that our poem records far more faithfully than the later account in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* the painful effect which Friederike's visit had upon Goethe. But in the following passage of this account the reminiscence of the complaint that Friederike did not notice him still finds expression (Hempel, Vol. XVIII, p. 23): "Auch mit mir machte sich's Friederike leicht. . . . Sie schien mir keinen andern Vorzug zu geben als den, dass sie ihr Begehren, ihre Wünsche, eher an mich . . . richtete." With this compare the second strophe of our poem:

. . . . ich sah dich Abschied nehmen,
Dein göttlich Aug' in Thränen stehn
Für deine Freundinnen — des Jünglings stummes Grämen
Blieb unbemerkt, ward nicht gesehn.

That our poem was written after Friederike's visit to Strassburg, which had disillusioned Goethe to a great extent, seems to me evident also from the expression:

aus welchen güldnen Träumen
Erwach ich nun zu meiner Qual?

With almost the same words Goethe refers to his love for Friederike in the famous portrait of himself, contained in the review of the *Gedichte eines polnischen Juden*:¹ "Lass, o Genius unseres Vaterlandes, bald einen Jüngling aufblühen, . . . dessen empfindendes Herz sich wohl auch fangen liesse, sich aber stolz im Augenblick wieder loss riss, wenn er *aus dem dichtenden Traum erwachend* fände, dass seine Göttin nur schön, nur munter sei."

Criticising the expressions *Verzweiflung*, *Gram*, *Sterben*, which occur in our poem, Bielschowsky says: "Die Verzweiflung, das Grab, entsetzlich, grausam sind in keinem subjectiven Liede des jungen Goethe [by the way, did Goethe at any time write songs other than *subjective*?] zu finden. . . . Das 'Sterben' ist gleichfalls auch nicht mehr als einmal in der Lyrik des jungen Goethe zu belegen." Evidently Bielschowsky did not read carefully enough, or he would have discovered the following passages in which Goethe *does* speak of death. In the *Leipziger Liederbuch*,² "Der Schmetterling":

In des Pappillons Gestalt
Flattr' ich *nach den letzten Zügen*
Zu den vielgeliebten Stellen.

"An Venus,"³

Lass mir Gütige — dem Minos
Seys *an meinem Tod* genug —
Mein Gedächtniss!

* * * * *

Aus dem Lethe
Soll ich trinken, *wenn ich sterbe*,
Ach befreye mich davon.

"Einzeichnung auf die Tafel in der Buchenlaube bei Sesenheim,"⁴

Es mag der Dichter *sterben*,
Der diesen Reim gemacht.

In his letter to Friederike Oeser of November 8, 1768:⁵

Ich kam zu Dir, *ein Todter aus dem Grabe*,
Den bald *ein zweiter Todt* zum zweitenmal begräbt;
Und wem er nur einmal recht nah ums Haupt geschwebt,
Der bebt
Bey der Erinnerung, gewiss so lang er lebt.

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, Vol. II, pp. 440 ff.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 98.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

And in another letter:¹ "Sie [Fr. Oeser] wollten sich zu Todte lachen, wie ein Mensch die Carrikaturidee haben konnte, im 20sten Jahre an der Lungensucht *zu sterben*." Similar thoughts of an early death we find in his letters to Charlotte Buff, and even during his Italian journey. We may, therefore, dismiss without hesitation as a myth the representation of Goethe which would have us believe that he was always "der glückliche Liebhaber, und eine viel zu frohe Natur, um zu solchem forcirten Ausdruck der inneren Bewegung zu greifen."

Bielschowsky continues: "Ausser den Schmerzensausdrücken sind aber in dem Gedichte noch andere Wendungen, die Fremdlinge in Goethes Reiche. 'Die Sonne scheint ihm schwarz,' heisst es in der vierten Strophe, 'die Bäume blühen ihm schwarz.' Goethe hätte weder das Bild gebraucht, noch wäre er an dem Epithet 'schwarz' hängen geblieben." But this expression does not appear extraordinary at all, if we remember, as I have pointed out already, how frequently Goethe compares Friederike to the sun in these songs. And so deeply was this comparison impressed upon his mind that he remembered it when he wrote the account in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. Thus the lines:

Erwache, Friederike,
Vertreib *die Nacht*,
Die einer deiner Blicke
Zum Tage macht

occur almost literally in the following passage of *D. u. W.*, Vol. XXI, p. 203: "Friederikens Reden hatten jedoch nichts Mondscheinhaftes; durch die Klarheit womit sie sprach, *machte sie die Nacht zum Tage*." But she is not only the sunshine of his life, her absence changes the very colors of nature, No. 9:

Der Wiesen grüner Schimmer
Wird *trüb* wie mein Gesicht,
Sie sehn die Sonne nimmer
Und ich Friedriken nicht.

If here the green meadows appear to him *trüb*, why should it be unlike Goethe to describe in the other poem the trees and even

¹ *Der junge Goethe*, Vol. I, p. 47.

the sun as *schwarz*? Or is it unlike Goethe to let the unhappy lover in the classic elegy "Alexis und Dora" say:

Du lügst nur den Himmel;
Welle! dein herrliches Blau ist mir die Farbe der Nacht [i. e., *schwarz*]

The expression *Vollkommenheit* in strophe 6 is not, as Bielschowsky thinks, a mere abstract noun, if we remember the frequent representation of allegories on the stage during the eighteenth century. Thus Frau Neuber, the famous actress, gave in 1737 at Strassburg a play called *Die Verehrung der Vollkommenheit*, in which the latter appeared: "als Minerva mit Helm, Schild, Lanze und Harnisch, blau gekleidet."¹

The lines in strophe 6:

Ein andrer mag nach jenen Puppen schauen,
Ihm sind die Närrinnen verleidt,

agree with the following passage from Goethe's letter to Friederike:² "Sie wollten nicht glauben, dass mir der Stadtlärm auf Ihre süsse Landfreuden missfallen würde. Gewiss, Mamsell, Strassburg ist mir noch nie so leer vorgekommen, als jetzo." Bielschowsky, as well as von Loeper and Weinhold, overlooks the fact that there is in the last strophe of our poem an expression that belongs entirely to Goethe. It is the expression *ich wanke* which occurs also in the poem "Elysium" (1772):³

Und ich wanke, nahe mich,
Blicke, seufze, wanke.

The poem, "Wo bist du itzt," etc. (No. 5), is perhaps, as Düntzer suggests, one of the songs which Goethe "bekannten Melodien unterlegte," showing, at the same time in several places, his authorship. Thus in line 2 he speaks of Friederike's singing, as he does in No. 8; in line 5 he compares her to the sun, as he does in Nos. 1, 4, and 9, and the expression, "Wo lacht die Flur" occurs literally in the Mayfest: "Wie lacht die Flur." The form *itzt* for *jetzt* should not annoy the critics, since it was evidently needed as a rhyme for *besitzt*. Finally the lines:

¹ See *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, Vol. X, pp. 453 ff. For Goethe's use of "Vollkommenheit" and "vollkommen" compare *D. j. G.*, Vol. I, pp. 6, 98, 347. For his use of *Jüngling* in the second strophe see *ibid.*, pp. 95, 97, 104, 106, 107, 109.

² *D. j. G.*, Vol. I, p. 247.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 24.

Schon rufen Hirt und Herden
Dich bang zurück,

are not necessarily, as Bielschowsky thinks, "eine aus der Schäferpoesie entlehnte Floskel." They suggest to me one of the many poetic games which Goethe improvised at Sesenheim, presumably a pastoral play, in which Friederike was his shepherdess.

The next poem which Bielschowsky claims for Lenz is No. 3, beginning, "Nun sitzt der Ritter an dem Ort." His arguments which are based upon the diction and the metrics of the poem are, however, too weak to deserve contradiction. The fact that Goethe was accustomed already during this Leipzig period to call himself a *knight* is sufficient reason for me to assign this poem to him. Thus he writes to Friederike Oeser:¹ "Und wenn Sie an einem schönen Sommerabend am Fenster stehen und ein Mensch in seltsamem Aufzug über die Brücke getraht kommt, so bin ich's, der irrende *Ritter*." And in the poem "An den Mond"² he sings:

Und in wollustvoller Ruh,
Sah der weitverschlagne *Ritter*
Durch das gläserne Gegitter,
Seines Mädgens Nächten zu.

It seems quite probable that Goethe had called himself a knight before the girls at Sesenheim, and that in consequence he was told by them to ride out in search of some adventure. To apply, as Bielschowsky does, the strict rules of metrics to a *Gelegenheitsgedicht* like ours is unjust, inasmuch as Goethe neglected strict metrical rules until after his Italian journey.³

Another song which Bielschowsky assigns to Lenz is No. 8, beginning "Balde seh ich Rickgen wieder." The diction of this poem is so peculiarly Goethe's that doubt of its authenticity seems to be excluded. I shall give in the following a number of passages in support of my opinion. The superlative *süßstes* in the line, "Nach der süßsten Melodie," seems to me impossible for the Livonian Lenz, while it is the form to which Goethe was accustomed in his Frankfort dialect. It occurs also in the poem "Abschied":⁴

¹ *D. J. G.*, Vol. I, p. 57.

² *Ibid.*, p. 108.

³ See *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, Vol. XXII, p. 218.

⁴ *D. J. G.*, Vol. I, p. 111.

Traurig wird in dieser Stunde
Selbst der Liebe *süßstes* Pfand.

The line:

Lange hab' ich nicht gesungen

corroborates the statement in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, Vol. XXII, p. 20: "Unter diesen Umgebungen trat unversehens die Lust zu dichten, *die ich lange nicht gefühlt hatte*, wieder hervor." Again, the anxiety of the verses:

Denn mich *ängsten* tiefe Schmerzen

* * * * *

Und der wahre Gram im Herzen
Geht nicht über in mein Lied.

is recorded in the following passages of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, Vol. XXII, p. 49: "Solchen Zerstreuungen und Heiterkeiten gab ich mich um so lieber und zwar bis zur *Trunkenheit* hin, als mich mein leidenschaftliches Verhältniss zu Friederike nunmehr zu *ängstigen* anfang. . . . Wenngleich die Gegenwart Friederikens *mich ängstigte*, so wusste ich doch nichts Angenehmeres, als abwesend an sie zu denken." But the decisive line which, in my opinion, stamps the poem as Goethe's, is the line:

Doch *jetzt* sing' ich.

It was in Sesenheim where Goethe learned the important lesson of his life: to do as the moment bids. Thus in a letter to Salzmann he writes:¹ "Die Welt ist so schön! so schön! Wer's geniessen könnte! Ich bin manchmal ärgerlich darüber, und manchmal halte ich mir erbauliche Erbauungsstunden über das *Heute*, über diese Lehre, die unsrer Glückseligkeit so unentbehrlich ist." And the same thought is expressed in No. 2,²

Jetzt fühlt der Engel, was ich fühle,
Ihr Herz gewann ich mir beim Spiele,
Und sie ist nun von Herzen mein.
Du gabst mir, Schicksal, diese Freude,
Nun lass auch Morgen sein wie *Heute*,
Und lehr, mich ihrer würdig sein.

Concerning the closing lines of our poem:

¹ *D. j. G.*, Vol. I, p. 258.

² *Ibid.*, p. 263.

Ja, ich gäbe diese Gabe [of enjoying the *Jetzt*, the present]
Nicht für alle Klöster Wein.

Bielschowsky remarks: "Auch die Schlusswendung scheint mir nicht Goethisch. Ein Dichter von so unsicherem Tactgefühl wie Lenz mochte einen solchen für ein Trinklied passenden Abschluss hier für brauchbar halten, nicht aber ein Goethe." Bielschowsky forgot, or did not know of, the important rôle which wine played in Goethe's life, and his criticism again goes to show how insufficient and misleading æsthetic reasoning of this sort is. That Goethe should have thought in this poem of *alle Klöster Wein* to make him forget the *tieffen Schmerzen* and *den wahren Gram in seinem Herzen* is but natural, if we remember from the passage quoted before how he gave himself over to all kinds of "*Zerstreuungen und Heiterkeiten* und zwar bis zur *Trunkenheit*." His letters to Salzmann, written from Sesenheim during this time, fully corroborate this.

The last poem which Bielschowsky suspects as belonging to Lenz is No. 1, beginning: "Erwache Friederike." Again he bases his arguments upon æsthetic and stylistic considerations, although the poem is a most unpretentious *Gelegenheitsgedicht*, whose author scolds the muses, because they do not obey him, since

Der Schlaf hat ihn verlassen,
Doch wacht er nicht.

To scold and reproach the drowsy poet now for writing contradictory passages and using weak expressions, as Bielschowsky does, is to miss the humor of the situation. Our serenade was not composed for critics, but for a girl fast asleep, to whom it made little difference whether the serenader said in one strophe that the nightingale was silent, and in another that she sang. And nothing confirms better than this contradiction the sleepiness of our poet, who could not think of polishing his poem afterward without destroying his best effects. The condition in which Goethe wrote the song may perhaps also have influenced his handwriting, of which Kruse remarks: "von nachlässig verstellter Hand."

But there are certain passages in the poem which show Goethe's genius, despite his temporary drowsiness. The lines,

Erwache Friederike,
 Vertreib die Nacht,
 Die einer deiner Blicke
 Zum Tage macht,

I have discussed already. Another passage which, as Düntzer pointed out, reveals the authorship of Goethe, are the verses:

Es zittert Morgenschimmer
 Mit blödem Licht,
 Erröthend durch dein Zimmer,
 Und weckt dich nicht.

Since the same metaphor is used by Goethe in his *Pandora*, Bielschowsky, in his distress, suggests that, unless both poets derived the metaphor from a common source, Lenz had heard it from Goethe at Strassburg. I need not add that I consider this the ridiculous subterfuge of a pseudo-philological method.

The form *schlagt* in the same strophe, which lacks the umlaut, is not as Bielschowsky thinks a mere makeshift for the sake of the rhyme, but the regular form derived from O. H. G. *slagôn*, *slagôta*, still used in Bavaria.¹

Finally the passage in which the hand of the great poet is manifest are the lines:

Erröthen und erblassen
 Sieh sein Gesicht.

They suggest to me Sigfrid's thoughts in the famous strophe of the *Nibelungenlied* (284 L.):

Er dâhte in sinem muote: 'wie kunde daz ergân,
 daz ich dich minnen solde? daz ist ein tumber wân.
 sol aber ich dich fremden, sô waere ich samfter tôt.'
 er wart von gedanken dicke *bleich unde rôt*.

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¹ See SCHMELLER, *Bair. Wörterbuch*, Vol. III, p. 439, and GRAFF, *Althochd. Sprachschatz*, under *slagôn*.

THE INFLUENCE OF THEATRICAL CONDITIONS ON SHAKESPEARE.

THERE is an idea now current that to appreciate a play thoroughly one must see it on the stage, that a play which is not good when acted is simply good for nothing, that "literature," so-called, in a play is dead weight, that to read a play is but second-rate amusement. I am fond of the theater myself and know that there are many things that come out on the stage that are missed in reading. But I cannot feel quite satisfied that the stage is everything: I have something of a notion that there may be very good literary plays that do not do on the stage, and very good stage plays that do not get into literature, and that the greatest plays serve both purposes.

Surely the drama is a convenient literary form. Take plays like *Prometheus Unbound*, *Pippa Passes*, *Atalanta in Calydon*—shall we say "It would be better if the authors had expressed themselves in some other way?" Who can tell us in what way poets should express themselves? I should not care to take the responsibility. As a rule I have not much sympathy with the idea of a "closet-play." Almost any good play can be acted: certainly literary plays often fail on the stage, but so also do stage plays. The only difference, then, is that when the literary play has failed, there is still the pleasure of reading it, but when the stage play has failed there is nothing left of it at all. Many plays that seem like absolute closet plays may be given on the stage as successfully as some plays that were written entirely for performance.

So I do not think we can uphold the stage at the expense of literature. It will always be more popular to do so, for more people like the stage than like literature, and such will be the case till culture is far more universal than it is today. But each art has its own particular pleasure. Reading plays is fortunately an intelligent delight—fortunately, because otherwise we should

have lost almost entirely the greatest dramas of the world, of antiquity, and of our own time as well.

Still there is certainly something in the question of stage presentation. It may be mere curiosity that makes one want to know what a Greek theater was and how it was different from ours. Undoubtedly much of the poetry of Sophocles, of the fun of Aristophanes, would be ours if we had no idea at all of the theater for which their plays were written. But that theater was so very different from ours, that whatever pleasure we get from reading the plays in ignorance of it, must be very different from the pleasure intended by the authors themselves.

So with Shakespeare. With Shakespeare's plays most of all we hesitate to say that we must see them rather than read them, that the stage is the final test, that there is not much in the plays that the stage cannot bring forth. But Shakespeare's plays were written for the stage and chiefly for the stage. Certainly we may imagine Shakespeare as a great genius writing for posterity. So he was. But he was also an Elizabethan actor and dramatist, belonging to a particular dramatic company and writing his plays for a particular set of actors and a particular audience. And since he was a successful dramatist and, as is otherwise thought, a very good business man, it is probable that he intended his plays first for presentation in the very place where they were presented.

When they are presented today they are not presented as he imagined them. Many will say that they are better presented. It may be so; it is certain that they are otherwise presented. Hence the reason why, for the reader, it is worth while to see what can be done in reconstructing in the imagination the conditions under which Shakespeare wrote and to try to form an idea of what results those conditions had upon his dramatic art. Then we shall make the correct allowance, more or less consciously, as we read and so get a better idea of the plays and the man himself.

A thorough development of this idea is yet to be made. Not a little has been written on the Elizabethan stage and not a few remarks have been made upon the influence of particular conditions here and there upon Shakespeare. A short study like this cannot pretend to deal thoroughly with such a subject, yet so far

as it goes it is believed to be sufficiently complete. It presents the usage of Shakespeare in the most important directions, as gathered from a comparison of his plays. A comparison of the material so gained with the vast field of Shakespearean literature would take us far beyond our present bounds, and yet it is hoped that not much is given that will duplicate previous studies, or differ from them without reason.

The conditions of the Elizabethan stage are in a general way familiar to us. There are questions of importance still undetermined. The relative proportions of the upper stage and the lower (as we may call the two parts separated by the pillars in DeWitte's sketch) are unknown to us. This question is of great archaeological importance, but of less from our standpoint. It would be well to know precisely the size of the upper stage, whether it was a step or two above the lower, how far the balcony extended over it, whether the spectators looked into it from the sides, and some other matters. But the main matter of importance is that there was such a division of the stage and that the upper part could be screened from the audience. Much the same thing might be said of the balcony. Did it roof the upper stage and convert it into a kind of alcove, or did it merely extend out into it, or was it a sort of loggia not extending out from the tiring-house at all?¹ These matters and some others² ought to be settled, but for our present purpose they are not of capital importance. It will be possible therefore to begin at once with a consideration of the influence of these matters upon Shakespeare's dramatic handling.

Turning then to the material conditions, we may begin with the amphitheatric form, which was general with the public theaters. Whether circular, octagonal or square, the public theaters were practically amphitheaters, according to their natural descent from the pageants of the mystery plays, which stood in the street surrounded by the spectators, from the inn-yards, where the

¹ My own view I add with diffidence, for I cannot marshal much archaeological evidence to support my impression from the plays. It is to the effect that the balcony extended over the upper stage, which became a kind of alcove.

² The present article was in print before I had seen the article by W. S. LAWRENCE in *Englische Studien*, Vol. XXXII, Heft 1. His view of the "traverses" might alter some of my remarks upon the use of the upper stage. It would not, I believe, change my general conclusions.

spectators were on three sides at least, and, it may be added, under the natural analogy of the bull-ring and bear-ring. Shakespeare's plays were given in what he calls in the Prologue to *Henry V* "a wooden O," "a cockpit," "the girdle of these walls."¹ In other words the audience was sitting all around the actors, or, more exactly, on three sides of them. Add to this the fact that the lower stage was often encumbered with spectators and we have a condition very different from our own. Leaving out of account a number of minor considerations, such as the importance now laid upon stage grouping and the movement of actors, we shall note readily one very important general difference, namely that the action of a Shakespearean play had to be simple and essential, and was otherwise of less importance than dialogue. There are scenes on the modern stage where minor action, stage business, is very important. In *Iris*—to take the work of a modern master of stage-craft—there is a scene where a man observes the fragments of a letter in the scrap basket or on the floor. He manages to put the letter together, and read it, while talking to somebody else, and the incident is of considerable importance. Similar business occurs in a good many modern plays. Such things one would say were quite impossible to the Elizabethan—I remember nothing quite so specific. The Elizabethan had to be simple in his action and it was necessary therefore to increase the importance of his dialogue. Thus we have one great difference between Shakespeare and our own drama, and one reason why Shakespeare on the stage today does not always have the popular success of many ephemeral things.

When Hamlet says (II, ii, 448), "We'll e'en to't like French

¹ The usual pictures, both contemporary and modern, give a form to the theaters that would not be of much use for anything more than a cockpit. The familiar form has a height about equal to its diameter or even greater. The height cannot have been much more than thirty feet: if that were the diameter, when you allow a few feet on each side for the boxes, a few more on each side for the pit, you will have very little left for the stage. It seems as if this must be incorrect, contemporary pictures and all. The Fortune Theater was eighty feet in diameter by thirty-two high and had a pit of fifty-five feet across, in which stood the stage. Probably the Globe had as much room, or a diameter, say, two and a half times its height. It would then have resembled, in proportions, the bull-ring and the bear-ring (as they appear on Stilliard's map) which were buildings the theaters might naturally have been modeled after. Indeed, the Paris Garden was used both for plays and baiting, and the (imaginative) picture of it in the second volume of COLLIER, looks about the same as the pictures of the Globe and the Swan in the other volumes, all three being about as available for dramatic purposes as a new factory-chimney would be.

falconers, fly at anything we see: we'll have a speech straight: come, give us a taste of your quality: come, a passionate speech," he shows the importance of declamation. Such a request made in our generation of any great Shakespearean actor except Edwin Booth would not have brought forth the best results. But since declamation or delivery was a matter of prime importance in Shakespeare's day, it is the main thing that Hamlet deals with in his subsequent address to the players, where he refers to hardly any other element of the actor's art. We might have readily inferred as much from the plays themselves which have a great number of rhetorical speeches, soliloquies and addresses. A stage like our own, where the actors have minor ability in declamation, cannot bear long speeches: a stage where declamation is still a matter of devoted study, like the French, has frequent examples of them. That such rhetorical declamation in Shakespeare's day was more particularly the characteristic of tragedy than of comedy, is possibly due to the effect on dramatic tradition of the tragedies of Seneca. Like the case in *Hamlet*, Bottom's allusion in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, I, ii, 27-41, seems to be to tragic declamation, for I take it that "to tear a cat, to make all split" meant to rant. But the declamation was not merely tragic; in comedy as well there were these long speeches, the chief difference being that in comedy the longer speeches were more usually poetical, and in tragedy rhetorical.

When we imagine a poetic and rhetorical drama rather than one which was representative and spectacular even in a minor degree, we are at once led to that best known characteristic of Shakespeare's stage, that it had no scenery. The first mention of a painted back scene in England is said to be in 1605. I understand that there was something of the sort in Italy rather earlier. This point like some others is of archæological rather than literary importance. As a general fact it seems sufficiently attested. Further it may be remarked that the lack of scenery did not come from lack of knowledge. Rather does it belong to the amphitheatric audience and is necessitated by it. In the masques which were usually given indoors, there was scenery of one sort or another, which could be properly seen, for the masque must, as a

rule, have been given at one end of a room while the audience sat at the other. But whether the lack of scenery were enforced or not, its effect would have been in the direction already mentioned. As the central stage made up for the minor importance of action by emphasizing declamation, so the lack of scenery led Shakespeare to hold in a general way that the proper expression of dramatic thought was not scenic so much as poetic.

This stage not only had no scenery but practically it had no curtain.¹ It was divided by two pillars, between which was a curtain, into two stages, the upper next the tiring-house, which could be shut off, and the lower which was always in the view of the audience. This circumstance also was of importance.

The first effect of this lack of curtain is immediately obvious. As it was impossible for Shakespeare to find his actors on the stage or to leave them there—as they always had to walk on and off—he could never have those pictures and situations at the beginning of an act and at the end, that are so important in the modern drama. Imagine a modern play with no situations at the end of the acts and you will see one great difference between Shakespeare's drama and ours. The main effects of that difference are at once perceivable: Shakespeare is apt not to use the end of the act as a modern dramatist does. Some plays have effective ends to the acts but some acts have final scenes which are quite unimportant. The second and third acts of *Julius Cæsar* end with very unimportant scenes. The second and third acts of *Macbeth* end with a device to be noted later.² The second and fourth acts of *King Lear* end with half a dozen speeches after the main situations. The first and second acts of *Othello* end with soliloquies by Iago. The result of such scenes is that

¹Such was not the opinion of Collier and is not the opinion of some scholars today. Collier had never seen the sketch of DeWitte and seems led to his belief largely by the name "The Curtain" given to the second theater in the city, which J. A. Symonds explains, very probably, in quite a different way. There is a good deal of evidence which seems to me to favor chiefly a curtain in front of the upper stage only. For example, the lines in MARSTON'S *What You Will*, quoted by COLLIER, III, 339, to illustrate the fact that there were spectators on the stage. Atticus says, "Let's place ourselves within the curtain, for, good faith, the stage is so very little." This makes it clear that "the stage" was not "within the curtain." In the *Spanish Tragedy*, IV, iii, we have the stage direction, "Enter Hieronimo. He knocks up the curtain." He must, then, have been outside the curtain and in view of the audience. The practical difficulties of a curtain on a stage that had three sides open seem to me very great.

²See p. 18.

the edge of each act is softened down, as we may say, so that there is often hardly any difference between the acts at all. As is well known, the early editions sometimes mark the acts and sometimes do not. But the matter was evidently not one of the first importance. Hence Shakespeare's plays have movement, and lose by being interrupted by the long waits between the acts that our scenery calls for.

A point worth noting here is that the lack of a curtain compelled Shakespeare to see to it that all dead bodies were somehow or other removed. He sometimes obviates this difficulty as in the last scene of *Othello*,¹ but in *Hamlet* his device gives distinct character to the end of the play. At the theater nowadays the play generally ends with the death of Hamlet: Mr. Sothorn some years ago began to give the play with the full ending. The funeral procession of Hamlet was a noble sight, but it was originally caused by stage necessity. Other examples of the same thing are more comic than anything else, as when Falstaff bears the dead Hotspur out on his back, (*1 Henry IV*, V, iv, 131) and Hamlet lugs Polonius out (*Hamlet*, III, iv, fin.) and hides him under the stairs. Shakespeare certainly manages the conventional necessity in a fresh and original way. The Bastard tells Hubert (*King John*, IV, iii, 139) to carry Arthur out in his arms. Aufidius himself (*Coriolanus*, V, iv, 150) will join the three chiefest soldiers to bear Coriolanus to his urn. The historic malmsey butt gives the reason in *Richard III* (I, iv, 277). Cornwall orders the servant to be thrown upon the dunghill (*Lear* III, vii, 96). Hector is dragged out to be bound to Achilles's horse (*Troilus and Cressida*, V, viii, 21). Nothing is said of the disposal of Banquo's body, which leads me to think that it may possibly have been thrown down the trap. In III, iv, 26, the murderer says he lies in a ditch. Collier, III, 364, quotes the use of the trap for a ditch from *The Valiant Welshman*. Sometimes Shakespeare has his killing done off the stage as in *Macbeth* (V, viii, 54), where the head of the tyrant is borne in upon a spear.

The living actors Shakespeare got rid of in simpler fashion. Generally no expedient is necessary, but it is remarkable how

¹ See page 9.

often a word or two at the end gives the idea of going away. In *The Tempest* every scene ends in such a manner, nor is it uncommon in other plays.

Readers of the modern editions will observe some cases which may seem difficult. Thus in *King Lear*, IV, vii, the modern stage direction at the opening of the scene is "Lear on a bed asleep." In the Folio he is borne in on a chair, like Cassio in *Othello* (V, ii, 282 Q₁), Bedford in *1 Henry VI* (III, ii, 40), and probably John of Gaunt, *Richard II* (II, i).

But although there was no curtain for the whole stage, it seems that there was one over a part of it. DeWitte's picture shows two pillars upon the stage, about two-thirds back, and it is generally thought that a curtain was hung between them which could be opened or closed. This gave something of an opportunity which Shakespeare made use of. It was possible even to use it as the curtain is now used, for discovering characters at the beginning of the act, and for situations at the close. But Shakespeare does not seem to have done so to any great extent. In *Othello*, I, iii (Qq.) we have the stage direction: "Enter Duke and Senators set at a Table with lights and attendants." Here probably enough they were discovered on the upper stage already seated. But such cases are rare and there are more examples where Shakespeare avoids such discovery, as in those just quoted where a sick man is carried in on a chair.

This upper stage gave no such opportunity as the stage carpenter now gives the dramatist, but still it was something. The upper stage could represent a place different from the lower stage—it might be the inside of a house while the outer stage was a street; it might be an inner room or something of the sort. In *Hamlet* it served as the stage for the play, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* for the Athenian clowns' presentation. But Shakespeare used it in many other ways. In *Cymbeline*, III, v, the upper stage is a cave, and so in *Timon*, IV, iii. In *The Tempest* (V, i, 171) it is Prospero's cell, whatever that was. In *Richard II*, I, iii, the King (Q₁) sits on the upper stage while the lower represents the lists at Coventry, and the same arrangement occurs in *King Lear*, V, iii. In *Romeo and Juliet* it is the tomb

of Capulet, and the curtain is drawn aside (V, iii, 148) to expose Juliet to view. In *The Merchant of Venice* it served to conceal the caskets.

By means of this curtain, also, there was possible a sort of scenic division, as we may call it. Thus in *Romeo and Juliet*, IV, iii, Juliet lays herself upon her bed on the upper stage, which was for the time her bedroom. The curtains are drawn and scene iv is given on the lower stage. The nurse enters in scene iv and (l. 17) draws the curtains and discovers Juliet. In this case, it will be remarked, the body of Juliet is not removed; the curtains are drawn again and we have the comic scene in front. The same arrangement was made in *2 Henry IV*, IV; scene iv was given in front before closed curtains: the King is then led "into another chamber," and in scene v is discovered lying on a bed. In *Othello*, V, i, the action takes place in the street in Cyprus. The actors go out and the stage becomes Othello's house. Othello enters and the curtain is drawn showing Desdemona on the upper stage in bed. At line 103 he draws the curtain to and the rest of the action takes place on the lower stage. When Othello kills himself he falls on the bed on the upper stage and the curtain is drawn to in obedience to Lodovico's "Let it be hid," which obviates the necessity of carrying off the body, of which nothing is said.

Sometimes the upper stage was a convenient place to hide in, or half hide. So Polonius behind the arras, *Hamlet*, III, iv, 7. So Prince Hal and Poin in *2 Henry IV*, II, iv, 252, stand, disguised, in the folds of the curtain and hear Falstaff boasting, and in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (III, iii, 99) Falstaff hides behind it himself. When he wished characters to enter at a distance, Shakespeare could bring them in on the upper stage while the others were on the lower, or vice versa. Thus Portia and Nerissa enter, presumably on the lower stage, while Lorenzo and Jessica, already on the upper stage are supposed to be in Portia's own house. She looks at them evidently from a distance for she says:

That light we see is burning in my hall:
How far that little candle throws his beams.

—*The Merchant of Venice*, V, i, 89.

The candle, here as in *Othello*, V, i, would seem to be on the upper stage, which was (according to my conception) more shut in and more easily darkened than the lower. So Hamlet and Horatio enter at a distance in *Hamlet*, V, i, 62; Julia and the Host in *The Two Gentlemen*, IV, ii, 26.

Over the upper stage, either wholly or in part, was the balcony. Of course, everyone will think of Juliet's balcony. Did the regular balcony, always there, suggest that beautiful scene? We need not trouble ourselves to determine. Certainly it would not have been so likely to come to mind, had it not been that the particular means for presenting it were ready to hand. The balcony served Shakespeare for various purposes. In *The Tempest*, III, iii, 19, it seems to have no representative character at all; but generally it takes the place of a bit of scenery. Sometimes it is the wall of a town, From it the unfortunate Arthur flung himself down in *King John*, IV, iii, 8, and is found by those who enter on the stage below. On it appear the citizens of Angers, *King John*, II, i, of Harfleur, *Henry V*, III, iii, of Orléans, *1 Henry VI*, I, iv, and of many other towns. Often it is a window: here Silvia listens to Eglamour, *Two Gentlemen*, IV, iii, 4, and to Proteus, IV, ii, 84, and Jessica to Lorenzo, *The Merchant of Venice*, II, vi, 25.

In the stage was a trap, whether in the upper stage or the lower, I cannot say. Shakespeare, however, uses it but little. It was Ophelia's grave in *Hamlet*, V, i; in *Titus Andronicus*, II, iii, it was a pit; in *Macbeth*, IV, i, it served as a means for the apparitions to appear or disappear. Sometimes the actor spoke from under the stage (as the Ghost in *Hamlet*, I, v). The stage itself in some cases was paled in, and in others an open scaffolding.

Lastly must be mentioned the tiring-house which stood at the rear of the stage and made a permanent back scene. Its importance in putting a play on the stage was small. It had two doors which are sometimes used, as in *Richard III*, III, vii, when Gloster enters at one door and Buckingham at the other. So in the first scene of *Titus Andronicus* and in the dumb show in the second act of *Pericles*. The doors, or one of them, seem to have served as the doors of a house on various occasions, as in *The*

Comedy of Errors, III, i. Here Dromio of Ephesus knocks on the door and Dromio of Syracuse answers from indoors. It may be that the door of the tiring-house is used, and it may be merely the curtain in front of the upper stage. The former arrangement is the more likely: Dromio speaks from *within*. This word is common in the stage directions, for anything said off the stage. Nowadays *without* would seem more appropriate, but presumably the meaning was "within the tiring-house," which was indeed the natural place for an actor who was not on the stage. If he were not there it is hard to think where he was, unless on the upper stage with the curtain down, in which case some such direction as *behind* would seem more natural. Like this case in the *Comedy* is apparently one in *The Merry Wives*, I, i, 175, where Evans knocks at the door and Page within the tiring-house answers and then enters by one of the doors.

A scene of some interest from the standpoint of stage-setting is the first of Act I of *Titus Andronicus*, which I note in spite of the disputed authenticity of the play. At the beginning senators and tribunes enter "aloft," namely on the balcony. From the two doors, respectively, of the tiring-house, enter Saturninus and Bassianus and pass to the lower stage. They address the senators. Marcus Andronicus enters on the balcony. Then Bassianus and Saturninus, dismissing their soldiers, "go up into the senate house." Then comes the procession of Titus Andronicus on the lower stage, and shortly the tomb of the Andronici is opened and the coffins are laid therein. Saturninus "comes down," but subsequently appears aloft with Tamora and others. Shortly the balcony is emptied and Titus and Marcus bury Mutius in the tomb. Then Saturninus and Bassianus and others appear again at the two doors at the back. The correct disposition of all this action is not certain. But probably "aloft" always means the balcony. When Saturninus and Bassianus go up into the senate house they may go up into the balcony, or may merely "go up" in modern stage parlance into the upper stage. If they go up into the balcony, the tomb of Andronicus may be in the upper stage. As it seems more likely that the trap was in the lower stage, we should do better to imagine the tomb on the lower

stage. If this conjecture be correct, the upper stage might represent the senate house, as it does in *Julius Cæsar*, and we should then have in this scene all the resources of Elizabethan stage carpentry brought into play, the descendants of the three stages of the mystery plays.

Such was the general structure of the stage and Shakespeare's recognition of it. On this stage so bare of everything that we think necessary, yet having its own capabilities for the inspiration of poetry, were actors who in their turn were very different from the actors whom we think of, and governed by very different conventions.

Their costume, for one thing, was quite different from our idea. It was often splendid and rich, but it had one singular characteristic: it was always the costume of the day. So far as costume was concerned, the actors could not be distinguished from the spectators who sat upon the stage. Just how long this habit lasted I cannot say: there is a tradition that Garrick played Macbeth in a scarlet officer's coat and a full wig, and a good deal more of the same kind of thing. However long the custom may have lasted, it was in vogue in Shakespeare's time. The actors often bought the clothes of noblemen and gentlemen, worn on a few occasions and then in that extravagant time put away. And these costumes they wore for all plays alike. Cæsar and Brutus, Prospero and Miranda, Troilus and Cressida, the inhabitants of Illyria and Ephesus, of the sea-coast of Bohemia and the forest of Arden, all alike wore the costume of the reign of Elizabeth. Certain special costumes there were—armor, for instance—some imaginative costume for nymph of the sea or fairy of the wood, a conventional robe for those supposed to go invisible. Certain definite conventions they had, as that a person must be dressed with due observance of his rank. But no sort of historical accuracy was attempted.

Thus it is that in *Julius Cæsar* the Romans of the republic speak of their hats and doublets and coats; in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* the ancient Athenians talk of cloaks, hats, and ribboned pumps. This was natural, for they actually wore cloaks and doublets, hats, and ribboned pumps. But from these

anachronisms it followed that the Elizabethan audience and the Elizabethan playwright tolerated other anachronisms as well, which have somewhat troubled too accurate critics. Thus Brutus says "Peace, count the clock," and Cassius answers "The clock hath stricken three" (II, i, 192, 193). Of course there were no striking clocks in Cæsar's day, but a Roman in doublet and hose could count the clock as easily as he could look at a clepsydra. So Brutus turns down the leaf of the book he is reading and puts it in his pocket (IV, iii, 273, 253), although the Roman book was quite different from our own, and the toga had no pockets.

These anachronisms have nothing to do with the spirit of the piece. Nowadays the dramatist thinks it well to be an archæologist or an antiquarian, and it is no harm, perhaps, if he have some original power. And yet there is always a temptation, where all the accessories are very exquisite and quite perfect, to pay so much attention to matters really trifling in themselves that some great things go by default. Shakespeare does not do so. He cared so little for absolute historical accuracy that he was well content to get all his data from a translation of Plutarch. That fired his imagination and he drew figures that fire ours.

The Elizabethan stage, although it sought no realism in costume, seems to have gone farther in the matter of properties. Shakespeare's plays call for a good many properties. There is a list of them in Appleton Morgan's edition of *Titus Andronicus*.¹ It is not quite complete, because it includes only those that are mentioned in the stage directions and does not take account of those which are necessitated by the dialogue. But, whether sufficient or not, the list is longer than Henslowe's inventory of properties,² so that it is a fair inference that Shakespeare was at least abreast of the times in this respect. Among the so-called properties in Henslowe's list are a bay tree, a tree of golden apples, a tantalus tree. Did Shakespeare need a property tree when Maria bid Sir Toby and the rest hide in the box-tree,³ or when Ariel hung the glistening apparel upon the line?⁴ He

¹ Bankside Edition, pp. 22-24.

² COLLIER, Vol. III, p. 354.

³ *Twelfth Night*, II, v, 13.

⁴ *The Tempest*, IV, i, 193.

gives no stage directions, and I suppose he needed them no more than he needed anything to represent the "pleached bower, where honeysuckles ripened by the sun forbid the sun to enter." So much realism was not necessary; it was even contrary to his feeling, I take it, partly because of the necessary incongruities involved. Shakespeare's practice may be inferred from one rather curious instance. One of the properties of the day was the hobby-horse. The admiral's men had one, and also a great horse with legs, whatever that was. Generally the legs of the actor must have served, for we have pictures of men walking about with these inconvenient hoopskirts. With all this possibility, however, of hippodromic effect, Shakespeare does not show himself eager to employ it. I remember no instance at all where a horse is necessary. In one case where it is not necessary external evidence shows that it was sometimes employed. Simon Forman in telling of how he saw *Macbeth*, says that at the beginning *Macbeth* and *Banquo* are riding through the wood. They may surely have been on hobby-horses, but the hobby-horse is not called for in the play. In fact just the reverse is the case in that play and some others: not only are there no horses in the play, but possible horses are kept out. Thus in the same play when *Banquo* comes in from his ride it is particularly explained that he has left his horse and is walking to the palace on foot (III, iii, 13). In *1 Henry IV*, II, ii, 80, the traveler on entering says: "Come, neighbor, the boy shall lead our horses down the hill: we'll walk awhile." Of *Richard III* it is explained: "His horse is slain and all on foot he fights, seeking for Richmond" (V, iv, 4). *Lear* calls for horses and when they are ready leaves the stage to mount (I, iv, 275). *Petruchio*, about to ride with *Katharine* to his father-in-law's, orders his horses to be brought to Long-lane end, and says they will go thither on foot (IV, iii, 187). Why all this pains to explain why they had no horses when they might have had hobby-horses? I suppose that Shakespeare did not like hobby-horses. Perhaps they seemed to him ridiculous. They certainly would seem so to us. A *Richard Third* coming in on a hobby-horse to fight *Richmond* is certainly a less dramatic figure than the desperate villain rushing in on foot,

with the cry "My kingdom for a horse." No; if Shakespeare uses no horses, it is not because, as in the old song,

For oh, for oh, the hobby-horse is forgot,

but rather because he wishes you, as he says in the prologue to *Henry V*, to

Think when we talk of horses that you see them.

Another theatrical condition was that there were no women on the stage. Shakespeare had to commit his women's parts—Juliet and her nurse, Portia, Viola, Beatrice, Lady Macbeth—he had to commit them all to the tender mercies of boys. How the boys did we have, I believe, no very specific record. It seems to us nowadays as if they could not have done their parts well. They may have done as well, however, as Mme. Bernhardt as Hamlet or Miss Adams as the Duc de Reichstadt. We have all probably seen young men in girls' parts who were extremely good, and doubtless the Elizabethan boy actors were very clever. However it may have been, Shakespeare was certainly not so discouraged by his boy-actors that he did not put forth all his efforts in his heroines. It has been thought that Shakespeare took pains to have his women simple and uncomplicated, in comparison with his men. Something of the sort may be the case. Mme. Bernhardt finds none of Shakespeare's women as attractive as Hamlet. Perhaps his women are simpler than his men: Mr. Ruskin is sure that they are, as a rule, better, and as it is badness that complicates matters in this world, that may be because Shakespeare wanted them simpler. Still Lady Macbeth and Cleopatra are not very simple characters. But I do not seek to determine this matter. I wish to call attention to another matter already well known.

Shakespeare used one expedient in his earlier days, and, having found it successful, he repeated it over and over again, as was his invariable custom. He put Julia into doublet and hose, and finding that she did well, followed with Portia, Jessica, Rosalind, Viola, Imogen, some of his most charming characters. Did he think that they would be able to do the thing better? Or did he think there would be a sort of added piquancy in having these

young fellows pretend to be in disguise when they were really quite in their own element. I shall not try to answer the question. The chief examples all come along in a few years; it may be that Shakespeare at that time had a leading lady, as we may call him, who was good in all else than managing his skirts. However we look at it we can see that we have here a man handling his means in a large and original way. Perhaps it was stage convenience, perhaps a subtle splitting of straws. In either case it was imaginative.

Another custom of the stage presented Shakespeare with a problem. It was the habit of the day to allow a good deal of extempore speaking, particularly on the part of the comic actors. Indeed, it seems to have been the case that in some plays the comic actors took possession of the stage between the acts for comic business that had no connection with the play at all. That must have been annoying to the author. There is little doubt that Shakespeare found it so; the language in Hamlet's address (III, ii, 42) has certainly a personal touch in it. He did not sit down tamely under the infliction.

We are often told that the way to do away with any evil is to substitute something better for it. That was what Shakespeare did. He saw the necessity of this comic business from a theatrical standpoint. The audience wanted it, and so did the actors. So he gave the comic actors better lines than they could themselves invent. In the comedies he created a splendid set of comic characters, generally having slight connection with the play, but doing much to create the full harmony of dramatic tone. With tragedy, however, it was a different matter; without nice handling, this comic business might easily be quite inappropriate and incongruous. There is an example in one of his plays that was written early and revised afterward. It may be that this scene escaped revision. The play is *Romeo and Juliet*, and the scene (IV, iv, 102 to end) is that between Peter and the musicians after the supposed death of Juliet. It is practically an entr'acte. The curtains of the upper stage are drawn, the serious actors withdraw from the stage and Peter amuses the audience. "To our minds," says Clarke, "the intention was to show how grief and gayety,

pathos and absurdity, sorrow and jesting, elbow each other in life's crowd." Perhaps it was. But it appears from an error in the quartos that this part of Peter was acted by Will Kempe, a great favorite with the audience. So it is not improbable that the scene was put in to give Kempe something to do. Kempe was doubtless amusing, but the scene certainly is not. Shakespeare had gone farther when he wrote the gravedigger's scene in *Hamlet*, and the porter's scene in *Macbeth*. Both, I take it, were introduced to give employment to the comic actor and both have found favor with critics and audiences. Undoubtedly Shakespeare saw that they were appropriate to their places; undoubtedly he knew that grief and gayety elbowed each other. But that was not the original reason for the scenes.

There are some other conditions to be noticed, not of the material stage, nor of the actors upon it, but part of the dramatic ideas and conventions of the time. It would be manifestly impossible as well as unnecessary to try to deal thoroughly with this subject; it would call for a sketch of the development of the Elizabethan drama. Some particular points, however, seem proper for mention here; one of them is the dramatic convention of prologue, epilogue, and chorus. Examples of all these can be found in Shakespeare, though not very frequently, and not always, as is conjectured, by his own hand. Thus *2 Henry IV* has an induction, *Henry V* a prologue spoken by Chorus, *Pericles* a prologue by Gower, *Henry VIII*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Romeo and Juliet* have prologues; *Romeo and Juliet* has a chorus between the first and second acts, *Henry V* has a chorus in each entr'acte, *Pericles* a chorus in each entr'acte, and two additional speeches by Gower of the same character in IV, iv, and V, ii; *The Tempest*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *As You Like It*, *All's Well* have epilogues spoken by an actor, *2 Henry IV* has one spoken by a dancer, *Henry V* one by Chorus, *Henry VIII* one by no particular person. But there are other endings: *Much Ado* and *As You Like It* end with a dance; *Love's Labor Lost* with the dialogue of Owl and Cuckoo; *Twelfth Night* with a song by the Clown. More often, however, Shakespeare does not use an epilogue; but the play ends with some words indicative of the players leaving the

stage, which in the lack of a curtain must have been the case. A number of the tragedies end with a funeral march or with some simpler bearing off the body. Where there is no body there is commonly a word or two to account for the actors taking their departure. One or two uses are noteworthy. *Richard III* has what is practically a prologue in the opening speech of Gloster. *Troilus and Cressida* has practically an epilogue in the speech of Pandarus. As for the chorus between the acts there is a singular instance in *Macbeth*. The last scenes in Acts II and III have been already noted as singular scenes for the end of an act, according to modern ideas. But, according to the necessities of the stage, we cannot really say that these scenes actually do belong to the acts to which they are assigned. What probably happened was that the important scenes II, iii, and III, iv (or v, if that be considered Shakespeare's) came to an end and the actors left the stage. In each case there was something that Shakespeare wished to present in narrative form and not dramatically. This was the opportunity for chorus. Instead of the conventional expedient, Shakespeare puts in a short scene between minor characters for the same purpose.

Another artificial means of detailing action in the older drama was the dumb show. This expedient Shakespeare practically does not use, unless we consider *Pericles*; it occurs in the plays within a *Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Hamlet*. But it is a crude dramatic expedient, not only incongruous with the representative drama of today, but also with the poetic drama of Shakespeare.

Such are the chief ways wherein Shakespeare was influenced by the dramatic conditions of his own time; they show quite clearly that the Elizabethan play was something very different from what we have naturally in mind. To that difference we may ascribe much of the present unpopularity of the greater part of Shakespeare on the stage and, more important, by recognizing that difference, we may form a more exact idea of the aims of the dramatist.

There have been of late not a few attempts to give Shakespeare's plays under Elizabethan conditions. Of these many may have been archaeologically correct, but none was aesthetically so.

To tell the truth, it is impossible by any act of imagination or anything else to put ourselves psychologically into the time of Shakespeare; and as an audience can never be an Elizabethan audience, so it would be futile to have the play an Elizabethan play, for even if the conditions were correct, *we* should be incorrect. But if one wishes to reproduce Shakespearean conditions, one must have not merely a stage without scenery, but several other things. One must have, to mention only essentials, a stage which can be seen from three sides, upon which actors in the costume of our own time come into the midst of the audience and declaim with little action and little truly representative effect. Not merely Beatrice and Benedick must appear in every-day clothes — that might seem natural — but Romeo and Juliet, Hamlet and Ophelia, Theseus and Hippolyta. Even then we should not get the Elizabethan effect, for the costume of the Elizabethan actor, though it was a costume of the day, was very often a very splendid costume. (So that really the most Elizabethan of us are those actresses in modern plays who are so careful about their elaborate dresses.) But this splendor of costume, like the meagerness of scenery, was rarely representative; it was, with few exceptions, entirely typical. A spoken drama, with typical action, scenery, costume—such was the Shakespearean play.

If we study more particularly the various points noted above, we shall see that the effect of any restriction was to diminish the possibility of the play, as we think of one, and to increase the poetic character; that the way in which Shakespeare used every means permitted to him was to diminish the realistic effect and increase the imaginative.

The central stage made stage grouping practically impossible and reduced action to its lowest and most general terms. The lack of a curtain made pictures and situations quite impossible and left the actor to walk on the stage, give his lines, and walk off. The lack of scenery made any real illusion out of the question. The lack of costume helped and also imparted what would have been horrible anachronisms to minds less intent than the Elizabethan on other matters. For with all these things absent there were yet other things. There was excellent declamation of

excellent poetry. If you could not see the fresh springs and the lush grass and the pines and cedars of the enchanted isle, you could at least hear of them and hear them spoken of in such a way as would last in the memory longer than any scenery that we have ever seen. And, not to be tedious, it was the same in other respects. Shakespeare's plays were given for people who had more of the delight of the eye in everyday life than we have and who needed it less at the theater, for people who had less poetry in their pockets and their parlors than we can get for a quarter, and who liked it therefore in public where they could get it as a child likes to get it now, without the trouble of reading.

The Elizabethan stage was an imaginative, suggestive matter. It is true that one afternoon, perhaps, Desdemona was seen behind the drawn curtains lying upon her bed, and that was fairly realistic. But the day before that same bedroom had been a cave, perhaps, and the next day it might be a tomb. It could hardly have seemed much more realistic in one case than in the other, because there could have been very little sense of realism in the spectator. Various little things go to show how wholly typical was the performance in either case. The stage during a tragedy is said to have been hung with black, which would have been quite unnatural from any representative standpoint. Certain conventional characters, like Gower and Rumor, were appropriate persons for narrative between the action, and wore typical costume. Half a dozen swordsmen on a side must have been enough to present a battle.

Yet this narrowly limited performance had certain possibilities and these Shakespeare used, and that in such a way as shows not only his natural familiarity with the stage but the imaginative taste with which he saw that some things would suit his purpose better than others. Where there was a considerable choice of properties it does not appear that he used any that were glaringly impossible, like the hobby-horse. We have no mention of any contrivance for drawing Ariel up in a chair, as would have satisfied other playwrights. We have no "terrible monsters made of brown paper;" whatever is terrible in *Macbeth* is independent of stage properties. So with his boy actors: though he could not

always do so, he readily took the chance of letting them appear more in their own element. The comedians of the company he sometimes turned to his purposes and sometimes turned himself to theirs, in both cases to our great gain. The old dramatic conventions like the chorus he generally discarded, sometimes writing a prologue or an epilogue and sometimes, perhaps, allowing some one else to do it for him. But he could also accomplish the same end in other ways, for he saw quite clearly the sense that lay behind those old forms, and what they did stiffly and crudely he could easily do in a manner that arose naturally out of his situations. And the positive possibilities, the variation of action by the two stages, the opportunities given by the mid-curtain, the slight differences permitted by the balcony, the use of the tiring-house and the double doors, by these simple means he made such variation in his dramatic poems as relieved what might have been monotonous as a mere declamation, and relieved it moreover in ways that were significant and full of meaning.

It seems evident enough that Shakespeare, besides being a great dramatist, was a thorough playwright in his interest in the stage and his knowledge of the possibilities of it, and in his cleverness and pleasure at theatrical manipulation. There can be little doubt that the theatrical world was often in his mind; if a study of his stage management were not sufficient, a note of the great number of his figures of speech drawn from the stage and its circumstance should convince anyone. A man uses metaphor freely, without thinking up what he will say, out of the material in his mind. This great number of figures shows us that ideas of the actor and the stage came often from Shakespeare's head to his hand.

Then finally—and, of course this is the main point—he used all these means, such means as he had, with the idea always in mind that one must feed the imagination, but not starve or surfeit it.

That was the idea to which he held fast. He saw it early in his career. In *A Midsummer Night's Dream* he gives us a picture of the other thing. Bottom and Quince and Snout thought that nobody would understand their play unless they had everything very obvious. There was mention in the play of

moonlight and a wall. It would be very hard, they thought, to bring the moonlight into a chamber and also to arrange about the wall. They must manage to let the audience know that there was a moon and a wall. They thought of having everything real, as they do today, of opening the window and letting the moon shine into the hall and of bringing in a real wall. And when they couldn't do that, they had someone with a lantern for a moon and another covered with mortar and grouting for the wall. The result was that the audience laughed at them. "This is the silliest stuff that ever I heard," said the kind-hearted Hippolyta. "The best in this kind are but shadows," said Theseus, who was the typical man of action and held the poet, the madman, the lover, all pretty much of a muchness. "The best in this kind are but shadows; and the worst are no worse if imagination amend them."

"It must be your imagination, then," said Hippolyta, "and not theirs."

That was the point, and it is still. It must be your imagination that carries the thing through. And if you can imagine, then you may read a play, or see it on the bare Elizabethan stage, or see it in our finest spectacular setting, and you will get the life of it. Otherwise not. Otherwise no scenery and costume, nothing of all the elaboration of our day will give you anything but a vague titillation of the eye for a moment, or some sort of gratification of a common curiosity, but not the start and thrill that comes from a sudden imagination.

Imagination, realization, appreciation — we have various words which we use in a vague way, seeking for something that will express the idea that we have indefinitely in mind. It is not the only thing in art, it is true, but without it art may have many things of interest and yet be nothing worth having. Shakespeare saw the essential thing and either aimed at it or gave it naturally. That is one reason why his plays, though written for a stage of most feeble resources, last on into a day of most elaborate stage-setting and of most specific poetic appreciation.

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PRIMITIVE POETRY AND THE BALLAD.¹

I.

THE middle way in theories of the beginnings of poetry, of the origin of ballads, may be a way of pleasantness, but it is not a path of peace. Whoever chooses to walk in it will need from time to time refreshment of his courage by taking to heart such robust consolation as Goethe offers in the forty-ninth of the Venetian epigrams. From the right come voices which bid one accept poetry as children take sugar-plums, with the eyes fast shut. Poetry, says a pious and parochial critic in the *Nation*, is sacred, transcendental, "as incapable of analysis as that human soul of which it is the highest expression": a kind of codified hysterics is his way of dealing with the case. On the other hand, if one ventures to construct for primitive times a poetic process which differs from the modern way of composition, sharp rebuke comes from the left, from the rationalists, who accuse one of illicit traffic with a mystery and of worshipping an impossible "folk-soul." Indeed, Professor Brandl² not only charges the present writer with such an amiable heresy, but even credits him with representing American opinion upon this point—*furchtbare gunst dem knaben!* That pentecostal jest which Scherer made has not been sufficiently appreciated, it seems, by the languid sense of humor prevalent on this side of the Atlantic, and we are still in the toils of Jacob Grimm. But Professor Brandl is mistaken. Belief in miraculous and folk-made verse is dead and buried; and I, for one, object to any report of it as even nosed in the lobby of a theory which drives neither miracle nor common sense to an extreme. This theory holds the middle way. To base the investigation of poetry, which is a distinctly social art³

¹ See the new edition of SIR WALTER SCOTT'S *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, edited by J. F. HENDERSON, 4 vols., 1902; Blackwood, Edinburgh, and imported by C. Scribner's Sons, New York.

² Zur Kritik der englischen Volksballaden, in the *Festgabe für Richard Heinzel*, Weimar, 1898, pp. 54 f. May I suggest that Professor Brandl sows seeds of distrust in his ballad-criticism when he emends that familiar *bot and* of "Johnnie Cock" into *bot[h] and*?

³ GUYAU, *Problèmes de l'esthétique contemporaine*, p. 71.

and presents definite material for study, upon sociological as well as literary facts, to take account of economic conditions when dealing with an institution which has progressed with progressing culture, is a process which no more does away with ultimate mysteries of the human soul, whence poetry springs, than the study of biology does away with the ultimate mystery of life itself; while the assumption of communal and choral origins is sundered by the world's width from mere refuge in the miraculous.

Almost every modern writer in anthropology, ethnology, sociology—frontier lines are blurred on even the latest maps—grants a radical difference between primitive and civilized societies. Now, as poetry is a social art, it must differ in the two epochs, so far as it is social, in proportion as these two states of society differ. Taine's main thesis still stands: the making of poetry is conditioned by the character and environment of the makers. To this one must add the result of Hennequin's critical studies: the character and environment of the consumer should be taken into strict account. What, now, is this difference between primitive and civilized man? For my own part, I have seen nothing better than the formula of Alfred Vierkandt,¹ as set forth in his long but interesting study of the evidence. Despite a few apparent contradictions, which concern the tendency to exaggerate such a contrast between uncivilized, primitive man,² or even semi-civilized, barbarous man,³ and his modern representative, this difference, as Vierkandt points out, may be measured in times of culture by the increased importance and voluntary, rational activity of the individual. Here, however, occurs one of those cheerful inconsistencies which baffle the defender of communal beginnings in poetry. All hands are willing to accept a formula of individual importance in terms of progress, and they taunt him who proposes it, as if it were a commonplace; they concede even the decline of communal influences; and yet, when one undertakes to retrace the path of progress, to confront and approach the qualities opposed to individual importance, and to

¹ *Naturvölker und Kulturvölker*, Leipzig, 1896; see p. 171, and all of chap. iii.

² BÜCHER, *Entstehung der Volkswirtschaft*², 1898, *Der Urzustand*.

³ SEECK, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, Vol. I, p. 204 (*Die Germanen*), and *Anhang*, Vol. I, pp. 521 f.

make, in this instance, some fairly obvious inferences with regard to prehistoric verse, there is a cry of protest as against a new and fantastic theory. Here is simply the old Darwinian trouble in a field which folk still think sacred and secure against any invasion of science. To tell a man, or mankind itself, about huge strides of progress, is to flatter and please; to use this progress for inference about beginnings is altogether odious. In short, the proposition of individual growth is accepted, and the proposition of communal waning is tolerated; but the moment one begins with a "conversely," one meets a protest for which I can see no source outside of prejudice or misunderstanding. To overcome such prejudice, such misunderstanding, I can but appeal once more to the evidence of facts. True, when protest comes from hysterical persons who will not have poetry looked in the face, and who cling to a sort of Westminster catechism about genius¹ and the bard, there is nothing to be said, nothing even to be felt. Not *odi* but *arceo* is the verb for gentry of this sort. But the protest comes from scholars as well, and is referred to the facts in the case. What are the facts, then, which shall serve as evidence for or against the theory of prevailingly communal origins?

The facts are found not only in ethnology, but in folklore, and in what is called popular literature: that is to say, in songs and chorals of savage or barbarous tribes, as representative in some degree of primitive songs and chorals; in songs and chorals of labor, harvest, dance, as a survival of social poetry at large; and in the half literary ballads of Europe, as a link between poetry old and poetry new. To this material, under proper sifting and valuation, nobody objects save in the case of the ballads. Yet it is clear that if the ballads be admitted as evidence, their value is beyond price. Unlike the songs of savages, unlike the rude chorals of labor and the festal year, this ballad makes in some degree the modern appeal to lovers of good poetry; it attaches to conditions of incipient art, and yet holds in survival certain elements which make the communal appeal and go back to conditions

¹ Not once, says M. BRUNETIÈRE, *Revue des deux mondes*, 1898, p. 884, not once, but ten times he has declared "that genius itself, if we really knew what it is that we call by this name, is often nothing more than a wide and more effective participation in all that constitutes the common treasure of humanity."

of primitive life. In short, such controversy as one meets in the attempt to establish communal beginnings for poetry, is sure to touch the difficult question of ballad beginnings; approval of the theory as a whole carries with it a belief in the dual origin of popular verse. My present concern is to reckon not with the approval¹ but with the hostile criticism; and this hostile criticism, as expressed by Professor Brandl in Germany, by Mr. Henderson in England, deals mainly with theories of the ballad. There is, however, one objection to the larger question, from a source entitled to all possible respect, which must be answered before the ballad is approached. Moreover, if this answer is in any way convincing, it will serve materially in defence of the related theory.

In a review² which approves the main thesis of my *Beginnings of Poetry*—the fundamental difference between primitive and civilized verse—Professor Grosse, nevertheless, maintains that I have made the primitive individual far too much of a *herdenthier*, and that I have made the primitive community far more homogeneous than it really was. Now, as I said above, when one declares that poetry grows more and more individual as it progresses, no objection is raised; but when one makes the simple inference that to retrace this path of individual progress is to come closer to communal origins, to see the individual wither, then there is a storm of protest. Even Professor Grosse joins, however courteously, in this irrational opposition. It is a perilous undertaking to call in question any statements about primitive life which are made by the author of *Die Anfänge der Kunst*; I am fain to think, however, not only that Professor Grosse's concession largely neutralizes his objection, but also that his doctrine of primitive individualism is at variance with the facts. To say that early man was a *herdenthier*, that early society was homogeneous, is a statement redeemed from the opposition of certain evidence on which Professor Grosse rests his case, as soon as one confines the statement to its proper range, to the actually social

¹ For examples of this approval, see the *Quarterly Review* for July, 1898, on English and Scottish Ballads, and a review in the *Athenæum*, February 22, 1902, of the writer's *Beginnings of Poetry*.

² *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, April 26, 1902, pp. 1084 ff.

part of primitive life. The individual amounted to little or nothing *when taken in terms of social organization*; and since it was only under conditions of social organization that poetry began, it is fair to say that in earliest poetry the individual counted for little or nothing compared with communal influences. One can grant this while conceding at the same time that primitive man was in some respects distinctly more individual, more wilful, capricious, unreasonable, insubordinate, than civilized man. So, too, civilized communities show, in certain phases, far greater coherence, more communal unity, than was ever reached by any primitive horde. This, however, is a voluntary coherence of thinking persons, not mere consent of kind with instinct at its strongest and reason at its lowest. Surely Vierkandt makes it clear that so far as intelligent and voluntary, not instinctive, manifestations of the individual are concerned, primitive man, like modern savages, showed the lowest grade of individuality; while—and here Professor Bücher's hints are of great value—the incipient social impulses necessarily involved such an entire subordination of the individual to the mass as is impossible under the rational conditions of modern life. Savages accept in an unreasoning way the most irrational practices prescribed by the custom of the tribe. True, for a wilful, capricious, often solitary person—savages still eat alone, like dogs—the curve of individualism in primitive man runs high; for a thinking, planning member of society, his line hardly leaves the level. To be a social person at all, he merged his incipient powers of thinking, planning, persevering, in the social consent of common deed and common expression. Now it is clear that, however long the period of transition,¹ this primitive, solitary man came to a point when he was compelled to be a social person. Sooner or later, the struggle for existence forced social unity upon him as alternative to extinction. Such unity or rather coherence was at first, to borrow a formula from logic, of the greatest possible extension and the smallest possible intension; rhythmic consent, for example, brought about emotional but not rational community,² an absolute

¹ Probably one of the "eternized problems." See BÜCHER, *Der Urzustand*, cited above, and KEASBEY, *International Monthly*, April, 1900.

² YERJO HIEN, *The Origins of Art*, pp. 88 f.

coherence in step, voice, feeling, but not that subordination of purposeful and intelligent minds to the interests of a commonwealth which makes democracy at its best. Yet even the beginnings of social consent held the seeds of this higher democracy, and in the first emotional community lay something of the spirit which rises to its noblest expression in the thought and act of Regulus, as idealized by Horace in his incomparable climax. Despite savage selfishness and stupidity on the individual side, some of the foundations for a state of the Periclean sort were laid in primitive emotional consent; and here, too, is the beginning of poetry, with the same consent of emotion, or sympathy, for its inner life, and with rhythmic consent of step and voice for its external sign. That poetry in this earliest stage served as vehicle for solitary and intellectualized emotion is as little to be assumed as the idea of intellectual and isolated patriotism.

But one clings to the individual poet. The poem, we are told, is his work; and his art, "*artium regina* . . . had her original from heaven, received thence from the Hebrews," and is not to be considered more curiously. Well, we love Ben; but that tidy formula of Heaven, Jewry, Greeks, Latins, and so to "all nations that professed civility," is no longer to be taken seriously as the track of poetic evolution. We now look narrowly at nations that professed and profess incivility; and in all the evidence which they afford for the case in point, but one fact can be adduced as proof for the doctrine that the poet preceded poetry. Leaning on the tale, the *märchen*, one propounds the entertainment theory, and puts into the foreground of the poetic process a maker of pleasure face to face with the throng, a primitive lyceum, with its primitive platform-man drawing alternate laughter and tears. Scherer takes this ground in his *Poetik*. The prose *märchen*, he says, is the start of all epic, making somewhere and somehow its perilous leap into rhythm by a process not yet indicated by patrons of the theory. Argument by definition, such inference from "invention" to a prime "inventor" runs counter to the sober facts of ethnology, sociology, and literature itself. Candid examination of these facts, and a study of the *märchen* in all its ways, refuse to give it equal date of origin with choral

song, not to speak of precedence. It was not a possible art, this communication between an entertainer and his public, until the public was an organized existence; and overwhelming evidence compels the assumption of choral song, rhythmic consent, emotional community, as prominent factors in the very creation of such a public. The individual made himself felt in primitive verse; but his activity began with the choral throng. Despite certain protests at the term as a scientific affectation, I think the fissiparous birth¹ of individual singing and poetry from choral singing and poetry to be an assumption based on evidence of facts. Such tendencies as are shown by this act belong to the development of poetry toward its present phase of solitary author and solitary reader; the individual traits, on which Professor Grosse insists, are of the elementary kind, are unsocial and of the original human stock, not only undisciplined by communal beginnings, but really hostile to any exercise of the poetic art. From communal poetry to individual poetry is a steady advance. Yet within this steady advance, taken as a whole and viewed in the course of ages, one must assume constant action and reaction of communal and individual elements as the pulse of poetic life. Even in such a definite and comparatively recent phenomenon as English literature, in its fourteen centuries of existence, one can detect a constant shifting from communal to individual domination, from individual to communal, as one epoch succeeds another. True, the whole course of literature has been to throw the individual poet into an increasingly strong relief; but under various disguises the communal impulse always manages to assert itself afresh, whether as convention, popularity, tradition, uniformity, and however fallen from its old estate of acknowledged and sovereign rule. The poet still appeals to that consent of emotion from which the earliest poetry sprang direct, and he still keeps time with that consent of emotional expression, rhythm of step and voice, in which his art began. These are the constant, the human elements of poetry. But the conditions of poetic expression differ as social conditions differ. That primitive poetic expression was prevailingly communal, seems, I think, a plain

¹ *Beginnings of Poetry*, p. 393.

inference from facts; and it differed to that extent from the individualized and intellectualized expression of today. I do not for a moment maintain that individual impulses did not assert themselves in earliest song; without them there can be no poetry at all; but what I urge is the great predominance of homogeneous and choral elements and the subordination of individual impulses. Professor Grosse says that I have "showed the fact, and given a reason for it, that social poetry in low stages of culture has a decided superiority over individual poetry," and I have proved "that the conditions, and hence the nature, of oldest poetry differ materially from poetry of later times." This is a handsome concession. And I venture to hope that the considerations just urged, along with others already set forth,¹ will convince him that the claim for a homogeneous condition of primitive verse-makers is not the unreasonable claim which he was inclined to call it.

Professor Grosse leans heavily on ethnological evidence in this case. The best book which has appeared for a long time in ethnological research is the account of Australian natives compiled by Spencer and Gillen.² This rich array of facts, so faithfully recorded, so intelligently used, could be quoted to sustain more than one phase of the general theory which I am trying to defend. It revives some seemingly beaten causes. Even promiscuity, despite Westermarck's conclusions, is restored at least to its belligerent rights; so, perhaps, is matriarchy. However that may be, there is no question that the evidence of this book, so far as it goes, makes for a communal theory of poetic beginnings. The iron tyranny of custom, of social tradition, over individual initiative; the relation of song and dance; the use of epic and dramatic elements—these and many other features of tribal life, recorded by an ethnological expert, point in but one direction. To transcribe the evidence about choral song as used at every stage of savage life and in all the doings of the tribe, would be to quote a good part of the book. Choral singing is everywhere. With constant repetition, with insistent burden,³ chanted now by

¹ *Beginnings of Poetry*, pp. 374-89, 462 f.

² *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, London, 1899.

³ See pp. 184, 191 f.—with specimen—290, 380: "singing for hours 'The sand hills are good.'"

the old men, now by the young men, now by women, now by all the tribe, it yields on occasion to an individual chant, mainly epic, which is clearly the offspring and never the parent of communal song. One may "sing" a weapon or the like; but such a ceremony as "singing the ground" in solemn choral¹ is clearly the older and festal custom. The solitary act, as ceremonial rite, must, in the nature of the case, derive from a public act. The medicine-man may mutter his *carmen*, and the entertainer may sing his epic solo in alternation with the chorus; but tribal incantation and choral singing are not only the prevalent fashion but are beyond all doubt the original social fact. Indeed, even recitation, on which some theorists lay such stress as precedent to singing, seems to be a negligible quantity with Australian natives of the primitive sort. A recent writer² says of their songs that "in some cases the words seemed designed to run in rhymes; but a decided rhythm recurring in lines of regular length, and *invariably chanted, never recited*, is the essential character of Australian poetry." He adds, too, that "almost every black fellow is a 'maker' of lyric verse," thus placing the development of the art in that stage of fissiparous birth from choral singing, where progress, that is, the making of other than traditional and ritual songs, is passing into the control of individual singers, but is not yet the monopoly of a few; and where poetry is still an integral part of public life and the most prominent feature in social tradition.

I can see, therefore, no misuse of ethnological evidence in thus taking the acknowledged formula of increased individual importance as something which implies the converse of the main proposition. In a second paper I shall essay a similar course with two qualities of modern poetry which are often associated in the formula of progress. The increase of sentiment and refinement, the energizing of poetic imagination, are among our commonplaces of criticism; but to retrace the path, to confront opposites, to deal in that wicked "conversely," is in some eyes to be of the heretics, if not to court critical inquisition and the

¹ See p. 293.

² JOHN MATTHEW, *Eaglehawk and Crow* (London and New York), 1900, p. 140.

stake. Perhaps, however, this prejudice may yield in the face of adequate consideration. Finally, by such a backward view at the qualities which sentiment has displaced, by such an attempt at a formula for the change from old objective force to new imaginative power, I hope to gain a comparatively untried point of view for a look at the controversy about ballad origins.

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THE INTRUSIVE NASAL IN "NIGHTINGALE."

IN a recent number of *Englische Studien* (Vol. XXVI, p. 2) Prof. Jespersen discusses the origin of the unetymological nasal in the modern form of the O.E. *nihtegale*. Rejecting, on good grounds, the suggestion offered in an *obiter dictum* of Dr. Sweet's (which, possibly, that distinguished scholar might not now care to defend), that *nizte-* became *niztin-* through association with *evening*, he points out that the phenomenon in question has an exact parallel in the forms *Portingale* (for *Portigale*, Portugal), and *martingale*, and a less close parallel in the well-known and extensive class of words exemplified by *passenger*, *messenger*, *harbinger*. The disappointing conclusion of the article is that no explanation is attainable. We can formulate the "law" that during the M.E. period a nasal was regularly inserted in tri-syllabic words between a vowel ending the middle syllable and a *g* or *dʒ* beginning the third syllable; but *why* this took place we have, Professor Jespersen seems to think, no means of conjecturing.

But let us examine all the known instances in which a nasal has been inserted in this position before guttural *g*. These are, *nightingale*, *Portingale*, *martingale*, and *fardingale*, which last Professor Jespersen has omitted. Now it is a decidedly suspicious circumstance that they all end in *-ingale*. So far as I know we do not find an unetymological *n* before *g* in any other word of the same rhythm, such as *herigaut*, *pedigree*, or *verdegrece*. The presumption therefore seems to be that we have not here to do with any unexplainable operations of phonetic law, but that the sound-sequence *-ingale*, owing to its familiarity as occurring in the common word *nightingale*, was instinctively substituted for the *-igale* of the less frequent words. The process is surely natural and ordinary enough. A person who was in the habit of using the word *nightingale*, but to whom *Portigale*, *martigale*, and *fardigale* were not quite so familiarly known, would almost inevitably mispronounce these latter; and indeed would very likely hear them wrongly as well.

If this be the correct explanation of the intrusive nasal in the later instances, the form of *nightingale* not only remains unaccounted for, but the change which it has undergone has not even been brought under any general formula. A possible solution, however, may perhaps be suggested by what has already been said. If an *n* has been introduced into three other words through the influence of *nightingale*, may not the *n* of *nightingale* itself be due to similar influence from some other word which had the nasal by etymological right? It may at first sight appear absurd to suggest that *nizteale* has been altered by assimilation to *galin-gale*. But the name of the root was probably in the fourteenth century more frequently on people's lips than the name of the bird, for *galingale* was an article of constant use, both in domestic medicine and in cookery. Those who know how addicted English rustics are to assimilative distortions even of quite common words will probably not think my suggestion altogether unlikely.

It may be worth while to mention that (as I have lately discovered to my own surprise) my natural pronunciation of *nightingale* is *nei-tinge^{il}*, with *n* and not *ŋ*. The dictionaries all apparently agree with me, though this may be because of the imperfection of their methods of notation. How people in general do pronounce the word I do not know; the reason why I find it easier to pronounce it with *n* than with *ŋ* is probably that the *t* makes the nasal homorganic with itself in spite of the tendency to be assimilated to the guttural of the next syllable.

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SONGS OF THE SPANISH JEWS IN THE BALKAN PENINSULA.

HARDLY anything has been done for the study of the language spoken by the Spanish Jews in the diaspora. Kayserling¹ and Danon,² who have made some valuable collections of proverbs and songs, unfortunately normalize the dialects in accordance with the Spanish language, until no semblance of the spoken form (except for some rare words) is left. Grünbaum,³ who has made a chrestomathy of Judeo-Spanish, has based his study exclusively on the printed books, normalizing everything to modern Spanish. Grünwald's⁴ few pages are almost the only attempt at formulating the grammar of the spoken form, but even this is quite unsuccessful.

In the summer of 1898 I passed a few days in the Balkan Peninsula. I there collected some thirty or forty songs from the mouths of the people. Time does not permit me to subject them linguistically or otherwise to an extended study, and work in another field makes it unlikely that I shall soon return to this interesting subject; hence I shall here offer the crude material, hoping that it may encourage others to make more extended and more thorough investigations.

The various dialects of the Spanish Jews seem to class themselves into two groups, which approximately coincide with the preservation of the old *f*, as *fižu* = "hijo," or the loss of it, *ižu*. The first fourteen songs were given to me by a resident of Belgrade, formerly of Bosnia; he attempted to pronounce in his native Bosnian dialect, which belongs to the group with the preserved *f*, but it is evident that his new surroundings and his knowledge of the printed Judeo-Spanish (as he was a teacher) have in places vitiated the dialect of his youth. The remaining

¹ *Biblioteca española-portuguesa-judáica*, Strassburg, 1890.

² In *Revue des Études Juives*, Vols. XXXII and XXXIII.

³ *Jüdisch-spanische Chrestomathie*, Frankfurt am Main, 1896.

⁴ *Zur romanischen Dialectologie*, Heft I, Belovar, 1883.

songs were given to me by unlettered women, professional singers at weddings in Sofia, Bulgaria, and belong to the other group.

I also met some Spanish Jews born and bred in Vienna. I noted down the following conversation and separate words, illustrative of the Vienna dialect:¹

Yō bēvu kavē i kōmu un pan blanku. El stomagu mīyu non ari-yēva otru mōdu di pan. Agōra mi kompañeru si va a ir a la sivdat i muz² vāmus endžuntu a komēr. Despois de la komida muz vāmus a la kavané³ a beber un prētu. Despois muz vāmus a la kantseleriya. Ayi estāmus de las dōs asta las kwātru. Si ēs el tyempu ermōzu, vāmus a pasyar asta las sēs. Tōdus špañoles⁴ trezladan la kōza en ōtra manēra. Lus ečarum axwēra⁵ de la Špañā. Si xwērun a la Turkiya. No tupamus diferēnsya en la avla. Solu kē ēyus son mās ambizādus.⁶ Porkē no ēs viđrat.⁷ Čidyós.⁸ Pur enšemplu.⁹ Estonsis.¹⁰ Ūnu, dōs, trēs, kwātru, sinku, sēs, syēti, oču, muēvi, dyēs, ōnzi, dōdzi, trēdzi, katōrdzi, kindzi, dīzīsēs, vēnti, trēnta, kwarēnta, sinkwēnta, sisēnta, sitēnta, ōčēnta, nōvēnta, syēn, duzyēntus, trizyēntus, kwatrušēntus, kiñēntus, šisēntus, sitisyēntus, ōčisyēntus, nōvisyēntus.

I.

Iskučediš,¹¹ fiža,¹² i metadiš myentis,
Kē a lus aženus fagaš paryentis!
Kē el fižu del ombri servidu kerī¹³ ser.

Iskučediš, fiža, i mitaš en tinu,
Kē lu kē yō vus digo kē nō lu perdaš del tinu!
Kē el fižu, etc.

Kwādu vereš, fiža, a vwestra siñora sfuegra,¹⁴
Tomalda¹⁵ por la manu, asentalda a vwestru ladu!
Kē el fižu, etc.

Kwādu vereš, fiža, kē grita siñora tia,
Mutisyon¹⁶ kē vus entri, kē nōn lē deš repuesta!
Kē el fižu, etc.

¹ In the following pages ē, ō mean closed (generally long) sounds; ē, ō = nasal e, o; ā = a in Eng. "fat," but shorter; z = Eng. z; ċ = Span. ch; ž = Fr. j; š = Fr. ch; ō = Eng. th in "this;" x = Ger. ch in "ach;" S. = Spanish; F. = my article on the Ferrara Bible, in *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XI; H. = Hebrew; T. = Turkish; A. = Arabic.

² S. nos.

³ T. = "café."

⁴ So the Spanish Jews are called.

⁵ S. fuera.

⁸ S. judios.

¹¹ S. escuchar.

¹⁴ S. suegra.

⁶ "Educated."

⁹ "Example."

¹² S. hija.

¹⁵ S. tomadla.

⁷ S. verdad.

¹⁰ "Then."

¹³ S. quiere.

¹⁶ "Silence."

Kwandu vereš, fiža, al siñor kuñadu,
Tomaldu por la manu i muču onoraldu!
Kē el fižu, etc.

Kwandu vereš, fiža, a la siñora kuñada,
Tomalda por la manu: "Asentá, kuñada!"
Kē el fižu del ombri servidu kerí ser.

II.

Yamó el Dyó a Mošé de la sarsa¹ mora
El lē respondyó en akeya ora,
I el lu dišera: "Kē mandí, Siñor?"
Kē dispuēs di Ayiftu² nōn lu uvo³ tal siñor,
Komu Mošé Rabēnu i su ermanu Aaron.

"Ven akí, tu, Mošé, mi primer amadu!
Tu as di azer todus mis mandadus!
Kē kites a lus džidyós⁴ di galut⁵ pezgadu!"⁶
Kē dispuēs di Ayiftu, etc.

Kēn⁷ a di ser, Siñor, mensažeru amadu,
A di ser dispiru i dispipitadu,⁸
Nōn, komu a mi, di luenga⁹ pezgadu!"¹⁰
Kē dispuēs di Ayiftu, etc.

"Ka ya tu, Mošé, no favlis lukura,
Porkē yo krei toda kreadura,—
Ago favlar a niñu i a kreatura!"
Kē dispuēs di Ayiftu, etc.

Ya si xwé¹¹ Mošé kun esti mandadu,
Lu topó a Paró en la mēza asentadu,
Komyendu i bevyendu i alegri di kurazon.
Kē dispuēs di Ayiftu, etc.

Ya li favla Mošé en esti mandadu:
"El Dyó de lus džidyós mi a mandadu:
Kite a lus džidyós di galut pezgadu!"
Kē dispuēs di Ayiftu, etc.

"Kēn es esti Dyó, kē mē vaš¹² favlandu?
Yō nōn lu kunosku! Ni a platikadu,
Ni un prezentiku nōn mi a mandadu!"
Kē dispuēs di Ayiftu, etc.

¹ S. zarza. ² "Egypt." ³ S. hubo. ⁴ S. judios. ⁵ H. = "thralldom" ⁶ "Heavy." ⁷ S. quien.

⁸ "Clear and distinct." The origin of the words is not clear to me.

⁹ S. lengua.

¹⁰ "Heavy" (F.).

¹¹ S. huír.

¹² S. vais.

III.¹

Ordinaré un kantar,
Nombri di Dyó enmentar,
Kē tornó a sementar
La sivdat² di Tevaryá.³

Bendiçu seya su nombri
En bōka di todú ombri,
Kē si menti i kē si nombri
La sivdat di Tevaryá.

Gozus i alegrías
Veyan⁴ en todus lus dias!
Kē si fragwi en sus dias
La sivdat di Tevaryá!

Den loōris al Dyó
Todú el kē es džidyó,
Porkē si tornó a rebivir
La sivdat di Tevaryá!

Eya ēra grandi su fama,—
Todú kē la vei la ama;
Si alegra muču la alma
Del aver⁵ di Tevaryá.

Vyendu tal klaru aver,
Kē es gran koza di ver,—
Es muy sana al beber
La agwa di Tevaryá.

Zexut⁶ grandi tuvimus,
Kē en eya kuvdisimus,⁷
Vyendu la lugo⁸ fragwimus
Al kal⁹ di Tevaryá.

Xaznés¹⁰ si gastarian,
Syertu kē nōn abastarian,
Porkē vinyēran la džuderia
A morar en Tevaryá.

¹ Contained, in printed form, in *האריץ ספר זמרים*, Livorno, 1820, from which it differs considerably. It is arranged in order of the Hebrew alphabet.

² S. *ciudad*.

⁵ H. = "air."

⁸ S. *luego*.

³ "Tiberiah."

⁶ H. = "advantage."

⁹ H. = "temple building."

⁴ S. *vean*.

⁷ O. S. *codiciar*, *coddiciar* (F.).

¹⁰ T. = "treasure."

Tyempu muču xwé pasadu,
Kē estava dizyertadu,
Por miñan¹ ēra minguadu
Para kadiš² en Tevaryá.

Yena ēra di espinus,
En lugar di aver pinus,
Alarzis,³ tambyen enzinus
En el lugar di Tevaryá.

Komu antis la alavavan
I su frutu estimavan,
En Yerusalaím nōn si ayavan⁴
Las frutas di Tevaryá.

Loōris al Dyó darēmus,
Tan byen lu alavarēmus,—
Muy prestu mus artarēmus
De lus visyus di Tevaryá.

Mas kē es lugar di folgar,
Para umoris fregar,—
Nōn ay en ningun lugar
Las lidžas⁵ di Tevaryá.

Nōn mi kedó repozu
Di alavar al Poderozu,
Tambyen di Meriam el podzu⁶
En la mar di Tevaryá.

Erex⁷ nōn tyeni ni tal,
Ni sin eya su metal,
Kē el Rav Rebi Xia Vital
Las bevyó en Tevaryá.

Privadu xwé al estanti,
Kē xwé koza di enkanti,
Sensya lē vino abastanti
Supito⁸ en Tevaryá.

Tsadik⁹ es el kē es gozer,¹⁰
Remedyu mire di azer,

¹ H. = "number" (especially as much as are needed to form a religious assembly).

² H. = "prayer for the dead."

³ Cf. *alarze* (F.).

⁴ S. *hallar*.

⁵ A Spanish Jew gave me as the meaning of this word "springs."

⁶ S. *pozo*.

⁷ H. = "value."

⁸ Cf. F.

⁹ H. = (?)

¹⁰ H. = "saint."

Venid i tomad plazer
Di gozar en Tevaryá.¹

Reyalis-seran venidus,
Ayí seran akužidus²
Lus kē estan esparzidus
En las plasas di Tevaryá.

Syertu ayí tornarán
Lus sanedrin džuzgaran,³
Di ayí si rexmírán
En prima di Tevaryá.

Teilot⁴ al Dyó darēmus,—
Kantar muēvu⁵ kantarēmus,
A Yerušalaim mandarēmus
Di akí di Tevaryá.

Muču byen si sta azyendu
En la sivdat di Tevaryá,
Kē prestu mi va ir riyendu
A la sivdat di Tevaryá.

IV.

Kwandu el rē Nimrod al kampu salia
Vidó una boz⁶ grandi a la džuderia,⁷
Kē iva di naser Avraam, nwestru padri.
La mužer di Terax kedó preñada,
Di dia en dia lē priguntava:
“Di kē teneš la kara tan dimudada?”
I eya savia lu kē tenia,
Doloris tenia i parir keria.
Fuyera⁸ si por lus kampus sovri istar perdida,
Entró en una meará,⁹ ayí lu pariria.
Lugo kē lu pariria, el niñu favlaria:
“Vayaš, mi madri, a la su kaza,
Kē yō ya tenia ken mē alečaria,—
Andžel di Dyó a mi kriaria.”
Al fin di oču dias lu xwé a vezítar,¹⁰
Lu topó en la agwa tomandu tevilá,¹¹
Grandi zexut tuvi, kē esti aparidu.

¹ After this a strophe is lacking.

² S. *acoger*.

³ S. *juzgar*.

⁴ H. = “prayers.”

⁵ S. *nuevo*.

⁶ S. *voz*.

⁷ S. *juderia*.

⁸ S. *huir*.

⁹ H. = “cave.”

¹⁰ S. *visitar*.

¹¹ H. = “bath

Fin di kinzi dias lu xwé a vežitar,
 Lu topó meldandu¹ la gimará.²
 Fin di venti dias lu xwé a vežitar:
 Lu topó un mansevu, mansevu di saltar.
 "Kē buškaš, mi madri, i vos por akí?"
 Bušku yō al mi fižu, mi fižu Avraam,
 Al mi fižu presyadu, kē a paridu aka."
 "A las oras di agora lu veniš a buškar,
 Kwandu kē fin agora si lu kumyó³ la xayá,⁴
 Esti kē sintyó su madri, kayó si para atras.
 "No vos kaygaš, mi madri, ni vos para atras!
 Yō so vwestru fižu, vwestru fižu Avraam,
 Vwestru fižu presyadu, kē lu pariteš aká."

V.

Si kereš kē yō vos kanti
 La kantiga del boračon,—
 La semana entēra lazdra,⁵
 Pará⁶ en bolsa nōn kedó.
 Ya kunosi Sabatyá
 La maña del bevedor,
 Nōn lē dava vinu puru,
 Kē lu fazi matador.
 Si venia para kaza
 Al iskuru, si kai para un kanton.
 Lus fižikus, kē lu vyerun,
 A reir si mityerun.
 "Kē vos reiš, fižus di un peru?
 Kē boračo nōn sto yō.
 Andá, yamá a la vwestra madri,
 Kē favlar lē kero yō."
 "Ven akí, fiža d'un peru,
 Tēlas di mi kurazon!
 Da 'kí esta redoma di vinu,
 Asta kē do un čupon!
 "Andá i yamá a las vezinas,
 Maldezir las kero yō."
 Estas palavras dizaendu,
 Patišan si enxazinó.⁷

¹ *Meldar* is the Jud.-Span. word for "reading."² H. = "gemara."³ S. *comer*.⁴ H. = "beast."⁵ S. *lazrar*.⁶ T. = "money."⁷ *Enxazinar* (to grow ill), from O. S. *hazino* or *hacino* = *mezquino* (M.), from Ar. *hazin*, "sad."

"Mužer mia, la mi mužer,
 Una palavra vus vo¹ a dezir yō!
 Kwandu el ayá si mueri,
 Nōn vus estēs a kazar vos.
 "Kwandu el ayá si mueri,
 Kē lē agaš el su kavod!"²
 Estas palavras dizyendu,
 Patišan areventó.³
 "Vení akí sus xaverím,⁴
 Yevaldu⁵ a betaxaim!"⁶
 En medžu del kaminu
 Sintyó a pregunar⁷ vinu.
 "Esperá vos, mis xaverím,
 Fin kē gosto del vinu!"
 Si vinyerun para kaza,
 Lu dešarun⁸ a el ayí.
 El si tornó a kaza,
 Topó a la mužer en čupá.⁹
 Esti kē ya vido a la mužer,
 Kē estava en čupá,
 Xwé si a topar mužer
 A tomar a eskožer.
 El si alava kē es džustu,
 Kē vinu nunka nōn gostó,—
 Añus tenia diez i seš,
 Raki¹⁰ nōn savi lu kē es.
 Patišan ya si disposa
 Kon una negra mas kē el.
 Kē lē manda di prezenti
 Un dukadu para la frenti.
 Ya lu toma eya en la manu,
 Ya lu yēva a la meané:¹¹
 Ya si bevi las syen dramas,
 I no lē parēsi nada.
 "Asi biva Sabatyá,
 Kē mi de otra medža livra,
 Kē mi va venir el novyu
 I kon čef¹² kero star yō."
 Ya si vyeni por la kaye

¹ S. *voy*.² H. = "honor."³ Cf. S. *reventar*.⁴ H. = "comrades."⁵ S. *Llevadlo*.⁶ H. = "cemetery."⁷ S. *pregonar*.⁸ S. *dejar*.⁹ "Women's club."¹⁰ T. = "liquor."¹¹ T. = "tavern."¹² "Pleasure."

Di ladu a ladu si kayi
 Kwandu ya si entró en kaza,
 Si rompyó lus ožus¹ en la mēza.
 El novyu ya lē venia,
 Eya no si mineya.
 Ya entró el novyu en kaza,
 La topó kayida en la mēza;
 Ya la faya² a la novya
 Inteñida di kára boyá.³
 “Asi bivaš, la mi novya,
 Andi fiziteš esta boyá?
 Kē di vos sentir el gwezmu,⁴
 Dizmayar ya mi vo yō.
 Da mi a gustar un pōku.,
 Kē ya vo a salir loku.
 “Avra esta portezika,
 Ayi sta la redomika!
 Intēra nōn se la bēva,
 Porkē el alma mi yēva.”
 Ya la toma en la bōka,
 Si bēvi intēra la ōka.⁵
 “Mučus aňus kē mē biva,
 Esta la novya mia!”

VI.

Fiža, si ti vas kon tu maridu,
 Mira di onorar lu i servir lu,—
 Spanta ti di el komu el inimigu!

Fiža, si ti vas kon tu amadu,
 Faz tē la mēza, meti li el platu,—
 Spanta ti di el komu el inimigu!

Fiža, si ti vas kon tu estimadu,
 Mira di amar lu i estimar lu,
 Spanta ti di el komu el inimigu!

Fiža, si tu vas kon tu regaladu,
 Meti li la mēza, skansya⁶ li el vazu,
 Spanta ti di el komu el inimigu!

¹ S. *ojos*.² S. *hallar*.³ T. = “black paint.”⁴ “Smell.”⁵ T. = “about 1½ quarts.”⁶ S. *escanciar*.

VII.¹

Paryēra mi la mi madri
 En una eskura muntina,
 Ondi nōn kantava gayu
 Ni mēnus kanta gayina,
 Ondi bramavan leonis,
 La leona arespondia.
 Syeti aņus le di di leči
 Di una leona parida:
 Syeti aņus le di del pan,
 Del pan kē yō komia:
 Syeti i syeti son katorzi,—
 A la niņa se le entendia.
 Mandi la a merkar² farina,
 Dizia kē non savia;
 Mandi la a merkar azēti,
 Dizia kē nōn podia.
 Aravyó si el mōru i la mōra,
 Di kaza la ečaria;
 Arimó si en un kastiyu
 Por ver pasar kompañia.
 Por ayi pasó un kavayēru
 Ke de la gera venia:
 “Si te plazia, la niņa,
 Venir en mi kompañia?”
 “Byen mi plazi a mi alma
 Byen mi plazi a mi vista!”
 “O ti plazia en la anka,
 O ti plazia en la siya?”³
 “Mas mi plazia en la anka,
 Kē mas onra mi seria!”
 En medžu del kaminu
 Di amoris le prometia.
 “Stati, stati, el kavayēru,
 Stati, stati, por tu vida!
 Kē todū ombri, kē a mi toka,
 Mala toka tokaria!
 Kē so fiņa del rē malatu
 I dela rēna malatia!”
 Estu kē sintyó el kavayēru
 Del kavayu la ečaria.
 Si muču kori el kavayēru,

¹ Another version of it in Danon's collection.² “Buy.”³ S. *silla*.

Ma mas muĉu kori la niĉa.
 A la entrada dela sivdat
 La niĉa si sonreia.
 "Kē ti sonries, ni alma,
 Kē ti sonries, mi vista?"
 "Mi sonrio, kavayēru,
 Di tu negra boveria,
 Kē tenyendu mi al ladu
 Di mis favlas ti spantarias!
 Tenyendu la niĉa en el kampu
 Di mis favlas ti spantarias:
 Tenyendu la niĉa en las manus
 Le katatiŝ kurtezia!"
 Estu kē sintyō el kavayēru
 Dezmayadu kedaria;
 Ni si retorna kon agwa
 Ni mēnus kon melizinas,¹
 Sinon en trēs palavrikas
 Kē la niĉa le diria.

¹*S. medicina.*

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[*To be concluded.*]

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PRIMITIVE POETRY AND THE BALLAD.

II.

THE book of Spencer and Gillen, to which I have already referred, gives a welcome account of that tremendous ordeal awaiting the savage when he reaches manhood and is to be made a member of his tribe. Among native Australians this ordeal, painful and protracted as it is for the youths in question, is fairly resonant from beginning to end with choral song; the individual is silent through all his suffering, while the community gives due rhythmic expression to such sentiment as the occasion seems to demand. Sentiment, in a word, belongs here with the situation and the tribe itself, not with the individual and his emotion. No doubt the youth, during his complicated experience, gathers a stock of what most writers call sentiment and Matthew Arnold called criticism of life, sufficient to furnish forth a whole library of lyric poems. But it is not the way of these Australians for the individual, during such a process of experience, to sing his own troubles and triumph; he is besung, now in improvised and now in traditional verses, by leading singers and by the community at large, but mainly in chorals. Evidence of this sort can be gathered from many places and times, and from literary as well as ethnological sources. It all points, with little chance of error, to the conclusion that private confidences about private experience, and whatever qualities are implied in the more dignified idea of sentiment, were unknown to primitive verse.

There is nothing in this conclusion that appeals as new to the student of poetical forms, and nothing that appeals as important to the critic, who is inclined to think it a fairly obvious matter. But he will not call it unimportant, and he may not think it obvious, when he understands what it implies. It means, of course, that primitive poetry lacked the qualities which criticism has come to regard as fundamental in poetry. It means, moreover, a partial revision of critical ideas about epic, or in any case about those poems which were made when artistic control was tentative and had not forced poetry away from its mainly communal conditions. It means a more open mind to the difference between oral and written poetry.¹ For publicity, both in the making and in the taking, was an absolute condition of poetry until the invention of writing; and publicity, excluding as it did the private confidences of the poet, must have lasted well into the formative period of the great epics and worked, in their early versions, to the almost total exclusion of poetic sentiment in its present form. Criticism, to be sure, assumes what it calls objectivity for the epic; but its definitions of the term and its explanations of the fact have been deplorably vague. A. W. Schlegel, in his admirable study of ballad style,² simply says that the old makers of verse were objective by instinct where the great masters of later time are objective by art. Guyau, excellent observer of the character and tendencies of modern verse, is much to the same purpose: unconscious art of the primitive time comes to be conscious under civilized conditions; *notre sensibilité s'intellectualise*.³ Scherer,⁴ who revels in a thaumaturgic use of the commonplace, sees but half of the problem, and explains this unsentimental and unindividual note of ballads and of older epic, and presumably of primitive verse, not by the fact of oral making and auricular reception, but by mere oral transmission: passed along by a hundred singers, the poet's individuality and sentiment—which Scherer assumes in full strength from the beginning—had to undergo a constant

¹By his neglect to extend this difference from mere transmission to conditions of making A. E. BERGER robs his researches on the ballad of all final and historical value; see his "Volkslied und Kunstlied," in *Nord und Süd*, 1894, pp. 76 ff.

²On Bürger, in *Charakteristiken und Kritiken*, Vol. II, pp. 23 f.

³*Problèmes de l'esthétique contemporaine*, p. 145.

⁴*Poetik*, pp. 135 f.

process of detrition, which substituted, at every slip of memory, a general idea or phrase for a particular idea or phrase. But apart from the improbability of such an argument, which forgets that precisely the unusual would stick in one's memory and make a given song worth while, Scherer runs counter to the evidence; he ignores that ethnological and literary proof of the lack of personality, the lack of sentiment, in primitive verse. He tries to explain the disappearance of something which had not yet appeared. It is clear that one must rise to wider views of the epic, and find a better formula for its relation to other kinds of verse. Before one explains epic objectivity, by no means the simple matter of miraculous popular conception that Jacob Grimm thought it to be, by no means the artistic triumph that traditional criticism assumes, one must have a satisfactory formula of distinction in the evolution of poetry, which shall reckon with all the facts in the case. Such a formula of distinction may be inferred from a study of poetic sentiment on the lines already laid down.

Primitive verse appealed by cumulative impression to what has been called emotional community; and it was forced, by the very conditions of composition, to be objective in every way. Until the period of written verse, when a poem could be composed in private and passed down to posterity by writing or by whatever mnemonic device, mainly as it was composed, poetry had to make this appeal to emotional community, to that entity which psychologists have studied so well in its modern and fugitive form as "the mind of an audience." Primitive poetry could not appeal to private sentiment and to the individual mind under conditions where the "mind of an audience" dominated the composition of verse as well as its reception and even transmission to other places and times. The modern poet addresses a disintegrated throng; he appeals to that compound of thought and emotion which sunders itself from the mass of men, and returns to the sense of communal sympathy only upon the broadly human lines of a common fate. He has withdrawn from the crowd into his "ivory tower;" but he looks out on a world instead of a village green. He works alternately with microscope and telescope; you may see

what he sees with either, but you must come singly into his tower. Do away with all this. Project that condition of "the mind of an audience" back into the past, increasing its power and scope as it recedes; as steadily reduce the power and scope of individual sentiment, of cosmic thinking; and when the process has reversed the present proportions of these two elements in poetry, there will be found approximately the conditions which ruled during the formative period of epic. True, our great epics do not come directly from the formative period; their "intellects are replenished," as anyone can see who compares them with a ballad, and it may even be that they have "drunk ink."¹ They have an artistic symmetry of design. Sundry passages show individual sentiment and even cosmic thinking; although this asserts itself mainly in comment upon the situation,² and is tentative, parenthetical, never an insistent mood. All this granted, however, it seems that criticism lays far too much stress upon such passages. The real greatness of the great epic lies in the communal elements which it holds in artistic frame, and in their quite dominant character. The main appeal is still, as in primitive times, to the emotional community, the "mind of an audience," an appeal which under modern conditions would be a renunciation of all poetic claims, but which, in the great epic, furnishes what one calls the majesty, the simplicity, the objectivity, now unattainable by poets at any price. Great passages can be found in modern poetry to match any great passages of the epic; and it is not to these that we are to look as the source of that objective and majestic power. Nor does it lie in the coherence of parts due to artistic design. Epic majesty is not an innovation, not a discovery of the epic poet, not an achievement of art; it is mainly a survival. If it is not a survival, the refuge of that older cumulative appeal to communal emotion, what do we mean when we say that the times of the great epic are vanished beyond recall? All this concerns the epic material; but evidence of a trustworthy kind shows that the difference of appeal in subject-matter of poetry runs parallel with a difference of appeal in poetic style.

¹ On the question of writing, see A. LANG, *Homer and the Epic*, pp. 46 ff.

² KELLER, *Homeric Society*, p. 115, says that human misery is Homer's abiding thought. Goethe, in a familiar phrase, expressed the same opinion.

Here, too, it would seem that the older art appealed by cumulative impression of details—the development of a more primitive identical repetition—to a sense of the whole; while the new art, according to critical canons the real art, appeals by imaginative provocation to a particular and detailed appreciation of parts. Roughly, this general distinction matches an older emotional, communal conception of human life, as compared with that civilized point of view which Vierkandt has called the “atomistic” or intellectual conception. The evidence of literature thus falls into line with sociological and ethnological facts. But the communal instinct will not utterly desert us, and lurks even in the critical brain. For all our atomistic conception, for all our individual canons of art, we are ready to call no literary effort genuinely great until, after the manner of the great epics, but with a difference, it unitessome cumulative impression with the provocative, sentimental, and imaginative appeal. Such a union is attained in Shakspeare’s drama as compared with one of George Chapman’s noble but overweighted and intellectualized plays. So it is, although on a lower level, with the narrative comedy which Fielding described in the preface to *Joseph Andrews* and fairly realized in *Tom Jones*—a great whole for which we find it impossible to account by summing up its great parts. Such is the ideal comedy, in its search for “the mind hovering above congregated men and women,” which Mr. George Meredith outlines in his fine essay¹ and works out in *The Egoist*. These, however, are the exceptions. Taking communal poetry in the mass, from rudest savage chants up to the so-called popular epic, and taking modern poetry in the mass, from Villon’s “Testament” to Browning’s epilogue in “Asolando,” that distinction of the formula stands out plain for eyes that are willing to see. Criticism cannot afford to ignore it and the lessons it can teach. So great a critic as Arnold, in a famous preface, went back to the cumulative appeal² in order to rebuke modern poetry and to lay a bit of blame upon Shakspeare for setting the fashion of writing fine passages; and then, years

¹ *On Comedy*, pp. 14 f.

² That is, he not only demanded proportion and symmetry, affair of the artist, but that sense of its greatness as a whole which besets the reader of a great epic, and which belongs to the communal side of the account.

afterward, in another famous preface,¹ quoting Shakspeare in all ardor, turns directly upon himself and declares that "lines and expressions of the great masters" are the tests of great poetry—atomistic instead of cumulative appeal. Utterances like these are puzzling until one reflects that in the first case a really eminent poet, who knew and loved his Homer, is prefacing his own attempt to achieve poetic objectivity, calm, impersonality of appeal, by a comparison of modern sentiment with the old epic excellence;² while in the second case he is casting about for a test which shall decide what modern poetry is really great. But the critic must not deal with historical material in this random way. He must face the formula of difference, the formula of cumulative or atomistic impression. To nearly all modern making, so individual in its appeal, one may lay the charge that the whole is less than the sum of its parts. So Arnold found when he weighed recent poetry in classical scales. But in poetry of the people, in ballads, in the spirit of epic, the sum of the parts is less than the whole. Now criticism, as Arnold showed when he stated his formula of "lines and expressions," deals mainly with the parts. Emotions converge, emotional expression runs to iteration, and the appeal to emotion makes an easy synthesis; thoughts, on the other hand, diverge, and when emotion is rationalized, one deals with sentiment and individual appreciations, where synthesis is hard. But that is precisely the usual task of criticism—synthesis of intellectual appreciations. In point of fact, let it be remembered, there were no critics so long as all poetry was mainly an appeal to emotional community; and it is said that this absence of criticism lasted through the period of rhapsodic verse.³ The canons of criticism have been formed almost exclusively from observation of individual poetry in its appeal to an intellectual and analytic appreciation. They are valid for that sort of verse. They are not valid for a time which produced poetry without producing critics and made the cumulative appeal to "emotional community." They are to be applied to the great epic only with full allowance for the rights of those communal elements which help to make it great. The critic

¹ Introduction to WARD'S *English Poets*.

² One thinks of Goethe's passion for this old quality, and of his failures like the *Achilleis*.

³ EGGER, *Essai sur l'histoire de la critique, chez les Grecs* (Paris, 1887), p. 6.

may ask of modern artists in poetry if they possess *ces trois facultés essentielles . . . imagination, instinct créateur, et sentiment*;¹ he may praise an exquisite passage in Homer which shows these qualities, like the parting of Hector and Andromache, because it suits our atomistic and sentimental conception; but when he comes to the historical estimate, to the contemporary verdict on epic success, above all, when it is a question of the beginning and growth of poetry at large, then the critic should pause before he undertakes to judge past by present. Two chances of grave error, to which I have already referred, beset him. He is tempted to carry the atomistic conception, the intellectual and sentimental appeal, of modern poetry, back into the border-land of epic, not to speak of the ballad; and he is prone to regard what he calls the informing principle of poetic style, imaginative power, as a constant quality and test of poetry itself, as a thing not subject to ordinary laws of evolution.

Defending the claims of the *Nibelungen* to poetic greatness, one is tempted to offset Arnold's condemnation by the use of Arnold's own method, and so triumph by more judicious extracts. One insists, for example, on the beauty of a line in Rüdiger's speech,² during his colloquy with the Burgundians:

"Daz wolde got," sprach Ruedegër, "vil edel Gêrnôt,
daz ir ze Rîne wæret unde ich wære tût . . ."

—surely a piece of noble sentiment, tragic, keen, with true climax of expression. A modern poet would stop then and there, to make his atomistic impression. In quoting, I fancy we all do stop there. The old poet, however, did not stop there, leaving details, reasons, concession, to care for themselves; he made the verses overflow into what we call unimaginative commonplace—and the earlier epic audience perhaps felt to be a good cumulative appeal:

"Daz wolde got," sprach Ruedegër, "vil edel Gêrnôt,
daz ir ze Rîne wæret unde ich wære tût
mit etelichen êren, sit ich iuch sol bestân:
Ez enwart noch nie an degenen wîrs von friunden getân."

I am quite aware that the critic calls the other lines *flickverse*, awkward stopgap of the quatrain, and that we all call them a dis-

¹ GUYAU, *Problèmes*, p. 123.

² A, 2120.

appointment. A fine climax is thrown away. Taken alone, those impressive opening verses interpret a personal sentiment of the hero to the personal appreciation of the reader; they put one in the very citadel of Rüdiger's individuality; they are a noble human document. One reads on, and one is dragged into the mere tradition and detail of tragedy, into the market-place of emotion, and faces that old problem of kin and clan. One leaves the pretty personal *casus*—as of a Hamlet, an Orestes, a Rodrigue—and deals with the communal situation, the group, the place, the clash of kinship and vassalage. But what if this "would that I were dead," coupled with the generous wish for new-made kindred to escape, becomes, when read in our falsetto, mere travesty and fragment of a fine old choral which we have not the ears to hear? What if the restored climax is distortion after all, and not of a piece with the rest of the wild scene—the smoking ruins of the hall, the strife, the calls, the fierce taunts of Wolfhart and Volker, the back-and-forth of single combat, now here, now there? There are passages of sentiment in the *Nibelungen*, and noble enough. The death of Siegfried has such artistic touches, in addition to the cumulative and communal appeal. There are passages of romance outright, awkwardly as they fit the grim and unromantic whole. There are even imaginative touches of style. But one will do ill to defend the poetry of the *Nibelungen* by emphasis on these isolated passages, by appeal to the atomistic conception; for it is a poem which, in spite of relatively modern elements, still makes the old appeal by cumulative impression and by a kind of communal majesty. Its whole is greater than the sum of its parts; it must be read, as the Rüdiger episode ought to be read, as a whole; and each time that one thus reads it there comes, along with carelessness for "tonic" passages, a stronger sense of its mass, its cumulative strength.

I have hinted above that there is a short way with communal dissenters; one may simply throw out all the *flickverse*, all the accretions, and point with pride to a personally discovered epic of the most convincing sentiment and artistry. One may restore Rüdiger's climax, and charge to scribe, or editor, or whatever vagrom man the critic comprehends, those added and cumber-

some details. But this pretty way leads the editorial feet, the critical feet, into a hopeless mire. The process will not do. Those details may be cumbersome to Gigadibs the literary; but they are not accretions, they are survivals. If we assume that something like our traditional ballads preceded the epic, as its material, or if we admit that the ballad is simpler in form than the epic—and nobody denies that—we shall find that sentiment in the best ballads is in solution with the situation, and shows an inordinate love of details. Here, too, is the older stage of incremental repetition, a stage so remote from modern poetical style that it enables one to see plainly the primitive habit of outright iteration. But, apart from this, one notes in the ballad that same ignoring of climax in favor of cumulative detail which is noted in the epic, and without any excuse in the exigencies of an incomplete stanza:

The Persë leanyde on his brande
and sawe the Duglas de;
He took the dede mane by the hande,
and sayd 'Wo ys me for the . . .

Well, *explicit* quoth Richard Sheale—and Percy? Not at all. There are interesting particulars:

'To have sayvde thy lyffe, I wolde have partyde with
my landes for years thre,
For a better man, of hart nare of hande,
was nat in all the north contrë.'

The appeal, one sees, is cumulative and not by suggestion and climax; the sympathy is matter of clan, family, station, country. If it was this fine old ballad that moved Sidney's heart, and not "Otterburn," then one may feel sure that the trumpet rang for him as clearly in the second of these stanzas as in the first, and that, with all his literary sympathies, he felt no temptation to stop with a *tremolo* on the "woe is me." The trumpet blew from remote epic heights, and sounded its call to the old spirit of clan and kin.

So much seems clear and true. As for the movement from stage to stage of that process by which sentiment came to its mastery of modern verse, one must ask indulgence and leave to theorize. A bridge from clan-sentiment to personal sentiment,

from cumulative to atomistic and individual appeal, was furnished, I believe, at least for ballads, by the comparatively later element of pathetic and tragic love. In the great epics it is the comment of the singer which furnishes an individual and steadily growing sentiment; but with ballads and lyric what one may call the dual interest mediates between an older plurality, public interest of clan and kin, and that later confidence and privacy of the individual from which genuine ballads of tradition are entirely free. "The Twa Brothers," for example, has no trace of this confidence; but its climax, its incremental repetition, and its tragedy of kinship, all communal elements, are subservient to a hint of the dual interest. The brothers wrestle, and one stabs the other. "What," asks the sound one, "shall I say at home—to father?" "Say I am gone to England to buy him wine." "To mother?" "To buy her a gown." "To sister?" "To buy her a ring." "But what to your true-love?" The climax:

"Oh, tell her I lie in kirk-land fair,
And home again will never come."¹

From here to the desperate lover, the forsaken sweetheart, is no long step for even the popular muse; she begins to encourage an individual sentiment, a solitary confidence, lyric outright. Isolation once gained, the privileges of privacy must follow. There is no spoiling of the climax now, when a forsaken maid, with suggestive simile of love and morning-dew to back her emotion, makes the sentimental appeal, so like Rüdiger's cry, and yet so different from it:

"And O, if my young babe were born,
And set upon the nurse's knee,
And I myself were dead and gone
And the green grass growing over me!"

By such a bridge, and close behind such a half-popular, half-artistic song, solitary lovers, and solitary loves without a name, and then the lover's conventional deputy, Kingsley or whoever else, have found their way to the Braes of Yarrow, Arthur's Seat, Airlie Beacon, and all the other refuges of passion in despair.

¹ Compare a pretty hint of this dual interest at the end of a fairly communal ballad, *The Wife of Usher's Well*.

Over the same dividing stream, but by the *Ubi Sunt* bridge, Villon passed from a kind of guild-poem, impersonal didactics, a catalogue, to the personal but not amorous note of confidential lyric. Nobody is ever really the first to do anything; and the French critics will doubtless be scolded for making Villon first of his country to cross the stream, just as my own shy belief in William Dunbar as earliest confidential lyric poet of the English tongue will, if noted, be crushed by the ridicule of a wayfaring critic. But surely some explanation of the sort must be found to fit this progress of sentiment from dull choral iteration of a commonplace down to the piercing note of Burns and of Keats.

But it is hardly the critic's explanation. Looking at the poems which have been named, early lyric as well as late, ballad, and great epic passage too, the critic no doubt would say that the appeal, however simple, to sentiment of whatever sort, is by virtue of a quality which all good poetry must possess, and which, for lack of a more specific term, is called imagination. It is certain that Sainte-Beuve, whose criticism was anything but parochial and traditional, insisted that the grace of this same imagination, infused into the refrain of a famous ballade, made Villon take his place as first modern poet of France. Critically, this particular judgment may pass. Historically, it fails to explain the facts.¹ Again one asks for the formula of difference, and so comes to this hard problem: What is imagination for one who studies the phases of poetry in their evolution from low to high types? Let it be noted that I do not ask indiscreet questions about imagination as a quality in and for itself. Of all the kittle cattle to shoe, here is the worst. Imagination is so sacred in critical traditions that the student is warned against any mention of it except in metaphysical terms. He may say what it looks like when nobody can see it, but he must not play any scientific tricks and reduce it to older and lower elements in its historical manifestations. Yet this is what I shall try to do. I shall try to learn something about poetic imagination, not as the test of great poetic art, not as a mysterious quality of the human soul, but simply in its results, in

¹ It is hardly necessary to refer the reader to that little masterpiece of critical and historical study, the *Villon* of GASTON PARIS.

its workings as a factor in the making of poetry new and old, of poetry good, bad, and indifferent. I am told that this is dealing with "the mere mechanism of poetry," and that to show a scientific spirit spells ruin. The most tremendous feats of electricity in the modern world of science, the generation of intensest heat for the arts, may all be traced back to that familiar rubbing of two dry sticks. But the heat and light of poetry, so critics say, must be submitted to no such process of study, simply because poetry is not mechanical. "It comes from heaven, gentlemen; be silent, or else talk metaphysics." But poetry, while not mechanical, is a social product, and open to study on sociological lines as an element in human life. It has progressed, like other elements of life, from low types to high. It would not be hard to find an analogy for the initial rubbing of two dry sticks in the monotonous matching of rhythmic equivalents and the iteration of primitive chorus; nor would it be impossible to detect survivals of the process in modern verse. One must seek, in the evolution of poetry, for the constant element, the shifting conditions, and the formula of difference.

From this evolutionary point of view, modern poetic imagination may be regarded as the suggestion of what was once given in cumulative detail, and, earlier still, in long repetitions. The changes affect both subject-matter and style. If, in the traditional way, we regard rhythm, style, and subject-matter as the three divisions of poetry, we may count rhythm—the essential condition, though not the actual essence, of poetry—as its constant, communal element; subject-matter and style, on the other hand, vary with the conditions under which poetry is made. Imagination is in these the real differencing factor; while rhythm, had for the asking, is so obvious a matter that critics chafe at the idea of even its regulative importance.¹ It is with this attitude toward imagination as main element that the Abbé du Bos assures us, "the style of poetry constitutes the greatest difference between verse and prose," and has for its main object *de faire des images et de plaire à l'imagination*.² Cardinal Newman is convinced that

¹This distinction between a factor which is essentially necessary and a factor whose necessity is "regulative," comes, if I do not err, from Kant.

²*Réflexions critiques*, 7th ed., Vol. I, pp. 298, 312.

poetry must adopt metaphorical phrase "as the only poor means allowed it for imparting its intense feelings."¹ Even Blackwell, pioneer of another school of criticism, lets imagination play the main part in his description of the rhapsodic process.² Fairly true for modern poetry, this notion of the imaginative function needs considerable mending if it is to include earlier stages of verse. As a matter of style in the narrower sense, a process of evolution must be assumed for it, which began with repetition as the earliest form of emphasis. Variation, by playing on repetition, develops the conscious metaphor; and in metaphor one is already passing along the lines of cumulative appeal to suggestion, to the provocation of thought and of intellectual appreciation of parts. Repetition, of course, is constant in the communal element of rhythm, and even appears in style as an effective device for mainly emotional purposes. But variation and suggestion rouse individual thought, and turn appreciation from the whole to the parts. On the surface, then, imaginative power in the subject-matter and style of poetry runs a course of development from primitive iteration, through variation, down to abridgment and suggestion. It is no exclusively poetic process. With riper culture one will always refer, hint, summarize, rather than state at length. Conversation of bright people differs from the *comméragé* of washerwomen, the anecdotal vein of Mrs. Quickly, mainly in this preference for hints and allusion over details; for ultimate material all lean with equal love on scandal and the common doings of men. In the later poetry, imaginative provocation takes the place of ballad iteration and epic "breadth." To explain this by saying that iteration and breadth are qualities of the ballad and epic, forms of poetry to which genius does not turn any more, is to put the cart before the horse and to interpret a cause by its result. Not new details, whether of matter or of style, can quicken poetry to its best, but a new power of suggestion playing over the old and familiar material. Coleridge, whom I shall quote presently for this argument, went to Sir H. Davy's lectures at the Royal Institution avowedly "to increase his stock of metaphors;"³ but his triumphs, metaphorical and material both,

¹ *On Poetry*, ed. COOK, p. 11. ² *Enquiry*, p. 120. ³ *Poetical Works*, ed. CAMPBELL, p. lix.

came not that way, and do not remind us of Euphues and Jean Paul. As little did poetry win by the efforts of men like Dr. Aikin, in theory, and Erasmus Darwin, in practice, to annex scientific territory to the old realm of verse. It has really made its best gains by retreating to an inner citadel.

For poetry and practical science run in opposite courses; the former has been called from details and events into a nearer, narrower range, while the useful arts have reached farther and farther from the human mind which conceived them. Garment, house, tool, weapon, conveyance, communication, are all projections of the bodily function, and steadily widen their reach; but poetry has been as steadily compressing the exterior world, both space and time, into the nutshell of man's imagination. It is thus to modern phases of poetry that Sainte-Beuve's pretty word chiefly applies: *la poésie ne consiste pas à tout dire, mais à tout faire rêver*. For older verse it is not a good formula. In the matter of style, as in the matter of sentiment, one must not too boldly apply it to a poetry which delighted in iteration and breadth, and which made the cumulative, not the suggestive and analytical appeal. Years ago, I did apply it to the concluding lines of the prelude in *Beowulf*.¹ The application will still pass, but not in the sense originally intended; for those concluding lines are not of the epic essence. The main prelude, beautiful as it is, seems to me a transcript of old epic material, cumulative in appeal, communal in spirit, with this touch of the suggestive, individual, provocative, imaginative, added as the poet's own contribution. Like certain passages in Homer, it is his comment on his material. Nobody, I suspect, really looks for a primitive whole in this epic, but only for a survival of primitive elements in artistic frame. The art is rough, but it is art. An older version of the prelude doubtless administered no fillip to the imagination and opened no world of dreams; it gave to the primitive audience what men in the street still desire in such a case—full details of the funeral. The touch of communal emotion is sincere and old; "mournful was the mood" of those once kingless men who saw the ship and its burden drift away. But the final verses, artistic by design or by accident, touch another chord:

¹ *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. VII, "On the Translation of *Beowulf*."

Men ne cunnon

seegan tō sōðe selerædende,
 hæleð under heofenum, hwā þæm hlæste onfeng.

It is the ballads, with their incessant incremental repetition, that best keep up that old cumulative appeal, although with it goes a swiftness of omission quite opposed to epic breadth. Sometimes, too, suggestion is substituted by modern verse without abridgment of details. If one will read a ballad of the type of "Clerk Colvill,"¹ even in its fragmentary form, and then compare it with a poem on the same theme, like the "Belle Dame sans Merci" of Keats, one can measure the difference between cumulative appeal by details, and the suggestive use of details externally similar to those of the communal account. Mainly, however, the change concerns expression rather than plot and story. Not long ago, in a curious tale, Mr. Kipling named two fairly obvious passages of English poetry as supreme in imaginative reach—those "magic casements" of Keats, and Coleridge's "savage spot" with its "woman wailing for her demon lover." It is clear that all the world prefers these wonderful abridgments and suggestions to the exquisite descriptions in detail that sundry poets, notably Arnold, have tried to revive in modern times. Imaginative provocation lies in both methods, but the abridgment wins more favor. And now for our question. Why are those lines of Keats, of Coleridge, so imaginatively strong? Why are they so suggestive? Psychology, criticism, may each have an answer; for the historical student the magic of such a passage lies in its power to sum up the whole material that poetry has been making from the start. The casements open on a world of past poetic achievement. Because ballad and song once laid hold upon man by cumulative impression, and drove home their themes into the heart of communal emotion; because epic had set whole cycles of adventure, deeds of war, and the round of human life before man's collective and contemporary sympathy; because what we call romance said a last word for this old world as it faded away, so precisely what we call romantic in the imperious suggestion of the poet, his single word *perilous*, his hint of infinite details carried in a

¹ CHILD, Vol. III, pp. 387 f., Version A.

syllable or so, now sets the individual and his atomistic conception upon memories and dreams. Until the individual conquers this world he cannot dream. Children, rude folk generally, would rather hear, as the communal audience preferred to hear, a ballad like "Tam Lin," like "Thomas Rymer," than be moved to construct tale and scene from Coleridge's moonlight and maid and demon-lover. Once the thing itself was worth far more than a romantic shiver at the mention of it. Now one forgets the reality in the vision. "Upon his shield a burning brand," says Coleridge with marvelous recapitulation of all the best of chivalry; there are still folk who will prefer to read the old romance itself; and once it had no substitute.¹ Try Coleridge further; in the study of this poetic phase there can be no better aid to reflection than that which he gives. Try him again in his suggestion:

To hear thee sing some ballad full of woe,
Ballad of shipwreck'd sailor floating dead,
Whom his own true-love buried in the sands.

Yet Coleridge will not and cannot give the ballad. He tried it once, old style and all, in "The Three Graves"—and failed. He would himself send you, as he went himself, to "Sir Patrick Spens," or, had he known it, to that Westphalian version of the old Hero and Leander motive, "*Et wasen twee kunnigeskinner*." He did find his way to something better, at least for modern taste, than the old songs; and by the provocation, suggestion, imaginative reach of *The Ancient Mariner*,² he showed how one may compass results of the old ballad without making its cumulative appeal. In *Christabel* he took the same attitude toward old epic and romance. Even old lyric he met by a new suggestion:

And the spring comes slowly up this way

Exquisite enough!

Lenten is comen with love to towne,
says the old English song almost as prettily; but it lays no stress

¹ I think we ought to strive, in season and out of season, to banish suggestive and sentimental poetry from the reading of children. Ballad and simple epic, with lyric transcripts of the outer world, are the only practical material for children's reading or hearing. To force the appreciation of suggestive verse is fatal.

² Even in cases as vs. 41 ff., this poem is not cumulative, but thoroughly suggestive.

on the line, puts no provocation into it, and proceeds to give a bill of particulars about birds and flowers.

At one stride comes the dark

Coleridge again, and a telling phrase. But there is no such poetical suggestion, not even the mythological significance which Grimm welcomed, hardly a conscious metaphor, in the line of our old *Genesis*,¹ when Eve

Ðæt léoht geseah

ellor scrīðan

It is in a nobler epic than this Scripture paraphrase that one seeks an ancient English parallel for the suggestive power of Coleridge's imagination. We saw how, consciously or unconsciously, the poet of the *Beowulf* sets us dreaming by a phrase. It is the same poet that furnishes a good parallel passage, still laden with something of the old cumulative appeal, but fairly suggestive, to one of Coleridge's best achievements. Let the reader shut his eyes and repeat the opening of *Kubla Khan*, with Alph, the sacred river, running its cavernous way down to the sunless sea, to the lifeless ocean; then let this well-known passage of the *Beowulf*² be compared:

Hie dýgel lond

warigeað, wulfhleaðu, windige næssas,
frêne fengelád, þær fyrgenstréam
under næssa genipu niðer gewiteð,
flód under foldan

If any doubt lingers in the reader's mind that imaginative suggestion here dominates an older cumulative appeal, let him read on to where the hounded stag pauses at the bank above rather than plunge into that mysterious water. If anything is certain about the *Beowulf*, it is the intention of its poet to do in such a description what Coleridge³ said his own youthful verses, otherwise of no value, tried to achieve with their "strivings of mind and struggles after the Intense and Vivid." To attain this intense

¹ GREIN-WÜLKER, *Bibliothek*, Vol. II, p. 357, vss. 772 f.

² Vss. 1357 ff. There are obvious relations here with the growing disposition of poetry to treat nature in terms of individual experience, a subject on which there is still room for investigation.

³ Work quoted, p. 1.

and vivid quality, to heighten suggestion and curtail cumulative garrulity, poets have made numberless corrections in their written work. These, indeed, we can seldom compare with earlier and tentative copies; but happy cases occur. So Milton,¹ in his minor poems, shows the effort not only after correctness, ease, fit metaphor, but also after more vivid suggestion. With the more negligible class belong changes like "mixe yo^r choise chords" to "wed your divine sound," or "triple row" to "burning row," and "drowned nature's chime" to "jarred against nature's chime"—an escape from catachresis. But the higher mood appears when, in *Comus*, "Ayrie touns that lure night wanderers" becomes as now, "Ayrie touns *that syllable men's names*"—subtler imaginative suggestion for mere suggestive detail.

I have thus tried to gain a formula of difference for poetic evolution, from the simple communal type to the more artistic and complicated structure of today, mainly in terms of the growth of sentiment and of suggestive imagination, two passions that maintain a joint sovereignty in modern verse. If the result is in any wise satisfactory, if the formula is adequate, it ought to help that discussion about the real character of the traditional or popular ballad, a subject, as Professor Bücher has hinted, which is not to be approached from the modern canons of art. Mr. Henderson's introduction to the new edition of Scott's *Border Minstrelsy* takes a quite hostile tone toward the theory that ballads are in any part or element survivals of an older kind of poetry. In a third paper, and a brief one—no longer, it may be hoped, than the first—I shall try to submit this question, not to modern criticism, not to æsthetic theories, but to the formula established by a study of ethnological and literary facts.

FRANCIS B. GUMMERE.

NANTUCKET, July, 1903.

¹ *Facsimile of the Manuscript, etc.*, Cambridge, 1899.

THE IE. BASE *GHERO*- IN GERMANIC.

For the base *ghero*-, *ghere*-, *ghrě*- we may assume the primary meaning "touch, rub, scrape; touch, handle, take hold of, seize," from which many secondary meanings, as illustrated in the examples given below.

In its simplest form few examples can be found, the root occurring for the most part in derivative stems; so that we find, for example in Greek, *γράφω*, *χαράω*, *χρώζω*, *χρώννυμι*, *χρωτίζω*; *χρίω*, *χρίμπτω*; *χραύω*, *χραύζομαι*, etc., with meanings so closely related that it is impossible to suppose that they are not phonetically connected. And what is true of the Greek is equally true of the Germanic.

In the examples given below I have indicated the probable phonetic development, or, at least, relationship. For if we find two synonymous bases *ghreid*- and *ghreud*- by the side of the simpler forms *ghrei*- and *ghreu*-, it is not necessary to assume that *ghreud*- is a direct derivative of *ghreu*-, though the probability is in favor of such a supposition; but it is possible that *ghreud*- might have been modeled on *ghreid*- from other forms in *-eu*-. This might, indeed, be possible without any base *ghreu*- at all.

Just how each of the bases given below is related to an original base *ghero*- I will not venture to say. That they are related in some way is evident. There is at least a common element of meaning running through them; and whether this came from an original phonetic connection or through association is immaterial.

1. Base *ghre-n*- "touch, smear; rub, crush; crash, howl."

Gk. *χαράω* < **ghrñō* "berühre die oberfläche, streiche an, färbe," MHG. *grinnen* "knirschen, frendere," *grannen*, *grennen* "weinen, flennen; bejammern," OHG. *granōn*, *grunzen*, OE. *grunian* "grunzen," *grennian* "greinen, grinsen," ON. *grenia* "heulen, brüllen," Skt. *hṛñitē*, *hṛñāyāti* "grollt, ist böse," OE. *gyrn* "affliction," OS. *gornon* "trauern."

2. Base *ghre-m*- "scrape, scratch, irritate; grate, gnash, crash."

Goth. *gramjan* "aufreizen, erzürnen," *gramst* "splitter," OE. *gremman* "irritate, provoke," OHG. *gram* "zornig, feindselig," *grim*, *grimmi* "grimm, zornig, wild; schmerzlich," MHG. *grimmen* "vor zorn oder schmerz wüten, brüllen," MLG. *grummen* "ein dumpfes getöse machen," Dan. *grum* "grausam, grimmig," *grumle* E. *grumble* "knurren, murren," Lith. *grumėnti* "leise und dumpf donnern," *grámdau* "schabe rein," Gk. *χρόμαδος* "grating or creaking noise, gnashing, crashing," *χρεμίζω* "neigh" (cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*; Schade, *Wb.*; Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*).

3. Base *ghre-l(n)-* "scratch, irritate; grate, gnash, crash."

OE. *grillan* "irritate, tease," MHG. *grel*, *grelle* "das krallende, stechende; dorn, gabel, spiess," *grel* "rauh, grell, zornig," *grellen* "vor zorn schreien," *grel*, *gral* "schrei," *grüllen* "höhnern, spotten; grollen," *grulz* "lärm, aufruhr," Sw. *gråla* "zanken, schelten, keifen," NHG. *grölen* "schreien," *grölzen* "rülpsen; schreien."

4. Base *ghere-s-* "rub: grate, creak; irritate, annoy; smear."

Skt. *ghārṣati* "reibt," *ghṛṣta* "gerieben, wund," *gharṣa* "reibung, zusammenstoss," Gk. *χέσος*, *χέππος* "wüst, unfruchtbar," *χερσώω* "verwüste," OE. *gierran* "creak; chatter," primarily "scrape, grate," MLG. *garren* "grunzen," MHG. *garren* "pfeifen," *gurren* "gurren, girren," to which belong ON. *gerstr* "murrisch, unwillig," *gersta* "annoy," MHG. *garst* "ranzig," Lith. *grasūs* "widerwärtig," *grasà* "abscheu, ekel," *gristi* "überdrüssig werden" (cf. Zupitza, *Germ. Gutt.*, 171), Welsh *gwrn* "dark, black," Ir. *gorm* "blue" < **ghors-mo-* "smeared, stained" (cf. author, *Color-Names and Their Congeners*, VII, 9).

Here belong Lat. *hordeum*, OHG. *gersta* "gerste," and perhaps OE. *gorst* "gorse, furze."

5. Base *ghre-(n)t-* "rub, grind, crush, crash; wear away, excavate."

OE. *grindan* "grind; sharpen; dash, rub, gnash," *gegrind* "grinding together, crash, clash," OHG. *grint* "grind, schorf," Goth. *grinda-frapjīs* "kleinmütig," OE. *grandorlēas* "harmless," ON. *grand* "schaden, nachteil," *grand* "brocken, bissen," *grannr* "schlank, schwächig," *grenna* "verkleinern," Norw. *grand* "fein, dünn, zart," Sw. *grand* "bischen," NHG. *grand* "sand."

From "grind, rub" comes "excavate, aushöhlen." Hence the

following: MHG. *grant* "trog; behälter, schrank; grund, unterlage," *grinden* "sich öffnen, klaffen, bellen," OHG. *grunt* "tiefe, abgrund; vertiefung, schlucht; niederung, ebene; unterste fläche eines körpers oder raumes, grund," OE. *grund* "bottom, floor; ground, earth; plain, land; abyss, interior; water, sea," ON. *grunnr* "grund, boden."

5a. MHG. *grant* "trog; behälter, schrank; grund," *grunt* "tiefe abgrund; vertiefung, schlucht; grund," etc., show a development of meaning which is found in a number of words that may be derivatives of the base under discussion. So the following:

Lat. *gremium* "lap, bosom; interior," perhaps from **ghremio-m* "hollow place." Compare Lith. *grám-dau* "scrape out" (No. 2).

Goth. *grōba* "grube," *graba*, Lith. *grābė* "graben," *grābas* "sarg" (No. 9).

ON. *grōp* "aushöhlung," Sw. *grop* "grube, grübchen," OE. *grēpe* "ditch; burrow," *gripu* "kettle" (No. 10).

ON. *grýta*, Sw. *gryta* "topf, kochtopf" (No. 20b). With these compare OE. *grēada* "bosom, sinus, gremium," pre-Germ. **ghroutōn-* or *-dhon-* "hollow, interior."

OSw. *grōpa* "aushöhlen," MG. *grobe* "kochtopf" (No. 22).

ON. *gryfia* "höhle," OE. *grēofa* "kettle" (No. 23).

6. Base *ghrē-d-*, *ghrō-d-* "touch, handle, treat, address, greet; touch, smear; touch, rub, grate, howl."

Gk. *χρᾶζω* < **ghrōdijō* "berühre, bestreiche," OE. *grētan* < **grōtjan* "touch, handle; come to, visit, treat; address, greet, salute," OHG. *gruozen* "antreiben, excitare, concitare; beunruhigen, irritare, angreifen; anreden, rufen, nennen; grüssen," OS. *grōtian* "einen angehen, anreden," MHG. *grāzen* "schreien, aufschreien, wüten, sich übermütig oder anmasslich gebärden," Goth. *grētan* "weinen," *grēts*, ON. *grátr* "das weinen," *gráta* "laut jammern," MHG. *grāz* "wut, übermut," *graz* "wütend, zornig," Lith. *grodžia* "poltert," Skt. *hrādatē* "tönt," *sam-hrādayati* "schlägt zusammen," *hrāda* "geräusch, getön," *hrādin* "lärmend, tosend," but not Av. *zrāda-* "ketten-panzer."

7. Base *gh(e)re-(n)d-* "rub, grind, crush."

Lith. *grėndu* "reibe, scheure," *grándau* "schabe," Lett. *grandit* "zertrümmern," Gk. *χαράδρα* "riss, spalt, kluft," *χαράς*,

-ádos, χέπαδος "gerölle, kies," Lat. *grandō* "hailstone, hail," Skt. *hrādūni* "schlossen, hagel," ChSl. *gradŭ*, Pol. *grad* "hagel," Lith. *gródas* "frischer, steif gefrorener strassenschmutz." Compare OSw. *grōpa* "aushölen," Sw. *grōpa* "schroten," MHG. *is-grūpe* "hagelkorn," NHG. *graupeln*, *gräupeln* "hail, drizzle."

Here belong Dan. dial. *grotte* <**gruntan* "mahlen," ON. *grotte* "mythische mühle" (cf. Noreen. *Urg. Lautlehre*, 188), and also Dan. *granting* "mürrische person," *grante* "leise weinen," Sw. dial. *grättas* "gråta litet," *grätt* "schreierisch, ungeduldig," *grätten* "empfindlich, schwer zu befriedigen," Norw. *gretten* "mürrisch," Icel. *grettinn* "strenge, grimmig," etc. (cf. Tamm, *Et. Ordbok*, s. v. "grätten").

8. Base *ghrē-dh-* "reach out, stretch out: stride; seek, strive after."

Skt. *gṛdhyati* "schreitet rasch, ist gierig," *gardha* "gier, verlangen nach," OIr. *ingrennim* "verfolge," Lat. *gradior* "schreite," Goth. *grids* "schritt," ChSl. *grędą* "komme," Lith. *grodžiu* "suche:" ON. *grāðr*, OE. *græd* "greed," Goth. *grēdus* "hunger," *grēdags* "hungrig," OHG. *grātag* "intentus, gierig," *grātida* "diligentia," OS. *grādag* "feindselig," OE. *grædig* "greedy, covetous, eager for; rapacious, fierce," *grædan* "cry out, call out" (cf. Brugmann, *Grd.*, I³, 574).

The meaning "reach out" comes from "grasp, grasp at" as in Goth. *greipan* "greifen," Lith. *grėbiù* "wornach langen, die hand ausstrecken, greifen." The further development is the same as in Gk. *ῥέγω* "reach, stretch, stretch out the hand: stride; grasp at, seek for, desire," *ῥεγμα* "a stretching out: stride," *ῥεξις* "longing after, desire," *ῥεκτός* "stretched out: longed for, desired." Compare the similar development in Lett. *grībēt* "wollen" (No. 16) and MHG. *grīt* "geiz" (No. 15).

9. Base *ghere-bh-* "touch, grasp, seize; scrape, rake, scratch, dig."

Goth. *graban* "graben," OHG. *graban* "graben, eingraben, begraben," *graba* "grabscheit, spaten," Goth. *graba* "graben," *grōba* "grube," ON. *gráfr*, *gráfr* "wer begraben werden darf," OE. *græft* "sculpture, carved object," OHG. *graft*, *gruft* "grab," *grubilōn* "grübeln," OSw. *grift* "grab," ChSl. *grobŭ* "grube,

grab," *grebq* "grabe, kämme, rudere," Lett. *grebju* "schrape," Pol. *grabić* "harken," *za-grabić* "entreissen," Lith. *grėbiu* "harke, raffe," *grabinėju* "greife hin und her, taste herum," *grabūs* "fingerfertig," E. *grab* "plötzlich ergreifen, grapsen, raffen," *grabble* "grabbeln, herumtasten," *grapple* "packen, erfassen; anhaken, zusammenhaken," OE. *gegræppian* "ergreifen," ChSl. *grabiti* "rauben," Skt. *grbhñāti* "ergreift," *grābha* "griff, handvoll," OHG. *garba* "garbe."

9a. From "scrape, scratch, dig" come the meanings "broken, rough, coarse, clumsy, big" in the following:

Lith. *grumbù*, *grūpti* "sich abstumpfen; (vom wege) holperig werden; (von den fingern) hart oder fühllos werden," *grubūs* "holperig, nicht glatt; ungeschickt, grob," *grublaĩ* "rauhe unebenheiten, holpern," *grublūtas* "narbig; holperig," Pol. *gruby* "dick, grob," ChSl. *grabŭ* "roh," E. *gruff* "rough, stern, harsh," OHG. *grob* "dick, ungeschickt, unfein," MHG. *grop* "an masse gross, dick und stark; unfein, ungebildet," *gropheit* "rauheit, unebenheit; dicke," Sw. *gruflig* "schrecklich" (cf. Tamm, *Et. Ordbok*, s. v. "grov").

10. Base *ghrē-b-* "touch, grasp, seize; scrape, dig, hollow out."

MHG. *grāpen* "tasten, greifen," ON. *grāpa* "zu sich raffen," *grōp* "aushöhlung," OE. *grēpe* "trench, ditch, drain; burrow," *grīpu* "kettle," NHG. *grapen* "pot, kettle," Sw. *grop* "grube, grübchen," *gropig* "grubig, holperig;" E. *grumpy* "grouthy, grum, surly," Gk. *χρέμπτομαι* "räuspere mich," *χρέμψις* "hawking and spitting." Here or to the preceding belong Lett. *grābju* "harke, greife," Lith. *gróbiu* "raffe, packe," *grobė* "beute."

11. Base *ghere-gh-* "crush, crash, crackle, be harsh, dry."

Lith. *grėžiu* "knirsche," *grōžia* "poltert;" Gk. *χάρχαρος* "mit scharfen zähnen," *καρχαρέος* "bissig," *καρχαλέος* "rauh, heiser," *κερχαλέος* "trocken, heiser," *κέρχνος* "heiserheit," ON. *garga* "mit heiserer stimme schreien" (cf. Zupitza, *Germ. Gutt.*, 217), OE. *gring* "destruction, slaughter," *gringan* "perish."

12. Base *ghrē-ḡo-*, *ghrī-* "rub; smear, color; scratch, wound, cut; grate, make a harsh sound."

Gk. *χρίω* "bestreiche, salbe, färbe, schminke; verletze, ritze," *ἐγχρίω* "reibe ein, steche ein," Lith. *grėju*, *graistaũ* "schöpfe

sahne von der milch, skim" (cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*, s. v. *χρῖω*), Gk. *χρῖμα* "ointment," Dan. *grime* "strich, streifen," *grimet* "gestreift; schmutzig, besudelt," E. *grime*, ODu. *grijmsel* "schmutz, russ," Lith. *greĩmas* "schleimiger niederschlag im wasser," **ghrĩ-n-* "scrape, grate, crash:" MHG. *grīn* "lautes geschrei, gewieher," *grīnen*, OHG. *grīnan* "knurren, winseln, weinen; lachen," MDu. *grīnen* "schreien, knurren," MLFr. *grīnen* "wiehern," ON. *grīna* "greinen, grinsen," OE. *grānian*, E. *groan* "stöhnen;" **ghrĩ-n-* "cut, divide" (compare Gk. *χρῖω* "verletze, ritze"): ON. *grein* "zweig, ast; abschnitt, abteilung, stück; trennung, sonderung, scheidung; verstand, intelligentia; uneinigkeit, zwist," *greina* "unterscheiden; bestimmen; erzählen," Lith. *grynas* "rein, lauter."

13. Base *ghrei-s-*, *ghrĩ-s-* "rub, crush; gnash, grate; smear, streak."

Skt. *hrēṣati* "wiehert," OE. *ā-grisan*, MLG. *grisen*, *gresen* "schaudern, grausen;" Ir. *grtan* < **greisano-* "gries, grober sand," Welsh *graiān* "sabulum, saburra, glarea" (cf. Fick, *Wb.*, II⁴, 117), MHG. *grīs*, OS. *grīs*, *grīsīl*, MLFr., Du. *grijs* "grau, greis" (primarily "streaked, gestreift" as in Dan. *grimet* "gestreift"), OE. *gristlung*, OS. *grist-grimmo*, MHG. *gris-gram* "zähneknirschen," *gristen* "zerreiben, zermalmern" (cf. author, *Color-Names*, VII, 9).

14. Base *ghrei-d-*, *-dh-* "scrape, grind, crush."

OE. *grātan* "groats," ON. pret. *grét*, *greit*, OSw. *grēt* "weinte," primarily "grate, make a harsh sound:" Gk. *κριθή* "barley-corn, barley" < *ghrīdhā-* "a crushing; anything crushed, grain, particle."

15. Base *ghrei-t-* "grasp at, stretch out: go rapidly; be rapacious, grasping, greedy" (cf. No. 8).

Lith. *greĩtas* "flink, schnell," ON. *grīd* "heftigkeit, hitze," MHG. *grīt* "habsucht, geiz," *grītic* "geizig."

16. Base *ghrei-b-* "touch, handle, take hold of, grasp, seize."

OS. *grīpan* "berühren, hand anlegen," OHG. *grīfan*, MHG. *grīfen* "tasten, fühlen; fassen, greifen," ON. *grīpa*, Goth. *greipan* "greifen, ergreifen," OE. *grīpan* "clutch, seize; understand," *grāpian* "touch, handle, feel; grope," Lith. *grėbiù* "greife, strecke die hand aus," *graiba*^u "greife umher," Lett. *gribēt* "wollen."

17. Base *ghrei-p-* "grasp, clutch, pinch."

Lith. *grypiu* "zwicke," MHG. *greibe* "herb," OE. *grāefa* "bramble, thicket, grove," *grāf* "grove, copse," Gk. *χρίπτω* "graze, scratch, wound."

18. Base *ghrē-uo-*, *ghreu-* "rub, scratch, crush."

Gk. *Æol.* *χαύω* "ritze, verwunde," *ἐγχαύω* "schlage, hinein," *Cypr.* *χαύομαι* "stosse an, bin benachbart," *Lat.* *ingruō* "break into, attack," *Lith.* *griūju* "breche nieder, donnere," *griūvū* "zerfalle in trümmer," *OHG.* *ingrūēn* "grauen," *grūwisōn* "grauen empfinden" (cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*, s. v. *ἐχπαον*; *Zupitza, Germ. Gutt.*, 176).

18a. Here probably belongs Germ. *grēwa-* "gray." The primary meaning was certainly not "white, bright," but rather "scratched, streaked." So we may compare Gk. *χαύω* "ritze, verwunde" with *ON.* *grár* "grau; boshaft, gehässig," *grá-leikr* "bosheit," *grá-ligr* "boshaft," *os-grúa* "das aschgraue," *grýia*, *OSw.* *grȳ* "grauen, tagen," *Sw.* *grå* "grau; verdriesslich, ärgerlich," *gry* "dämmern, grauen," *gryning* "morgendämmerung," *OHG.* *grāo*, *OE.* *grāeg* "grau." The meanings "boshaft, gehässig; verdriesslich, ärgerlich" are probably not from "gray," but from "scratching, irritating; scratched, irritated," just as "gray" is from scratched, streaked." Compare the development of *greis*, No. 13.

19. Base *ghreu-n-* "crush, crash."

Lith. *griūnu* "breche nieder, donnere," *griūnū* "zerfalle in trümmer," *ON.* *gríón*, *Dan.* *gryn* "grütze, gries," *Sw.* *gryn* "graupe, grütze, korn," *MHG.* *grien* "kiessand, sandiges ufer," *OHG.* *griuna* "grausamkeit, heftigkeit," *griunlāh* "crudelis."

20. Base *ghreu-d-* "rub, crush; feel contrition."

MHG. *griezen* "zermalmen, zerkleinern; streuen, schütten," *OHG.* *fergriozan* "ausstreuen," *grioz* "sandkorn, sand," *MHG.* *grüz* "korn," *OE.* *grūt* "coarse meal," *grēot* "sand, dust," *grot* "particle," *ON.* *grautr* "brei," *griót* "gestein," *ChSl.* *gruda* "scholle," *Lith.* *grūdas*, *Lett.* *grauds* "korn," *Lith.* *grūdžiu* "stampfe," *griaudulis* "donner," *grūdau* "härte," *graudinū* "mache hart, spröde," *grūdžiu* "stampfe; suche das gemüt durch ermahnung zu rühren," *graudenu* "ermahne," *graudus* "spröde;

rührend, herzbewegend," *graudziù* "thue wehmütig," *graudoju* "jammere, wehklage," i. e., "feel crushed, contrite," OS. *griotan*, OE. *grēotan* "weinen" (cf. Schade, *Wb.*; Prellwitz, *Et. Wb.*, s. v. *χρῦσος*; Zupitza, *Germ. Gutt.*, 176).

20a. From "rub, scrape" comes the meaning "rough, coarse" and hence "big, large, great." So we may refer to this base OE. *grēat* "thick, stout, bulky, big," OHG., MHG. *grōz* "dick, ungeschickt gross und dick; bedeutsam, stark," OS. *grōt* "gross." Compare *grob*, No. 9a.

20b. From "rub, wear away, dig out" comes "hole, hollow," etc.: Sw. *gryt* "steinhaufe; höhle," *gryta* "topf, kochtopf," ON. *grýta*, Dan. *gryde* "hafen, grapen," OE. *grutt* "gulf, abyss." Compare No. 5.

21. Base *ghreu-s-* "crush, crash."

OE. *grēosn* "gravel, pebble," OSw., Sw. *grus* "gries, kies, schutt," Sw. *grusa* "mit gries oder kies befahren oder beschütten; in schutt verwandeln, zerstören," MHG. *grūs* "grausen, schrecken," OHG. *grūsōn* "grausen empfinden," OE. *gryre* "terror, horror," *gryrran* "chatter" (of teeth), *grornian* "mourn, murmur," *grorn* "sad; grief," OS. *gruri* "schreck," *grornon* "trauern, klagen."

22. Base *ghreu-b-* "rub, crush; cut, dig."

Dan. *grøpe*, Sw. *gröpa* "schroten," *gröpe* "schrot," late MHG. *īs-grüpe* "hagelkorn," NHG. *graupe* "peeled grain or barley," *graupeln* "hail, drizzle," ON. *greypr*, *graupr* "grimmig, grausam," *greypa* "in einander fügen, einzapfen, falzen; hart behandeln," OSw. *grøpa* "aushöhlen," OE. *grȳpe* "trench, ditch," MHG. (md.) *grobe*, *groppe* "weiter eiserner kochtopf."

23. Base *ghreu-p-* "rub, crush; dig, hollow out, deepen."

ON. *gryfia* "höhle, grube," *á grúfu* "prone, groveling," *grúfa* "sich niederbeugen," *grýfa*, *greyfa* "niederwerfen, niederbeugen," *grufla* "krabbeln, kriechen," OE. *grēofa* "kettle," i. e., "aushöhlung, vertiefung;" OHG. *griobo*, *griupo*, MHG. *griube*, *griebe* "griebe, griefe," i. e., "piece, particle, scrap."

24. Base *ghreu-gh-* "crush, crash."

Lith. *gráužiu*, *griáužiu* "nage, beisse ab," *gráužas* "grandacker," *graužinis* "grandig," *graužėlis* "kies, kleines sand-

steinchen," Pol. *grys'ć* "nagen, peinigern, beißen, stechen," *gruzel* "klumpen, erdkloss," ChSl. *gryzq* "beisse," MHG. *grogezen* "heulen, wehklagen," ME. *grugge* "murmur," E. *grudge* "groll."

25. If we examine the meanings that come from the base *ghero-*, we shall see that apparently synonymous words develop along different lines.

a) From "touch, rub: smear, streak" come: Gk. *χρᾶνω* "touch; smear, stain, spot, paint," *χρᾶντός* "stained, defiled."—Gk. *χρώζω* "touch: tinge, stain; defile;" *χρωτίζω* "color, dye, tint."—Welsh *gwrn* "dark, black," Ir. *gorm* "blue" (No. 4).—Gk. *χρίω* "touch: rub, anoint; color, whitewash," *χρίμα* "ointment," E. *grime*, ADu. *grijmsel* "schmutz, russ," Dan. *grime* "strich, streifen;" OS., MHG. *grīs* "grau, greis" (Nos. 12, 13).—Gk. *χραύω* "ritze;" OHG. *grāo* "grau" (No. 18a).

b) Closely connected with the above is the development "touch, touching, grazing; surface, complexion, color; edge, border, boundary." Gk. *χρῶμα* "surface, skin; complexion; color;" *χρῶς, -τός* "surface, skin; complexion," Lith. *gratas, gretas*, "neben einander," *grete*, "das angrenzen, die nähe."—Gk. *χρίπτω* "graze, scratch: draw near, approach."—Cypr. *χραύομαι, κραύζομαι* "touch, be neighbor to."

c) From "rub, grind, grate" come words for "gravel, grit, sand," and hence "sediment, dregs, grounds; rubbish, dirt, filth," etc.: Gk. *χερμάς* "stone, pebble," *χεράς, χεράδος* "sand, gravel; rubbish brought down by the river," OHG. *gor* "mist, dñnger," OE. *gor* "dirt, dung," ON. *gor* "excrementa intesti-norum;" *gorm* "dreck, schlamm," Dan. *grums* "bodensatz," *grumset* "trñbe, mit bodensatz vermischt," Sw. *grums* "rück-stand, seihe, schmutz," *grummel* "schmutz, bodensatz," *grumla* "trñben," ON. *grómr* "schmutz, dreck;" Lith. *gródas* "gefro-rener strassenschmutz;" Norw. *graks* "bodensatz" (cf. Nos. 2, 7, 11).—Lith. *greĩmas* "jeder schleimige niederschlag im wasser" (No. 12).—ON., Norw. *grugg* "bodensatz" (cf. No. 18).—MHG. *griezen* "zermalmen; schñtten," MLFr. *gruut* "grñtze, hefe," Norw. *grut* "bodensatz," Sw. *grötig* "breiig; verworren, unklar, wirrig," E. *grouts* "lees, dregs, grounds" (cf. No. 20).—

OSw., Sw. *grus* "gries, kies; schutt," Sw. *grusa* "in schutt verwandeln," Dan. *grus* "schutt" (No. 21). NHG, *gries*, *grus*, *grieseln* are perhaps a contamination of 20 and 21.—NHG. *graupehn*, *gräupeln* "sleet, hail, drizzle" (No. 22).—OHG. *griobo* "griebe, griefe" (No. 23).—In *a* and *b*, and in *a* and *c*, we have phonetic equivalents with similar meanings, and yet these meanings are quite different in development.

d) In the same way words for "weep, groan, howl, mourn" fall into different classes: (1) those in which the primary meaning is "grate, creak, crash," etc.; (2) those that are descriptive of the outward signs of pain, grief, or rage, such as gnashing the teeth, uttering harsh, grating sound, etc.; (3) those in which the primary meaning is "feel crushed, afflicted." Examples of (1) and (2), which are very closely connected, may be found under Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 19, 21, 24. Examples of (3) are seen in No. (20). We see, therefore, that Goth. *grētan* is in its primary meaning as far removed from OS. *griotan*, OE. *grēotan*, as it is in its form.

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GLASTONBURY AND THE HOLY GRAIL.

IN Professor Birch-Hirschfeld's notable work on the legend of the Holy Grail, the romance *Perlesvaus* was set down as one of the latest and least original of the entire French Grail cycle.¹ This opinion has since been variously accepted and repeated. That it is, however, in part erroneous was shown by Heinzel² in 1891, and data pointing to a similar conclusion were adduced by the present writer in a recent study on the subject.³ However unoriginal the romance may be, it was certainly composed as early as several of its rivals for fame, and probably it represents the real transition from the purely romantic conception of Crestien de Troyes to the ascetic, ecclesiastical ideal of the writers of the *Queste* and the *Grand St. Graal*. The following material is presented in further support of this view, and more particularly as throwing light on the birth-place of the romance itself.

It was Zarneke⁴ who first pointed out that the *seinte messon de religion* in the *ille d'Avalon* from which the author of the *Perlesvaus* affirms⁵ that he derived the Latin original of his text was probably a religious institution in the town of Glastonbury. The mediæval texts have long since made evident the rather general identification, at least in England, of Glastonbury and Avalon during the twelfth century and thereafter. The interesting passages bearing upon this question and upon the legendary history of Glastonbury have been conclusively discussed by Professor Baist⁶ and M. Lot.⁷ On more than one occasion the former scholar⁸ has expressed the opinion that in the twelfth century

¹ *Die Sage vom Gral* (Leipzig, 1877), chap. 4.

² *Ueber die französischen Grailromane* (Vienna, 1891), p. 176.

³ *The Old French Grail Romance Perlesvaus*, Baltimore, 1902.

⁴ Cf. Paul u. Braunes *Beiträge*, Vol. III, p. 317.

⁵ Ed. POTVIN, p. 347.

⁶ *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, Vol. XIX, pp. 326 ff.

⁷ *Romania*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 529 ff. Consult also ZARNEKE, *op. cit.*, pp. 317, 329; Glare, p. 328, should be identified with *Glais*.

⁸ *L. c.* and *Litteraturblatt*, 1892, p. 160.

Glastonbury witnessed the production of an ecclesiastical Arthur story which was based on the *Perceval* of Crestien, and which brought the latter romance into relation with the local legend of Joseph of Arimathea and his brethern as founders of Glastonbury Abbey. By this story Baist means the *Perlesvaus*, as is evident from his account of the work in question. Furthermore, in a recent private communication he again¹ remarks that a version of this particular Arthur story is preserved in *Johannis Glastoniensis*, whose chronicle was written during the first part of the fifteenth century.² It is my purpose here to set forth the importance of this discovery by adducing several additional facts which bear on this interesting question.

The MS from which William of Malmesbury derived his explanation of the name of Glastonbury dates, according to Lot, from the twelfth century, while the genealogies it adduces are not posterior to the tenth century. One of these genealogies

¹ The fact is also mentioned in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, Vol. XIX, p. 344.

² Out of deference to Professor Baist's claims of priority, I shall not publish here the passage in question. However, inasmuch as he merely mentions the fact without giving any references, I will state that the passage may be found in HEARNE'S edition of *Johannis*, pp. 77 ff. (Oxford, 1726), a copy of which is in the Harvard Library. It amounts practically to an original Latin version of Arthur's visit to the chapel of St. Austin (including the curious dream of the squire) which constitutes the first and principal episode of the *Perlesvaus* (ed. POTVIN, Vol. I, pp. 4 ff.; an outline of this episode may be found in my study of the work, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-5). One important feature, however, of this Latin version should be noted: Arthur meets no damsel at the edge of the wood, and consequently no mention is made of Perceval. Evidently this is the point where the author of *Perlesvaus* fused the Perceval story with the local legend of Arthur's visit to St. Austin's chapel. *Johannis* further reports that Arthur brought back to Glastonbury a crystal cross, *quae, usque in hunc diem, de dono ejusdem regis, in thesauria Glastoniae honorifice collocatur et custoditur* (cf. BAIST, l. c.).

There are two passages in *Johannis* which refer directly to the Holy Grail. The more interesting of them runs as follows (p. 55): "Joseph ab Armathia, nobilem decurionem, cum filio suo, Josephes dicto, et aliis pluribus, in majorem Britanniam, quae nunc Anglia dicta est, venisse, et ibidem vitam finisse, testatur liber de gestis inelicti regis Arthuri (cf. BAIST, l. c., p. 340—evidently a compilation) in inquisitione scilicet cujusdam illustris militis, dicti Lanceloth de Lac (this may be connected with the tenth 'branch' of the *Perlesvaus*, the leading feature of which is an intrigue against Lancelot) socios rotundae tabulae videlicet, ubi quidam Heremita exponit Walwano misterium cujusdam fontis, saporem et calorem crebro mutantis (cf. similar episode, *Perlesvaus*, p. 73); ubi et scribebatur, quod miraculum illud non terminaretur, donec veniret magnus leo, qui et collum magnis vinculis haberet constrictum. Item in sequentibus, in inquisitione vasis quod ibi vocant *Sanctum Graal*, refertur fere in principio, ubi albus miles exponit Galaat, filio Lancelot, ministerium cujusdam mirabilis scuti, quod eidem deferendum commisit, quod nemo aliis, sine gravi dispendio, ne una quidem die poterat portare" (cf. *Quête*; SKEAT, in his edition of *Joseph of Arimathea*, p. xxi, has identified this part of the passage).

The second passage tells (p. 51) how Philip (*apostolum in Gallias*), wishing to convert Great Britain, sent thither twelve of his followers: "quibus carissimum amicum suum Joseph praedictum, qui Dominum sepelivit una cum filio suo Josephes praefecit. Venerunt

derives the word *Glaston* from a certain *Glast*. *Glast*, which is *Glas* in Irish, meaning "gray," and was frequently used as the name of a man, is thus probably an eponym invented to explain the name of the town. The genealogy makes *Glast* one of twelve brothers, of whom *Glast* is the last-born. The passage in William's chronicle goes on to say that *Glast*, the son of *Cas*, was a swineherd of the king of *Hirnath*, and first came to the place which bears his name in search of one of his pigs which had gone astray. This story supposedly came from Ireland and was transmitted to England proper through Welsh mediums. It is thought that in the original version *Cas* was the son¹ of *Glast*, and that the persons given by William of Malmesbury as *Glast*'s brothers were in reality his descendants, the change being due to the confusion of the word *mac* (= "son") with *map* (= "brother").

Now, whatever the origin of this account may be, the *Perlesvaus* contains a striking analogy to *Glast* and his line in the name given *Perceval*'s paternal grandfather, the father of the well-known *Alain*. According to what is probably the best MS of the *Perlesvaus*, he is called *Glais*,² the other MSS giving the form *Gais*. *Glais*, who is not, I believe, mentioned in any other Grail or Arthurian romance thus far known,³ has twelve sons, the

autem cum eis (ut legitur in libro, qui Sanctum Graal appellatur) sescenti, et amplius, tam viri quam feminae qui omnes vatum voverant, quod ab uxoribus propriis abstinerunt, quousque terram, sibi delegatam, ingressi fuissent. Quod tamen praevaricati sunt omnes, praeter centum quinquaginta qui, iubente Domino, mare super camisiis ipsius Iosephes transeuntes in nocte resurrectionis Dominicae, applicuerunt in mane. Aliis autem poenitentibus, et Iosephe memorato pro eis orante, missa est navis a Domino, quam rex Salomon artificiose suo tempore fabricaverunt, in qua die eadem ad suos socios pervenerunt cum quodam duce Medorum, nomine Vaciano, quem Ioseph prius baptisaverat in civitate Sarraz, cum rege ejusdem civitatis, cui nomen Modrains."

Philip is of course the St. Philip of the *Grand St. Graal* (cf. NUTT, *Legend of the Holy Grail*, p. 54); the *Vita Dunstanni* of the tenth century (cf. LOT, *op. cit.*, p. 541) lets Philip and twelve apostles come to England and William of Malmesbury (GALE, *Hist. Britann. Scrip.*, Vol. I, p. 292) mentions Joseph and twelve others sent by Philip.

In the second Interpolation of Pseudo-Gautier (cf. HEINZEL, *op. cit.*, p. 189) Joseph and his friends come to England in a rudderless ship (cf. *Perceval*'s ship in *Perlesvaus*, p. 327). The passage in the ship was later changed to one on Joseph's shirt (cf. *Grand St. Graal*). Here we have a combination of the two notions. Solomon's ship occurs also in the *Quelle* (NUTT, p. 49) and the *Grand St. Graal* (NUTT, p. 59). The story of Sarraz and Modrains is found in the *Quelle*, the *Grand St. Graal* and in Manessier portion of the *Perceval* (NUTT, pp. 19 ff.). *Vaciano* is probably Vespasian.

¹ Instead of being his father, as above.

² Berne MS.

³ *Glais*, however, is used in French for the place name; cf. the *Grand St. Graal*, which says that Joseph is buried in the "abbey of Glais" in Scotland. The English *Joseph of Arimathea* makes the statement that Joseph was buried there, and that the place is now known as "Glastynberg."

youngest of whom is Alain. I therefore venture to uphold Baist's suggestion that the *Perlesvaus* originated in Glastonbury or thereabout, and to suggest further that its author chose the current eponym of the place to fill out his genealogy of the Grail family. As to the twelve sons of Glais, they have also a parallel in the twelve male children of Brons and Enygeus in Robert's *Joseph*.¹ There, however, Alain is at first vowed to chastity and finally marries only in order to beget Perceval—incidents, it seems, which would have appealed strongly to our author's mystic temperament, had he been acquainted with them. A further point indicating this independent strain (from Robert) is the fact that our author evidently still considered the Fisher-King's mother as Joseph's sister, that is, Veronica, *mulier Veronica*—possibly *domina Veronica*—the influence of which name is very likely to be seen in that of *Danbran(n)*, *Dindrane*,² given in our romance to Perceval's sister. As to *Glais*, *Yglais*, the name of Perceval's mother is either directly modeled on it, or else *Enygeus*—the mother of Perceval according to Robert and the Grand St. Graal—has here been altered to agree with it. The form *Ygloas*, the variant at times used in the Brussels MS of our romance, is an attempt again to differentiate the two names. Thus we have the entire Grail pedigree of the *Perlesvaus* explained with the exception of certain of Alain's brothers. Four of the latter have been previously identified,³ and a fifth, Bertholez *li chaus*, is, in all probability, the Bertolais mentioned in the *Livre d'Artus*,⁴ a knight of Leodegan's court.

In our romance Joseph of Arimathea generally goes under the name of *Joseph d'Abarimacie*, a form which is evidently taken directly from the Latin. This form occurs elsewhere only in the prose paraphrase of Robert's *Joseph*. Robert himself gives *Joseph de Berimathie*, which is further removed from the Latin. *Abarimacie* (or *Abarmacie*) is doubtless a mistaken reading of *ab Ar(i)mathia*. Now, the Glastonbury documents refer to Joseph

¹ Cf. "Livre d'Artus" (*Zeitschrift für französische Sprache*, Vol. XVII), where Perceval has eleven brothers.

² HEINZEL, *op. cit.*, p. 94. *Veronica* > *Bron(e)* in French and was confused with the Celtic *Bran*. *Dame Brane* would have given *Danbran(e)*.

³ Cf. my study, p. 110.

⁴ *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache*, Vol. XVII.

always as *Joseph ab Arimathia* or *Armathia*.¹ But beyond the mention of Joseph in connection with the crucifixion, which I have shown to be referable to Robert de Borron,² the account of him in our romance is meager. As our author gives him the title of "Fisher-King" (*roi peschierres*),³ he probably thought of him as being at one time of his career at the Grail Castle in Wales. It seems certain, too, that Joseph is the knight whom Perceval finds reposing in the *ille plentureuse* ("Earthly Paradise"), as Heinzel has suggested.⁴ The *Josephus* whose body is found in a tomb near the Grail Castle is possibly his son Josephe, whom the later Glastonbury legend associates with his father in the conversion of England and the founding of the Lady Chapel in Glastonbury.⁵ In line with this incident of Joseph's life is the fact that our author constantly refers to a special Grail "chapel," which is said to be dedicated to the Virgin and in which the relics of Calvary are claimed to be kept, including the Holy Grail⁶ itself.

The rôle of Josephus, however, is of relatively greater importance in our work than that of Joseph. It is Josephus⁷ to whom we owe the tale; he wrote it down at the dictation of an angel; he vouches for the truth of the adventures related; he knows of others which are not told here; he was the first person to celebrate the holy sacrament (p. 113); he explains to Gawain the allegory of his adventures, and he is known as *le bon clerc* and *le bon hermite*. Twice the text calls him simply *Joseph*, and twice he is called *Josephe(s)*; but these variants may be scribal blunders. Nevertheless, it is now generally supposed⁸ that the confusion of the two Josephs—Joseph of Arimathea and Josephus Flavius, the Jewish historian—gave rise to the legend of Joseph and his son Josephe mentioned above, which is also preserved in the *Quete* and the *Grand St. Graal*. M. Lot goes so far⁹ even as to suggest

¹ JOHANNIS GLASTONIENSIS, p. 55.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 39 ff.

³ P. 340.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 17; cf. also the remarks about Perceval's shield, *Perlesvaus*, p. 328.

⁵ JOHANNIS, p. 51; see note above. Also Capgrave, *Nova Legenda Angliæ*, in SKEAT'S *Joseph*, pp. 68, 69, 70.

⁶ In this connection it is noteworthy that over the entrance to the Grail Castle, Gawain sees statues of the Virgin and of St. John (*Perlesvaus*, p. 88). This conception of the Grail as a relic is primitive.

⁷ *Perlesvaus*, pp. 7, 79, 107, 113, 215, 305, 314, 318.

⁸ HEINZEL, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

⁹ *L. c.*, p. 541.

that the name of Joseph of Arimathea crept into the *Antiquitates Glastoniensis* through a mistaken reading of Flavius Josephus mentioned by the chronicler Freculf¹ (on whom the *Antiquitates* drew) as the authority for his own work. In the *Perlesvaus* the two personages are still kept distinct by the surname *clers*, the "learned," given to Josephus, but, on the other hand, the latter is brought spiritually near to Joseph through the story of his having celebrated the first mass. Hence we may suppose that the change from Josephus to Josephe, though set on foot by our author, was not accomplished by him, since, like Robert de Borron, he never speaks of Joseph's "son." This last step—from Josephe to Joseph's son—was not taken until the appearance of the later Grail works, whence the idea was probably carried into the Glastonbury records of a more recent date.²

Another of the moot questions bound up with the Grail problem is the relationship of King Pelles and his line to the Grail dynasty. The *Quête* gives no less than three different accounts of this relationship, corresponding in all probability to three distinct versions of the work. In the earliest, a Welsh translation of a now lost French original, King Pelles is the grandfather of the Grail hero through the marriage of his daughter with Lancelot. In the second, Furnivall's edition, he is mentioned at first as Galahad's grandfather, but afterward as his uncle; he is also here the "Lame King," and lives at Corbenic when Lancelot comes there. A third version, that summarized by Birch-Hirschfeld, again makes him the grandfather of Galahad, but identifies Corbenic, his abode, with the Grail Castle. Compared with the *Quête*, the *Grand St. Graal* relegates Pelles to a relatively inferior position. In accordance with this, Alain leaves the Grail to his brother Josue, with the title of "Fisher-King," and the latter's descendants are Aminadap, Catheloys, Manaal, Lambor, Pelleams (the "Lame King"), and finally Pelles, by whose daughter Lancelot has Galahad. Finally our romance gives what appeals to me as the earliest and least altered account of Pelles and Josue, although the commentators, including Heinzel, have for some unknown

¹ Vol. II, chap. 4 (cf. MIGNE, Vol. CVI, pp. 1140 ff.).

² Cf. note above; *Johannis* mentions the *Quête*.

reason left it out of consideration. Here Pelles is the brother of Yglais, consequently the uncle of Perceval and the brother of the Fisher-King; he is a hermit and lives in the forest. This is an evident imitation of Crestien, who, to be sure, does not call by name either of Perceval's uncles, but makes them brothers of his mother (whose name is also omitted), the one being the Fisher-King, and the other a hermit. According to our romance, however, Pelles was originally the king of the "Low Folk" (*la basse gente*), a position which he resigned for the cowl when his son committed matricide. The castle in which he reigned, and which has been on fire ever since the dreadful crime, Perceval passes in a ship on his return from the Earthly Paradise. Later on in the *Perlesvaus* the "Hermit King," as Pelles is then called, becomes the ruler of the Plenteous Isle, whence he is finally advanced to a "higher realm," because of his good conduct. When Gawain first meets him in the forest, he is already a hermit in the service of the Holy Grail, wherefore he seems never to grow old, for "the place in which it is kept is very mild;" Perceval, too, has recently been stopping at his hermitage.¹ At this meeting Pelles informs Gawain that Uther Pendragon, Arthur's father, had knighted him and that he bore arms two-score years before turning hermit. This warlike quality is inherited by his son, who, although a priest, assists Perceval in his final assault on the Grail Castle over the nine bridges. When the castle is taken, the latter takes up his abode there with Perceval. It is thus evident that the son's name (Joshua) originated in his double rôle of priest and warrior on which the romance lays such stress. The name, once brought into connection with the Grail, persisted in the legend long after the incidents which had suggested it had been dropped. Thus it comes in the *Grand St. Graal* to be a meaningless link in the necessarily long genealogy of the Grail family.

But how did Pelles, king of the Low Folk, become identified with Perceval's hermit uncle? Or were the two originally one, and did Crestien merely suppress the name Pelles in order to reveal it at the close of his work, which was never completed? To

¹ Cf. my study, *op. cit.*, pp. 62 ff.

these questions we shall probably never receive a satisfactory answer. But, at all events, the name Pelles appears to be of Welsh derivation. Rhys connects it with Pwyll of the *Mabinogi*¹ of that name. Heinzl did not give much credence to this suggestion; nevertheless, in the light of the above facts it has much to recommend it beyond the mere similarity of names. The *Mabinogion*² relate how Pwyll, being a great hunter and woodsman, one day became separated from his companions and met Arawn, king of Hades, with whom he agreed to exchange kingdoms for a year. Ever afterward, the story runs, the title of "Head of Hades" clung to him. A name linked with his is that of Teyrnnon Twrf-vliant, who is one of his vassals. The epithet "Twrf-vliant," according to Rhys, reappears in *Malory*³ as the Castle of Blyaunt—and this abode it was that Pelles gave Lancelot to inhabit with his daughter Elayne in the Joyous Isle. Pwyll, too, had a fairy wife called Rhianon. She finally gives birth to a son, who is, however, snatched away by unseen hands on the night he is born. For years the mother is made to suffer on account of his disappearance, until one day he returns a full-grown lad and establishes her innocence. His name is Pryderi, meaning "anxiety." It is not difficult to detect the vestiges of such a tale in the incidents of the career of Pelles given above. Pelles spends his days in the Lonely Forest and at the Grail Castle, where "one never grows old;" he was once king of the Low Folk (Hades), but has now grown perfect and comes to rule over a higher realm—all of which is an evident attempt to redeem the character; his son is very bold and warlike, and in a fit of anger has slain his own mother, for whose death he does penance—a change possibly due to a confusion of the characters of mother and son. Further, as Rhys notes, Pelles, like Pwyll, is concerned in the Enchantments of Britain which are a favorite theme of Welsh tradition.⁴ Hence we may say our author fused with his recollection of Crestien's hermit-uncle scattered elements of a story resembling the Welsh legend of Pwyll and Pryderi.

¹ *Arthurian Legend* (Oxford, 1891), p. 283.

² Translation by LADY CHARLOTTE GUEST (London, 1877), pp. 339 ff.

³ Vol. XII, pp. 5, 6.

⁴ RHYS, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

Another feature of the romance which points to a Welsh source is found in the name *Pannenoisance*. Aside from the places Arthur visits on his various expeditions, his residences, according to our author, number three: Carduel, Camaalot, and Pannenoisance.¹ The second may be omitted from the discussion, since the author refers to it only incidentally as mentioned "in other works;" perhaps even it was interpolated into the text by the French translator or by a late scribe. Inasmuch as Carduel is the site of the Arthurian court in Crestien (*Perceval*), the last place alone remains to be identified. Apparently this is peculiar to our romance, not being found in any other Arthurian or Grail work with which I am acquainted. The Welsh text² gives the name as *Penneis(s)ence*. It cannot be Penvro (Pembroke) or Penrith, as neither of these would satisfy the etymology. Moreover, the author says it is situated on the Sea of Wales, and Penrith lies far inland in Cumberland. However, its supposed location on the sea suggests that it is Penzance,³ near Land's End in Cornwall. With this name it also agrees in form: the additional syllable in Penneisence being a sort of glide, such as in Penevric (= Penvro), which eventually became *ei*, finally *oi* in this particular form. That the original was probably not recognized in *Penneisence* is shown by the reproduction of the French form by the Welsh translator of the fourteenth century.

The last point I wish to consider before a final summing up is our author's account of Avalon itself: in what respects does it correspond to the real Glastonbury of the close of the twelfth century? The romance says that the house in which the Latin text was found *siet au chief des mores aventureuses la ou li roi Artus et la roine Guenievre gissent* (p. 347). This description agrees strikingly with the story vouched for in 1191 by Henry II, the Angevin lord of England, that the tombs of Arthur and his queen could actually be seen in Glastonbury, and Glastonbury was known to be in a marshy country. When Lancelot comes to the *leus d'Avalon* (probably for *illes d'A.*), he finds it situated in a

¹ Tintagel is also visited by Arthur; for our author's account of it consult DICKINSON, *King Arthur in Cornwall* (London, 1900), p. 60, note.

² Cf. WILLIAMS, *Y Seiat Greal* (London, 1876), p. 560.

³ I am indebted for this suggestion to Professor Henry Todd.

valley in the midst of deep forests (p. 262); the chapel there, which is dedicated to the Virgin, had recently been renovated at the request of Guenevere, who had died before Lancelot's arrival; Lot(h), Arthur's son, is also buried in this chapel (p. 222). Here again we have a substantial agreement with the twelfth-century account of Glastonbury, inasmuch as we saw above that Joseph was reputed to have founded there the principal chapel in honor of the Virgin. According to another record,¹ concerning Joseph's burial in Glastonbury, the latter's tomb contained two vessels filled with some of the blood and sweat of the Savior (*cruore prophete Jhesu et sudore perimpleta*). In the light of this fact, it is, perhaps, no mere accident that, besides the blood in the Grail, the author of *Perlesvaus* places some of our Lord's blood and a piece of his shroud in the boss of Perceval's shield, which he claims was put there by Joseph of Arimathea, to whom the shield originally belonged.

We now see the important part played by Glastonbury and its traditions in the transformation of the French Grail episode into the mystical English church allegory we have in the *Perlesvaus*. The Grail, according to Crestien a popular talisman such as the German *Tischlein-deck'-dich*, as yet but vaguely associated with the tragedy of Calvary, became in the hands of the unknown Glastonbury zealot the expression of the British religious ideal with its strong leaning to abstraction and mysticism. This national characteristic is at once set forth in the initial episode of the work, in Arthur's ride to St. Austin's chapel, and it later finds an echo in the romances of the *Quête* and *Grand St. Graal*, the author of the latter of which tacitly claims that his work—due to Christ himself—is superior to the gospels. The same feature is to be seen in other incidents of the story. Arthur beholds two suns in the sky symbolizing the union of church and state;² he also introduces into Britain the use of the chalice during mass, after having seen the first chalice at the Grail Castle, where he beheld at the same time the first church bells, brought thither from the Land of Promise by three "Gregories" in honor of the holy Trinity.³

¹ Cf. HEINZEL, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 43.

² *Perlesvaus*, p. 218.

³ *Id.*, p. 250.

History tells us that Glastonbury, made famous in the tenth century by its Irish ecclesiastics, was a century later reduced to dire straits through the opposition of the Norman see of Canterbury. To maintain its independence, the abbey was forced to fabricate various charters and diplomas which were given out as authentic, and a goodly number of which survive to this day in William of Malmesbury. Furthermore, it set up the claim that St. Patrick had been a visitor to its shrines, and that other Irish saints had come thither to sojourn. Toward the beginning of the twelfth century the monks began to link Welsh names to the history of the place. Those of Gildas, the Welsh historian, and David, the great saint, were used to heighten the abbey's fame and increase its revenues.¹ And finally Arthur, such as he lived in Welsh legend surrounded by Kay, Lucan, and Urien, appears in the local records, and his grave is pointed out in the churchyard of the abbey. What wonder, then, that Henry II, to whom Canterbury must have been a thorn in the flesh since his tragic experience with Becket, should have lent his support to whatever claims the monks of Glastonbury chose to put forth. And further, it should not surprise us that some pious monk saw in the popular Grail theme the means of strengthening these claims by welding it to the local Arthur legend and imputing the completed tale to an imaginary work inspired by Heaven and said to be among the books of the abbey.

That the *Perlesvaus* is thus in its original Latin form (now lost) the immediate successor of Crestien's *Perceval* can, I think, no longer be denied. The *Didot-Perceval*, the *Grand St. Graal*, and the *Quete* are assuredly not its literary antecedents. The episodes which it has in common with Gautier and Pseudo-Gautier were possibly added to it at a later date, as a number of other features doubtless were. As for Robert's *Joseph*, the agreements here may be due to the fact that, as Baist affirms, Robert himself wrote the account of the so-called "Early History" as given in our romance.²

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¹Cf. LOT, l. c.

²Baist makes this statement in a private communication. The relationship of the *Perlesvaus* and the original *Joseph* of Robert I shall consider in a separate article.

SONGS OF THE SPANISH JEWS IN THE BALKAN PENINSULA.¹

VIII.²

Arvolēra, mi arvolēra,
 Tan galana i tan džentil:
 La rais tyēne di oru
 I la rama di marfil.
 En la ramika mas čika
 Sta la dama tan džentil,
 Peñandusi lus sus kaveyus
 Kon un peñi di marfil.
 Por ayi pasó un kavayēru
 Kē asimežava³ a Amadi:
 "Asi bivas, kavayēru,
 Si vistiš a Amadi?"
 "Byen lu vidi i lu konosku,—
 Letra mandava kon mi!"
 "Kwantu dyēraš, la mi siñora,
 Kē volu trušēra aki?"
 "Dyēra yō lus trēs mil dukadus
 Kē mi kedarun di Amadi."
 "Mas dyēraš, la mi siñora,
 Kē volu trušēra aki!"
 "Dyēra yō lus trēs mulinus
 Kē mi kedarun di Amadi:
 El unu muēli kanēla
 I el otu muēli džinfil;⁴
 El mas čikitiku di eyus
 Muēli arina para Amadi."
 "Mas dyēraš, la mi siñora,
 Kē volu trušēra aki!"
 "Dyēra yō lus mis trēnsadus
 Kon mi peñi di marfil."
 "Mas dyēraš, la mi siñora,
 Kē volu trušēra aki!"
 "Dyēra yō las trēs fižikas⁵
 Kē mi kedarun di Amadi:

¹ Concluded from Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 205-16.

² Another version is given in Danon's collection. ³ *S. semejar*. ⁴ "Clove." ⁵ *S. híjica*.

La una meti la meza
 I la otra para servir;
 La mas ĉikitika di eyas
 Para folgar i dormir."
 "Dyĕraŝ vos el vwestru kuerpu
 Kĕ volu truŝĕra aki?"
 "A mal vaya el kavayĕru
 Kĕ estu fue a dezir!"
 "No vus aravyeŝ, la mi siĥora,
 Kĕ yō so vwestru maridu Amadi!"
 "Una vĕs kĕ soŝ¹ mi maridu,
 Kĕ siĥal davaŝ a mi?"
 "Debaŝo del peĉu syerd²
 Un kavĕyu vos akuŝaka³ a mi."

IX.⁴

Mi padri ĕra di Brusa
 Mi madri di Aragon:
 Kazarunsi endĵuntus,⁵
 Nasyĕrami yō.
 Mihamá⁶ kĕ ĕra regalada
 En ĉika mi kazó,
 Dyĕra mi por maridu
 A un riku pastor.
 Al vĕz di kazadu
 Su vertud amostró;
 El si komia la karni,
 Lus gwĕsizikus⁷ yō;
 El si komia el pan blanku,
 I el morĕnu yō;
 El si komia el pĕŝi
 I las espinikas yō;
 El si bevia el vinu,
 I la agwa yō;
 El si eĉava en la kama,
 I en el terĕnu yō.
 Al fin di medĵa noĉi
 Al agwa mĕ mandó:
 Al suniziku⁸ de la agwa
 Durmyĕra mi yō.

¹ *S. Sois.*² "Left."³ "To tie."⁴ Another version is given in Danon's collection.⁵ *S. juntos.*⁶ "Because."⁷ *S. huesecico.*⁸ "Murmuring."

Por ayi pasó un kavayēru,
 Trēs bizikus mi dió.
 Gway di mi, dizvinturada,
 Kē pekadus fizyēra yō ?
 Si mi maridu lu savi,
 Matada seré yō !
 Antis ke el mi mati,
 Matarmi kēro yō.
 "Ni vos mateš, mi siñora,
 Ni teneš porké vos matar,
 Kē yō so vwestru maridu,
 Vwestru riku pastor !"

X.

Mi madri salyó a la luna
 Por ver mi bwena vintura
 En el lunar,
 Kē la luna al kavayēru
 A medža noči al bel lunar.

Mi madri salyó a la estrēya
 Por ver mi bwena planeta
 En el lunar, etc.

"Nōn es, mi madri, la luna,
 Sinōn mi bwena vintura
 En el lunar, etc."

"Mentideš, fiža, mentideš,
 Kē la toka yō lē vidi
 En el lunar, etc."

"Nōn es, mi madri, la toka,
 Sinōn mi kara redōnda
 En el lunar, etc."

"Mentideš, fiža, mentideš,
 Kē la espada yō lē vidi
 En el lunar, etc."

"Nōn es, mi madri, la espada,
 Sinōn mi bella garganta
 En el lunar, etc."

"Mentideš, fiža, mentideš,
 Kē el kavayu yō lē vidi
 En el lunar, etc."

"Nōn es, mi madri, el kavayu,
 Sinōn mis bellus trēnsadus
 En el lunar, etc."

"Mentideš, fiža, mentideš,
 Kē al ladu volu vidi
 En el lunar, etc."

"I si milu viteš al ladu,
 Mi padri milu merkó
 Por un dukadu
 En el lunar, etc."

XI.¹

Alkansar al kavayēru,
 Alkansar komu sayeta,
 En lugar di ir a la karsil
 Ondi la rēna se ia.
 Topó la rēna en kavēyus,
 En kavēyus i trēnsadus,
 Peñandu lus sus trēnsadus
 Kon un peñi di oru maru,²
 I un espežu muy lindu,
 Kē en el resta su peñadu,
 Dandu loōris al Dyó altu,
 Kē tan linda la a kreadu.
 El rē por burlar kon eya
 Kon el verdugu lē a dadu.
 "Stati, stati, Andarlētu,
 Mi pulidu inamoradu!
 Dōs fižikus di ti tengu
 I dōs del rē, kē son kwatru.
 Lus del rē suvin kavayu,
 I lus tuyus mula i kavayu;
 Lus del rē komin en mēza,
 I lus tuyus al mi ladu;
 Lus del rē van a la gēra,
 I lus tuyus al mi ladu;
 Lus del rē yevan espada,
 I lus tuyus spada i endoradu.³
 Mas ti kēro i mas ti amo
 Kē non al rē kon su rēnadu:
 El rē mi dava dinerus

¹ Another version is given in Danon's collection.

² "Pure."

³ (?)

I tu mi davas dukadus."
 Boltó su kara a la rēna,
 Topó si al rē al ladu.
 "Perdon, perdon, siñor rē!
 Todu estu kē yō a favladu
 Kē a noči, a medža noči,
 Todu estu melu a soñadu."
 "Ya telu perdoní, la rēna,
 Kon la kavēsa a un ladu."
 Mandó a yamar a Andarlētu,
 Su pulidu inamoradu.
 "Komu farēmus, Andarlētu,
 Kē el rē mus a aminazadu?
 Para mi topí remedžu,
 Para vos, andá i bušká vus!"
 A mal vaygan las mužeris
 Kē en ombri si an kunfiadu:—
 Tenyendu al rē por maridu
 Xwé a buškar inamoradu.
 "Mas ti kero i mas ti amo
 Kē non al rē kon su rēnadu!"
 Estas palavras dizyendu
 La kavēsa lē a kortadu;
 Estas palavras favlandu
 La kavēsa lē ečó a su ladu.

XII.¹

Yō kaminí por altas maris,
 Navigi por las fortunas,
 Kayí mi en sivdat ažena,
 Ondi nōn mi kunosian.
 Fayarun mi dōs dženeralis,
 Lus mas grandis di Turkia:
 "Kē buškavaš vos, buen mučaču?
 Kē buškavaš por estas vias?"
 "Buško yō al rē mi padri,
 La korona kē tenia."
 "Una vēs kē tu lu buškas,
 Kē señas di el darias?"
 "Añus tenia sesenta,
 La barva blanka tenia."
 "Una vēs kē tu lu buškas,

¹ Another version is given in Danon's collection.

El rē turku lu mataria."
 Tomó lu manu por manu,
 A mostrar selu iria:
 Yevó mi en un monti iskuru,
 Kē di negru paresia.
 Razgósi el lus sus pañus
 Āi sayo asta kamiza.
 Asta akí es el romansu.
 Su alma en folgansa seria.

XIII.¹

"Morenika mi yama
 El fižu del rē;
 Si otra ves mi yama
 Yō mi vo kon el.

"Morenika mi yama,
 Yō blanko nasí;
 Di pasear galana
 Mi kolor perdí."

"Abašeš, morēna,
 Si aveš di abašar!
 Kē la navi tengu en vēla,
 Mi kēru andar."

Eya si viste di verdi
 I di amariyu,
 Kē ansi dizi la pēra
 Kon el bimbriyu.²

Eya si viste di verdi
 I di zurzuli,³
 Kē ansi dizi la pēra
 Kon el čufteli.⁴

Eya si viste di verdi
 I di otu kolor,
 Kē ansi dizi la roza
 Kon el ambimbroy.⁵

De la mar abašu
 Lu vidi venir:
 "Kē aki yō vus asperu
 A dar kidušin.⁶

¹ Another version is given in Danon's collection.² "Citron melon."³ "Yellow peach."⁴ "Peach."⁵ Some flower (?)⁶ H. = "betrothal."

De la mar abašu
 Lu vidi abašar,
 Kē akumpaṇadu vyeni
 A dar irusin.¹

“Abašeš, morēna,
 A la xwenti² alta,
 Kē toda la kē la vei
 Keda preñada!

“Abašeš, morēnā,
 A la xwenti di ariva
 Kē toda la kē la bēvi
 Vyeni parida!”

XIV.

En la mar batin las olas,
 Las mučacas durmin solas—
 Si kereš saver, Bulisa,
 La kantiga de las oras.

A tan alta kē va la luna.
 A tan altu kē va al sol,
 Kwandu durmi la kriatura,—
 Si kereš saver, Bulisa,
 La ora ya tañi una.

Di kantar ya no mi keda boz,
 A la gwerta yevan el aroz,—
 Si kereš saver, Bulisa,
 La ora ya tañi dos.

A Istambol mi keria ir a ver,
 Mi kuntarun kē es bwen a ver,—
 Si kereš saver, Bulisa,
 La ora ya tañi tres.

En Belugradu no ay garatu,³
 El vinu bēvin baratu,—
 Si kereš saver, Bulisa,
 La ora ya tañi kwatru.

Al čurčiku⁴ lu yaman riku,
 Mi kuntarun kē es muy riku,—
 Si kereš saver, Bulisa,
 La ora ya tañi sinku.

¹ H. = “mode of betrothal.”² S. *fuate*.³ Some fish (?)⁴ (?)

En el xan¹ ay una kubé,²
 Lus morus lu yaman meš,—
 Si kereš saver, Bulisa,
 La ora ya tañi seš'.

Di alavar a lus mis paryentis,
 En la bōka no mi kedó dyenti,—
 Si kereš saver, Bulisa,
 La ora ya tañi syeti.

Peši fritu i muy byen koču,
 Por mezé³ un bwen bizkoču,
 Si kereš saver, Bulisa,
 La ora ya tañi očü.

El mundu si aribolvi,
 La preñada a lus mezis muēvi,—
 Si kereš saver, Bulisa,
 La ora ya tañi muēvi.

En la mēza kē ay muēzis,⁴
 El vinu bēvin todus lus mēzis,—
 Si kereš saver, Bulisa,
 La ora ya tañi dyes.

La uyika⁵ buyi i kozi,
 Abašalda kē si aripozi,—
 Si kereš saver, Bulisa,
 La ora ya tañi onzi.

Aydi, aydi, kē es di noči,
 En Yirušalaim bēvin leči,—
 Si kereš saver, Bulisa,
 La ora ya tañi dodzi.

XV.⁶

Raxel, mwestrā mađri, asuvyó a lus syēlus,—
 Intanid in bokā avló kun el Viđraderu.⁷
 Mirā kē alegriā ay en Istraël,
 K' el Dyó de lus syēlus kē mulu deše ver.
 En la kazā santā ay un almenarā,
 Syeti brasus tyeni k' al mundu interu arelumbava.
 El beđamigdaš⁸ lu stan fragwandu,
 Kon pyeđrās presyozās lu stan aruđyandu.

¹ T. = "inn."

² (?)

³ "Lunch."

⁴ S. *nuez*.

⁵ S. *ollica*.

⁶ Another version given in Danon's collection.

⁷ S. *verdadero*.

⁸ H. = "temple."

Xaxamím¹ kantavân; lus Leviím² baylavân,
 I lus Koaním³ karbân⁴ ayigavân.⁵
 Ay en el miðbar⁶ tres palombās bolân,—
 Malaxím⁷ del syêlu avlavân bokā kun bokā.

XVI.

Sinku añus ya v' azer
 Ki yo tengu displazer
 Kun un mansevu d' Izmir,⁸
 Ki yo pur el mi vo murir,—
 Noçi i dia kun pasyô
 Azyendu la orasyô,
 Arugandu al Kriaðor
 Ki mi skapi d'est' amor.
 Intri gwertās i veryelis
 Yo bivir kun doloris
 Un fistan mi vo kurtar,—
 Gway, ki no lu vo gozar!
 Unā kartā vo skrivir
 A la mi mamā souvenir,
 Ki la meldi i ki yori
 Ki s' akoðrā⁹ di mi.
 Kazaminterus veyo venir
 Parā dispuzarmi a mi.
 Estu no lu pweðu sintir,
 Ki aboltin lakardí!¹⁰
 Unā kartā vo skrivir
 A lus mansevus souvenir,
 Ki no atin mas amor
 Ki l'amor azi puðrir.
 Yo kwandu mi vo murir,
 En la pyeðrā vo skrivir,
 Ki la meldin i ki yorin,
 Ki l'amor azi puðrir.

XVII.

Uyi¹¹ dizir kē boðās ay pur akí, kē vengu a ver, Kē gozi i kē logri i kē
 tengā munçu byen! Uyi dizir, in esti palasyu kē gozi la novyā in un
 mazal¹¹ muy klaru,—kazamyentu kē del Dyó es,—el novyu no keri

¹ H. = "wise men."⁵ S. *Uegar*.⁹ S. *acordarse*.² H. = "Levites."⁶ H. = "desert."¹⁰ Conversation.³ H. = "Cohanites."⁷ H. = "angels."¹¹ H. = "luck."⁴ H. = "treasure,"⁸ "Smyrna."

munčus dukaðus, keri a la novyã in mazal klaru. El novyu no keri dinerus, keri a la novyã in un mazal muy bwenu. Oy kazavã la blankã niñã kun un mansevu d'estãs viyãs,—kazamyentu del Dyó es,—kun un mansevu koma la rozã,—Syen aňus kē turi dičoã.

XVIII.

Un bwer¹ rey estã xazinu,
 I amandãn pur lus doktoris,
 Kwantus pur el mundu sô.
 Unus entrãn i unus salen,—
 Ningunu no l' aprovečo.
 I amandãn pur el mas grandi,
 El mas grandi i el mayor.
 A la suviðã del' eskalerã
 Di roðiyãs si suvyó;
 Al' entraðã de la pwertã
 La kavesã li kayó.
 S' asintí a la kaviserã,
 El pulsu li atintó.
 Le preguntó el xazinu al doktor,
 Ke tal li paresi.
 Li dišo el doktor:
 "D' esti mal kē tengu yo!"
 S'abultó del otu kavu el xazinu,
 Dišu el xazinu:
 "Unus goðãn las mužeris,
 Yo pur gozar la vo dešar;
 Unus goðãn sus kriaturãs,
 Yo čikus lus vo dešar."
 Estãs palavrãs dizyendu,
 Er rey se akavó,—
 Er rey di primã noči,
 El doktor a maňanã al alvor.

XIX.²

Al kinzi del mes la lunã en kresyenti,
 Kwandu er rey Nemrod salyó estreyeru,
 El indivinó kē nasia Mošé.
 La mužer di Terax preñadã stavã,
 Den dia en dia le dimandavã:
 De kē yevaš la karã tan dimuðaðã?"
 Eya si saviã el mal kē teniã,—

¹ S. *buen* (before r).² Another version given in Danon's collection.

Si salýo pur lus kampus koma peðriðā,
 Doloris teniā i parir kerīā,—
 Andi lu paryerā in la mearā.¹
 Al kavu di oçu dias lu xwé a buškar,
 Andi lu tupavā in la yešivā.²
 Kwandu nasyó 'l ižu, arilumbravā
 Komu 'l sol i la lunā a meðyu dia.
 Kwandu nasyó 'l ižu, in lugo³ avlavā:
 “Indá⁴ us, la mi maðri al vwestru lugar,
 Kē yo ya tengu aličaðerās,
 I yo ya tengu miraðerās, kē mi mirarán.”
 Gran zaxut⁵ tuvitiš, siñor di Avraam,
 Kē kun su manu mizma s'izu birmilá!⁶
 Gran zaxut tuvitiš, siñor pariðu,
 K' afirmatiš la mitsva⁷ d'Avraam avinu.⁸

XX.

Estās mezās son del vinu,—
 Bivā la patronā kun su mariðu!—
 Estās mezās mezās sō.

Estās mezās son del klaru,
 Bivā la patronā kun su amaðu,
 I las kē stan al deredor!
 Estās mezās mezās sō.

“S'aveš kumiðu koma 's la razon,
 La patronā de la kazā muz⁹ dimandā piðron.”¹⁰

“No kumimus naðā, lindā kumpaňā,
 No kumimus naðā, lindā kumpaňā,—
 Beraxá¹¹ mus aga!”

“S'aveš kumiðu koma 's el dever,
 La patronā de la kazā muz dimandā mersé.”
 “No” kumimus naðā, etc.

“S'aveš kumiðu peši de la mar,
 Nainda sta pur alkansar,—
 El peši sta pur alkansar,
 La reynā sta pur enreynar.”

¹ H. = “cave.”² H. = “house of study.”³ S. *luego*.⁴ S. *andad*.⁵ H. = “honor.”⁶ H. = “circumcision.”⁷ H. = “deserts.”⁸ H. = “our father.”⁹ S. *nos*.¹⁰ S. *perdon*.¹¹ H. = “blessing.”

"No kumimus nađa," etc.

"Kun vrigwensā¹ vu lu diku,
Kē ya mi vo kun mi amigu.
Kun vrigwensā vu lu avlu,
Kē ya mi vo kun mi amađu."

"Iža, mi vayaš en la orā bwenā!"

XXI.

Amor tengu, no paresku,
Ni me do pur konsintir,—
El la pwertā di la kayi
L'alma ya mi va salir.
Tres aňus d'amor ki ize,
Al kwartér mi izvačí.²
Aňu i među di kazađa
Ufisyu no li tupí,—
El ufisyu del mi mariđu
Es ladron i kumardží.³
El Taván⁴ ki mi lu gwađri⁵
Di la manu del polis.⁶
Pretā se yo, la mi mađri,
Ni si tomi sixurá:⁷
Lus ožus di lus mansevus
Ya si inčín kun parás.

XXII.⁸

Morenā mi yamān
Yo blankā naší.
Di pasiýar galana
Mi kolor piđrí.⁹

Morenā mi yamā
El izu di alvor;
Si otrā ves mi yamā
Yo kun el mi vo.

D'akeýās vintanās
M'arondžan¹⁰ flečās;
Si só di amoris
Vengān derečās!

¹ S. *virguenza*.

² T. = "to resign."

³ T. = "gambler."

⁴ T. = "god."

⁵ S. *guardar*.

⁶ "Police."

⁷ "Care."

⁸ Another version given in Danon's collection.

⁹ S. *perder*.

¹⁰ "Throw."

D'akeyās vintanās
M' arondžan arkus;
Si sô di amoris
Vengān al lađu!

Vestiđa di veđri¹
I di alteli,—²
K'ansi³ dizi la novyā
Kun su čilibi.⁴

Eskalerikā l'izi⁵
Di oru i di marfil,
Kē vengā la novyā
A dar kídušin!

Eskalerikā l'izi
Di oru i di perlā,
Kē vengā el novyu
A dar beraxát!

XXIII.

Kwandu Mošé Rabenu⁶ kižu⁷ érreynar⁸
Lus syēlus i la tyerā izu temblar.

Mirā, kē siñor erā Mošé Rabenu,
K'asuvyo i abašó a lus syēlus!

Un prezenti tengu, lu vengu a tomar,
K' ērā la ley santā i el sefér-torā.⁹

Un prezenti tengu, lu vengu a resivir
K' ērā la ley santā i el sefér-šeli.¹⁰

Mirā, kē siñor erā Mošé Rabenu,
K' abašavā i asuviā a lus syeti syēlus.

XXIV.

Pariđa, el Dyó vus gwađri,¹¹
Kwantu keri la vwestrā madri,
Di tođu el mal!

Pariđa, el Dyó vus deši,
Kwantu keri la vwestrā dženti,
Di tođu el mal!

¹ S. *verde*.² Some color.³ S. *que así*.⁴ T. = "lover."⁵ S. *hice*.⁶ H. = "our lord Moses."⁷ S. *guiso*.⁸ S. *enneinar*.⁹ H. = "scroll."¹⁰ H. = "second book of Moses."¹¹ S. *garde*.

Pariðā stavā la dweñā i pariðā soš!
 Kē byen empleyaðās xwerun las doloris
 Kē nasyó un ižu di beyās¹ koloris!
 Syempri de kontinu a el Dyó daremus las loris.²

Ya vyeni el pariðu kun sus manus yenās
 En la unā manu un masu di kandelās,
 En la otrā manu mansanās i perās!

Kwandu la komaðri dizey'a la pariðā: "Haydi, haydi!"³
 Rispondi la pariðā: "Adunay,⁴ kē mi skapi!"

Ya vyeni el pariðu al dib⁵ de la kamā,
 Dizya la pariðā: "Lu kē keris, mi almā?"
 Rispondi la pariðā kē esta bwenā.

XXV.

Un riyo d'unā fwenti,
 Unā saká⁶ laví;
 Al ruiðo del agwā
 Yo mi aserki ast' ayí.

Sintí unā boz kē dizia:
 "Ay de mi, ay de mi, ay de mi!"
 Si komu mi aserki a su laðu
 Beðyās⁷ floris kurtí
 Dispwes dixú⁸ la niñā
 I akayó, i akayó, i s' ezmáyó.

Si komu la viðé sulikā
 Li diklarí mi amor;
 Yurandu⁹ mi dizia:
 "No t' ulvides tu del Dyo."
 Dispwes dixú la niña, etc.

Si komu la viðé sulikā
 Al kafé la yeví;
 Li divizi lu pretu,
 Tres bezus l' estampí
 Dispwes dixú la niña
 Otrus tres, otrus tres, s' azin seš.

¹ S. *bellas*.² S. *loores*.³ Turkish greeting.⁴ H. = "my Lord."⁵ T. = "side."⁶ T. = "collar."⁷ S. *varias*.⁸ "Fainted."⁹ S. *llorando*.

Al despartirme d'eya
 Un abrasu mi diyó
 Non si viđo muriente
 Non si viđo muriente
 Dispwes dixú la niña
 I akayó, i akayó, i s'ezmayó.

XXVI.¹

Nočis bwenās, nočis bwenās,
 Nočis sô d' inamorar;
 Nočis sô d' inamorar,
 Dandu bweltās pur la kamā
 Koma 'l peškađu en la mar.
 Estā noči, la mi mađri,
 No la puđe sipportar:
 Luvyās kain di lus syēlus,
 Lagrimās di mis ožus.
 Tres ermanikās erān,
 Tođās tres a un metá;
 Saltó la primerā d' eyās,
 Mađri miya, la mi keriđa,
 Nunkā no va ver kazar.

XXVII.

Unā noči al lunar
 Mi salí a pasiyar.
 Un mansevu mi topó
 Al gazinu mi yevó.
 El la siya m' asentó
 Unā birā mi dyó.
 Mi dimand' a caz' aparte
 Vintanās para yalí;²
 Mi dimandā unās dimandās
 Kē mi azin tresalir:
 "Yamaremus Xazaním"³
 Kē mus den lus kidušín!"

XXVIII.⁴

Andandu pur estās maris
 Navigi kun grandi fortunā,

¹ *R. d. E. J.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 119, has a variant of this.² T. = "seashore."³ H. = "cantors."⁴ *R. d. E. J.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 115, has another variant of this.

Kayí in tyerās aženās
Andi no mi kunusian
Andi no kantavā gayo
Ni la leonā arespondiā.
Lagrimās di mis ožus
Barru l' amasaré;
Kun las plantās de las manus
El barru lu embarraré;
Kun suspirus di su almā
El barru lu enšugaré.
Tođu ombri k'es kaminanti
Kun mi lus tumaré.
El ki konti di sus malis
Di lus miyus yo li kuntaré.
Si lus suyus sô mas munčus
A pasyensyā mi lus tumaré.
Si lus miyus sô mas munčus
A pasyensyā mi lus tumaré.

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A DEFENSE AND INTERPRETATION OF THE NINTH BOOK OF WOLFRAM'S PARZIVAL.

THE word of an authority on his subject commands respect, yet assent too readily given may thwart the pursuit of truth. An illustration of the latter tendency will be attempted on the following pages. Gotthold Bötticher, by his important contributions, *Wolfram-Litteratur*, *Das Hohelied vom Rittersum*, etc., has sufficiently established himself as an authority on the subject of Wolfram von Eschenbach. But he has also, in one instance, blundered very seriously. In an appendix to *Das Hohelied vom Rittersum* there is contained an attack upon the ninth book of Wolfram's *Parzival*, consisting of a brief analysis of the book and a few dogmatic sentences utterly condemning it. The matter is disposed of without debate, the impression conveyed being that argument would be wasted in a case so clear.¹

Excepting the brief rejoinder of San Marte,² this view of Bötticher stood unchallenged for fourteen years. In 1900 A. Nolte, who in his doctor dissertation had already displayed an irreverent disregard of authority by daring to revise the old and propose a new interpretation of the battle-ridden "Eingang des Parzival," undertook to say a word in defense of the ninth book of *Parzival*. "Die Composition der Trevrizentenscenen" is the title of this able article.³ Nolte laid bare the motive for Bötticher's unsparing attack on Wolfram's work. That motive was to overcome San Marte's view of the importance of the theological materials in Wolfram's works. San Marte would make of *Parzival* primarily a religious poem, replete with allegorical and mystical wisdom. In his campaign against San Marte Bötticher thought it essential to attack him in what appeared to be his stronghold, viz., the ninth book, where the hermit Trevrizent explains the

¹ GOTTHOLD BÖTTICHER, *Das Hohelied vom Rittersum, eine Beleuchtung des Parzival nach Wolframs eigenen Andeutungen* (Berlin, 1886), Excurs: "Die Composition des IX. Buches," pp. 81-6.

² *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, Vol. XXI, p. 240.

³ *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, Vol. XLIV, pp. 241-8.

mysteries of the Holy Grail and brings back the knight Parzival to faith in the guidance of Providence.

Bötticher attempted, therefore, to discredit the literary value of the ninth book, to prove, if possible, that Wolfram was there by no means at his best, that the problem before the poet had been a magnificent one, but that his execution was very faulty. Nolte answers a number of Bötticher's objections, and in his analysis gives a much fairer estimate of the book. Yet Nolte is likewise beset by a theory. It grows out of his earlier work on the "Eingang des Parzival." The keynote of Wolfram's poem to him is *diu triuwe* ("fidelity"), in opposition to that which Bötticher calls the central idea, viz.: *unverzaget mannes muot* ("undaunted manhood," or "manly spirit"). Bötticher replied in "Noch einmal das neunte Buch des Parzival,"¹ and there successfully defends his conception of what is the underlying idea of the whole poem. That idea can be expressed in a single phrase, viz.: "Das Hohelied vom Rittertum," the triumphal song of knighthood; not the triumphal song of fidelity, "das Hohelied der Treue," as Nolte would have us believe. The ideal in *Parzival* is *unverzaget mannes muot*—undaunted manhood, not unrestrained, but tempered with the Christian virtues of humility and charity. It is not my object to take issue with this position, but rather to acknowledge gratefully to Bötticher a debt for his rational, realistic, and adequate interpretation of the poem. Where Bötticher has been unfair, misled no doubt by polemical zeal, has been in the treatment of the ninth book. Having had the last word, he remains in possession of the field. But, in spite of his ardent warfare, he has proved nothing against the ninth book, and has shown himself less able to comprehend its depth and beauty than his discomfited antagonist San Marte. What remains to be done is to approach the ninth book of Parzival without any theories to advocate, and in a spirit of fairness attempt to estimate its literary value.

Bötticher's numerous objections to Wolfram's ninth book can be grouped under three heads: (1) faults of composition (Fehler der Composition); (2) incoherence, or frequent ruptures in the

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XLV (1901), pp. 149-52.

train of thought (Zerrissenheit des Gedankengangs, störende Unterbrechungen); (3) lack of motivation (keine Motivierung).

Under the first head, "faulty composition," Bötticher claims that Parzival's conversion and regeneration being the purpose of the action, there is no even progress toward the consummation of that end. In order to understand the poet's intention, it will be necessary to put before our minds a clear picture of the two principal characters: the knight Parzival and his confessor Trevrizent. In the sixth book Parzival had reached the height of his fame. Victor in every warlike encounter, protector of offended womanhood, paragon of all knightly virtues, he was received into membership of the Round Table. But while King Arthur's most distinguished guest there came the killing frost. Cundrie declared him unworthy of association with Arthur's knights, because he had failed to ask the question which would have changed suffering to happiness at the Grail court. The curse of Cundrie affects Parzival deeply, and yet he cannot altogether blame himself. Has he not obeyed implicitly the teaching of the courtly Gurnemanz? An innocent man, he receives terrible punishment. The Divine Helper ought to protect his faithful vassals against such disgrace. Parzival has a sympathetic heart; he is moved to pity for the sufferings of Anfortas, which he might have relieved. He is also ambitious, and regrets the loss of the kingship of the Holy Grail. These two motives impel in him the desire to win back what he has lost, whatever sacrifices it may require. Anfortas will have cause to be thankful to him. As for the Helper who refuses help and allows the flower of knighthood, through no fault of his own, to become the scorn of his fellows, all bonds with Him shall henceforth be broken:

"wê waz ist got?
 wær der gewaldec, sölhen spot
 het er uns pēden niht gegeben,
 kunde got mit kreften lebn.
 ich was im diens undertān,
 sit ich genāden mich versan.
 nu wil i'm dienst widersagn:
 hāt er haz, den wil ich tragn."

—332, 1-8.

In this attitude of mind Parzival appears before Trevrizent—Trevrizent, once a fearless knight himself, now a hermit living in self-chastisement for the sins of his family and of the world, a trifle garrulous, the result of his years and wide experience, but of a broad and deep humanity that will understand and withal pardon the sins of the individual that are induced upon him by the lusts of the age.

As soon as Trevrizent discovers the pride and rebellion in Parzival's soul it becomes his object to prove to him that an individual may, in spite of the best of intentions to the contrary, offend against moral law; that he may even conform to the moral standards of his age, and still become guilty of transgressions against a higher law. Such, for instance, has been Parzival's life of adventure and battle, fully in accordance with the ambitions and standards of the age. Yet what misfortune did it bring to others—death to Ither, death to his mother, and murder unpunished, such as follows in the train of the modern duel! Yet worldly honor and human pride made Parzival blind to his fault. What method does Trevrizent employ to open his eyes? Does he explain to him from beginning to end the chapter of his sinfulness? Does he pronounce to him the infallible dogmas of the church? Some such method would have been preferred by Bötticher, for he misses "*eine gründliche Erörterung der Schuld.*" Trevrizent's method is this: He does not assume an air of superiority, but seeks Parzival's level, having explained that he too was once a knight wooing adventure and woman's love. He forces Parzival to realize to the fullest extent the evil consequences of his actions, not blaming him so much as the evil ambitions of the world. Parzival begins to see, himself, the shame and guilt of his mode of life, and, instead of being told, he himself tells wherein he has done wrong. There are two separate confessions of Parzival: the first, in which he explains his despair of divine help; and the second, in which he discloses that he visited the Holy Grail court; these are the climaxes (*Höhepunkte*) in the action of the ninth book. The process of extracting these confessions from the proud heart of Parzival in a manner most natural and lifelike serves to exalt the character of Trevrizent, and gives proof of the hand of a literary master.

The first confession is prepared for by about 150 lines, in which Trevrizent quickly gains Parzival's regard and gratitude through his courteous reception and kind provision for his personal wants. The hermitage and its shrine revive in Parzival the memory of his oath that re-established the conjugal happiness of Jeshuta and Orilus; the remembrance of a spear that he took away becomes the means of informing him how many years he had wandered about seeking conflict and despairing of God's help.

Sprach Parzivâl. "mirst freude ein troum :
ich trage der riwe swæren soum.
hêrre, ich tuon iu mâr noch kuont.
swâ kirchen ode mûnster stuont,
dâ man gotes êre sprach,
kein ouge mich dâ nie gesach
sît den selben zîten :
ichn suochte niht wan strîten.
ouch trage ich hazzes vil gein gote :"

—461, 1-9.

He then explains that hatred fully. Such passionate discords had never broken the stillness of the sanctuary. The host sighs and gazes at his guest. With calmness and dignity he explains to the knight the nature of God :

"sîn helfe ist immer unverzagt."—462, 10.
"got heizt und ist diu wârheit."—462, 25.
"irn megt im ab erzûrnen niht."—463, 1.

He speaks also in symbolical language, explains a parable, exalts Christian doctrines; to all of which Parzival listens attentively, and at last thanks the expounder :

"hêrre, ich bin des immer frô,
daz ir mich von dem bescheiden hât,
der nihtes ungelônnet lât,
der missewende noch der tugent."

—467, 12-15.

But he concludes his confession thus: "I have gained sorrow for fidelity in my young life up to this very day." Now the confessor is ready with questions to get to the root of Parzival's sorrow. The knight replies that there are two causes: (1) absence from his wife, and (2) longing for the Grail. Trevrizent praises

the knight for his devotion to his wife, but laughs at him for the second cause of his grief. Only the predestined can reach the Grail. "I know it and have seen it," says Trevrizent. With sudden interest Parzival asks: "Were you there?" He had almost forgotten himself and said: "Were you there *also*?" Trevrizent, not knowing what goes on in Parzival's mind, now gives a complete explanation of the mysteries of the Grail. The glories of the Grail inspire Parzival with even greater zeal for the quest. He makes a naïve protest against predestination: "If knighthood can achieve the body's renown and the soul's paradise, then I have not been lacking. If God is a judge of the art of combat, let him elect me, a knight who will not flinch" (472, 1-10). It is not strange that the confessor rebukes the self-conscious warrior for his pride, one of the seven deadly sins. Yet it is done in a kindly manner: "Your youth may easily mislead you into breaking modesty's virtue. Lucifer fell through pride, and so did Anfortas. Humility ever gained the victory over pride."

Now follows a passage, 473:4—475:12, in which Trevrizent rambles somewhat, a passage to which Bötticher particularly objects. If we examine closely, however, we can detect the poet's purpose. Up to this point Trevrizent does not know who the knight before him is. He would like to know; his personal interest in him has grown. Not wishing at once to ask the question, he beats about the bush, speaks first of an unnamed young knight, lacking in wit, who came to the Grail, presumably not the man before him; might he be Lâhelin, who robbed a Grail knight of a horse such as the guest rides? "Are you Lâhelin?" asks the hermit. Parzival's disclosure of his identity changes their whole relation. Before this the hermit has spoken to Parzival with sympathy and kindness, to be sure, but so would he have done to any stranger who appealed to him for confession. He has spoken to his unknown guest about the nature of God, about the mysteries of the Holy Grail, about the sin of pride. He has spoken earnestly, yet not without a certain courteous reserve. Now the fact is suddenly revealed that his sister's son stands before him. The barriers of reserve are broken down between them. There is a distinct advance in the action of the scene. Trevrizent's sympathy

yields to tender concern, his reserve leaves him, and he rouses Parzival's dormant conscience. He lays before him the enormity of his crime in killing Ither, the perfect knight and his own blood; furthermore, he charges him with causing the death of his mother, Herzeloide. "She could not endure the separation from him." One of the strong traits of Parzival is his love of his mother. The revelation staggers him. He did not know she was dead, he will not believe it.

"neinâ hêrre guoter,
waz sagt ir nu?" sprach Parzival.
"wær' ich dan hêrre übern grâl,
der möhte mich ergetzen niht
des mærs mir iwer munt vergiht.
bin ich iwer swester kint,
sô tuot als die mit triwen sint,
und sagt mir sunder wankes vār,
sint disiu maere beidiu wār?"

—476, 14-22.

The lordship of the Grail would not repay him for such a loss. Trevrizent will not conceal the truth from him: "Thou wert the dragon of her dream, that sucked at her breasts and speedily flew away."

Trevrizent now abruptly changes the subject of conversation; he speaks of his and Herzeloide's other relatives, Sigune, Repanse de Schoye, and finally Anfortas. Bötticher cannot understand the reason of this turn. It is done to relieve the awful tension of emotion produced in Parzival. What better could he do than speak of the living, when the dead cannot be restored to life?

Before his nephew Parzival, Trevrizent has no longer anything to conceal concerning Anfortas, whose history he now tells—his knightly achievements, then his fall, and now his sufferings. The latter are described with minute detail, as well as the remedies applied, exhausting the medical knowledge and fancies of the mediæval age. Trevrizent hopes to win Parzival's sympathy. Unwittingly he does much more. Parzival begins to realize the magnitude of his sin of omission. By a single question he might have done more for his suffering mother's brother than the prized adder's poison, the waters from the four rivers of Paradise, the

blood of the pelican, the heart of the unicorn. Trevrizent does not know that Parzival has been at the Grail court and is suffering under the curse of Cundrie. Not knowing what additional pain he is giving his hearer, he now relates the incident of the young knight, who, unnamed by the Grail, was predestined to appear at the court. If he would ask the fateful question, he should become king of the Grail, and the suffering of Anfortas should cease; if he would not ask the question the first night, its power should cease. No one durst prompt him what to do, under penalties of greater suffering to the king. The young fool had done better to have stayed away, says Trevrizent. He lost a great opportunity, and he was punished severely enough.

What a masterstroke of the literary art, to make the kind old hermit, *der guote man*, as he is so frequently called, as it were, an avenging spirit, scourging the open wound of his victim. If he had known what he was doing he would surely not have applied the lash so fiercely. The young knight, bereft of his wits, who had appeared at the Grail, stood before him, yet so overcome by shame and consciousness of his guilt that he could not find the courage to declare his identity. Both men were silent now; "sie bēde wārn mit herzen klage" (485, 1).

The host suggests going for food. It is near midday, and the horse must be cared for. The host provides good cheer with the frugal meal of fruits and herbs. This episode is thoroughly appreciated by Bötticher: "das erste für die Composition wertvolle Zwischenstück." One feels that the narrative has made a deep impression on Parzival. "Ein vorzügliches Stimmungsbild erschütterten Selbstbewusstseins, und eines sich entwickelnden herzlichen Vertrauens des Jüngeren zum Älteren."

After the meal and the near companionship that it has brought, Parzival musters courage for the confession that he could not utter before. He does it in manly fashion, without attempting to mitigate, without a vestige of that pride that once pleaded his innocence while making confession:

" herre und lieber oheim mîn,
ich hân sô sêre missetân,
welt ir mîchs engelten lân,

sô scheide ich von dem trôste
 unt bin der unerlôste
 immer mêr von riuwe.
 ir sult mit râtes triuwe
 klagen mine tumpheit.
 der ûf Munsalvæsche reit,
 unt der den rehten kumber sach,
 unt der deheine vrâge sprach,
 daz bin ich unsælec barn :
 sus hân ich, hêrre, missevarn."

—488, 4, 9-20.

This confession, the second which Parzival makes, is the one wrung deepest from his heart ; it is the one he would most willingly have concealed. It undoubtedly marks the highest point in the action of the book.

Trevrizent does not hide his surprise and sorrow ; but he will not refuse counsel. Parzival should in right measure sorrow and cease sorrowing. Mankind is queerly constituted. Oft youth pretends to be wise, and age practices folly. But if Parzival will be of manly heart and despair in God no more, he can yet reap a reward that will cause him to forget all his past trials. Of that Trevrizent will stand his surety. At this point Bötticher expects a thorough explanation of Parzival's guilt and a clear depiction of his regeneration, "eine gründliche Erörterung und Klarstellung der eigentlichen Schuld, sowie eine deutliche Entwicklung seiner inneren Wandlung." In answer to Bötticher's second consideration it can be maintained that the change has taken place step by step before our eyes. Should we in justice expect from the mediæval poet a naturalistic analysis such as would tickle the modern literary palate? Parzival has learned the lesson expressed in the words of the evangelist and repeated in the Lutheran service: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness" (1 John 1:8-10). Though never expressed in these words, Trevrizent has most forcibly impressed this doctrine on Parzival's mind and thereby brought about the knight's regeneration.

Bötticher's other point, his demand of a thorough ventilation

of Parzival's actual guilt, requires a somewhat longer treatment. In the first place, we must bear in mind that the poet's office is to construct living men, not abstractions nor embodied syllogisms. Let us return to the scene which the poet portrays, to the hermit and the knight. Trevrizent is in a peculiar position. The revelation that Parzival was the young knight who failed to ask the question came as suddenly upon him as the news of the death of his mother to Parzival. Trevrizent recalls instantly all that he has said about that unhappy mortal, how severely he has blamed him for his brutal stupidity, how he has magnified the sin. All at once the culprit stands before him. Shall he raise the scourge again? In the experience of man with man, of teacher and pupil, there is a point where punishment should cease if it be not meant to crush. Realizing the delicacy of his task of uplifting the remorseful yet high-spirited offender, the hermit has now mainly words of consolation and of hope. Presently his words wander off to other subjects. He talks of things that to us might seem trivial—not so, however, to the mediæval mind—about the mysterious influence of the stars—a hobby of Trevrizent; about the rites of the Grail court not before explained. By a question he induces Parzival to relate his experiences at the Grail castle. Trevrizent follows with the tale of his own life, which brings to him the red knight Ither, whom Parzival slew, and that reminds him again of Parzival's sins. The confessor names two great sins for which the knight shall make atonement: the killing of Ither, and the responsibility for the death of his mother. Why, asks Bötticher, does not Trevrizent name at once the third sin, which should be regarded as the greatest, viz.: the failure to ask the question at the Grail court? This third sin is named thirty-five lines farther on in the text and is ranked as the equal of the others. The following explanation can be offered: The first two are sins of commission, and therefore should be spoken of together; the last is one of omission. Trevrizent intends to name it, but thinks he can find another lurking sin of commission, theft of a Grail horse, possibly *rêroup*, robbery of a slain foe. But Parzival successfully defends himself against that charge. He himself provokes the naming of the third sin, by asking a question about the maidenly bearer of

the Grail. Says Trevrizent in reply: "The maid gave you the mantle for the same reason that Anfortas gave you a sword. She hoped you might become their king. But your mouth, capable enough of speech, refused to utter the question. Let this sin stand beside the others." Then Trevrizent closes abruptly with: "wir suln ouch tälanc ruowen gên," "Let us go to rest" (501, 6). That offends the scholar's sense of justice. All along he had been waiting in vain for the "gründliche Erörterung und Aufklärung der eigentlichen Schuld," and now Trevrizent is going to bed! The wise hermit judges that enough has been said, and he leaves time to do the rest: "sus was er dâ fünfzehen tage" (501, 11).

The question is interesting, Which of the sins of Parzival is the greatest? Trevrizent dwells longest on the killing of Ither, Parzival's blood-relation, the mourned of knights and ladies, and undoubtedly considers this first-named the greatest sin; for, while the omission of the question was a sinful act, a mitigating circumstance was Parzival's "tumpheit," "his senses refused their service;" and, moreover, had he not already suffered severely for it? Was it not a terrible thing to behold the greatest glory known to mortal man attainable and yet elude your grasp? To Parzival himself the death of his mother caused the greatest pain, since he was responsible; it seemed to him his greatest sin, and all the splendor of kingship of the Holy Grail could not reimburse him for his loss. To the reader undoubtedly Parzival's failure as regards the fateful question appears his greatest sin. Though young and trained in the inadequate school of worldly propriety, the hero should have possessed the initiative, the intelligent sympathy, to find the right course of action. We see that the relative importance of Parzival's sins depends entirely upon the point of view. Why should we object to the order in which Trevrizent names them? He is the speaker and gives his view of the case; his opinion need not influence the reader, nor is it necessarily the same as the opinion of Wolfram von Eschenbach.

We learn that Parzival remained in the hermitage thereafter for fifteen days. Herbs and roots were his food; but he gladly bore all the trials, because of the sweet peace that entered his heart through the host's pardon and his knightly counsel.

The close of the book meets the approval neither of Bötticher nor of Nolte. The latter says: "Auch der Schluss [beginning 499, 11] hätte straffer und kräftiger herausgearbeitet werden können." As long as we are not told how that might have been done, we shall have to confine ourselves to the poem as it exists. The close proper of the poem includes the lines 501, 19—502, 30 (forty-two lines). The attempt is made to produce a lifelike scene. We have just been told of the fifteen days of atonement. One day, the poet says, Parzival inquired about the aged Titurel, whom he had seen on his visit to the Gralsburg. It is an inquiry such that we may imagine many had gone before on various days, showing us that Parzival is no longer the self-centered individual that he once was, but that he has learned the habit of asking questions. The inquiry is answered, and we learn a moment later that this same day is the last which Parzival spends with the hermit. The parting is brief; a caution is given to protect women and the priesthood. The latter are to be his guides. Then the hermit spoke:

". gip mir dîn sünde her:
vor gote ich bin dîn wandels wer.
und leist als ich dir hân gesagt:
belip des willen unverzagt."
von ein ander schieden sie:
ob ir welt, sô prüevet wie.

—502, 25-30.

For what goes on in their hearts at parting the poet appeals to the imagination of the reader. The close is certainly not lacking in dignity, in taste, in suggestiveness, even in brevity.

Under the head of faulty composition may be included the criticism of Bötticher, that of the two themes—(1) Parzival's regeneration or return to faith, and (2) the mysteries of the Holy Grail—the latter, though the less important one, gradually assumes the more important place. Let us examine whether this be in accordance with the facts. By an actual count of the lines belonging to each theme, beginning where Bötticher begins his analysis, 452, 13, I get the following results:

	Theme.	Lines.	Lines.
1.	Parzival's return to faith (<i>Umkehr</i>) - - -		732
	Including: 456, 5—468, 22 - - -	378	
	471, 30—473, 4 - - -	34	
	474, 25—477, 30 - - -	96	
	485, 1—489, 21 - - -	141	
	499, 11—500, 22 - - -	42	
	501, 5—501, 18 - - -	14	
	502, 4—502, 30 - - -	27	
2.	The Grail mysteries - - -		627
	Including: 453, 11—455, 22 - - -	72	
	468, 23—471, 29 - - -	97	
	473, 5—474, 24 - - -	50	
	478, 1—483, 18 - - -	168	
	483, 19—484, 30 - - -	42	
	489, 22—495, 12 - - -	171	
	500, 23—501, 4 - - -	12	
	501, 19—502, 3 - - -	15	
	Belonging to neither theme—		
3.	Episodes - - -		158
	Introductory lines { 452, 13—453, 10 - - -	28	
	{ 455, 23—456, 4 - - -	12	
	Trevrizent's story 495, 13—499, 10 - - -	118	

From this table it appears that the number of lines devoted to the first theme exceeds by more than a hundred the number of the Grail theme. The lines of the latter, moreover, have been estimated very liberally. Some of them, e. g., 478, 1—483, 18 (168 lines), the description of the sufferings of Anfortas, and 483, 19—484, 30 (42 lines), Trevrizent's story of the useless visit at the Grail of the young knight without wit, belong just as much to the first or main theme, because their effect is to stir Parzival to sympathy and remorse, to lower his pride, and advance him toward regeneration. Another section, counted as a part of the Grail theme, 453, 11—455, 22 (72 lines), describes Wolfram's sources, Kyot, Flegetanis, etc., and has but very slight connection with the Grail. If these three sections were deducted, there would be left to the Grail theme but 345 lines, as compared with the 732 lines of the main theme.

Moreover, it is not in accordance with the facts to claim that

the Grail theme is gradually given more prominence until it overshadows the principal theme. This can be seen by consulting the numbers above. The last 228 lines of the ninth book consist first of Trevrizent's story concerning himself (118 lines). These, if classed with either, must go with the main theme, since the effect is to bring the knight and hermit closer together. The remaining lines are made up of 27 in all belonging to the Grail theme, and 83 to the main one.

As a distinct motif competing for supremacy with the other, the mystery of the Grail closes with line 471, 29, where the words occur:

hêr, sus stêt ez umben grâl.

It is the fulfilment of the promise in 452, 29, 30:

an dem ervert nu Parzivâl
diu verholnen mære umben grâl.

What follows about the Grail blends or unites with the main theme in bringing about Parzival's regeneration, as has been explained in the preceding pages. The second serious defect with which Bötticher charges the ninth book is what he would call: Incoherence, and disturbing interruptions in the train of thought. Illustrations of this are the following:

1. Reference to Kyot and other sources, 453, 1—455, 22. It must be remembered that the Middle High German court poets took pains to avoid the impression of originality. Herein Wolfram is true to existing traditions.

2. The genealogies mentioned in 455, 13 f., are characterized as "ein ungeschicktes Vorgreifen." Wolfram's purpose here seems to be to tell us that Kyot was the one who discovered the connection between the Grail kings and the house of Anjou.

3. The riddle of the virgin earth, and the added praise of virginity, 463, 24—464, 30. This should be regarded, not as a defect, but as a characteristic of Wolfram's style. Wolfram were not himself if he did not propose riddles or use symbols or phrases of hidden meaning. In the *Wartburgkrieg* he figures as past-master at riddles. Characteristic also is his mystic account of the neutral angels, 471, 15—30.

4. The passage, 473, 5—477, 30, has been treated above. Nolte shows that there is throughout a close association of ideas: "diese Gedanken sollen eben in ihrer psychologischen nicht logischen Verkettung die Ideenassociation darstellen, welche Trevrizent zu der in der Entwicklung des Gesprächs nunmehr notwendig gewordenen Frage führt: 'wer er sei.'"

5. Trevrizent's narrative of his own adventures, 495, 13—499, 10. Aside from the comments already made, it can be urged that these lines tend to complete our picture of the hermit, to individualize him; and that this is a worthy object, even if it be attended by a slight retardation in the progress of the main theme.

A third serious fault that Bötticher discovers in the ninth book is a lack of motivation. Alleged instances of this have already been noted above. Others are:

1. Parzival's inquiry, whether Trevrizent did not fear him as he appeared armed before the hermitage. (457, 22—24.) It occurs in the following way: Parzival, clad in full armor, had met a group of pilgrims, the gray knight and his followers, who were on their way to the hermit's hut. The gray knight rebuked Parzival for his martial array on the day of Christian mourning. Parzival had to be told, for he had lost all reckoning, that the present day was the most solemn church festival of the year, viz.: Good Friday. Parzival felt shame, and refused to accompany the train of pilgrims, accoutred as he was. Not long after he arrived before the hermit, and feeling how much his armor and warlike appearance were out of place, his question means: "Were you not frightened by my threatening aspect on a day when everyone else wears the garb of a pilgrim?" His appearance is quite as astonishing and lacking in civility as that of Orlando as he rushed with drawn sword upon the peaceful diners in the forest of Arden.¹

2. Bötticher objects to what seems a beginning of the story of Anfortas at various times, and an interruption without a reason that he can detect. An attempt has already been made above to explain this. The first mention has occurred 455, 13 f., where he is named to honor Kyot. The second time, 472, 21—30, Anfortas is held up to Parzival as an example of the ruin that

¹ *As You Like It*, Act II, scene 7.

comes from pride and arrogance. The last reference is the full account, after Trevrizent knows that the knight before him is his own nephew, from whom he need withhold nothing. (477, 19 f.)

In his school edition¹ Bötticher has omitted the first two references to Anfortas, viz., 455, 13 f., and 472, 21–30; but the editor and translator should not be taken to task for the number of his omissions, since he is producing an abridged *Parzival* for the use of the secondary schools. But he does not stop there; he occasionally adds a line as a connecting link, and rearranges sections according to his ideas of improvement of the original; for example on p. 197, where 499, 18–29 has been inserted after 476, 30. A justification for such highhanded censorship Bötticher thinks unnecessary. "Einer besonderen Rechtfertigung bedarf es hoffentlich nicht" ("Vorrede," p. vii.) Bötticher's version of the ninth book is undoubtedly a logical piece of composition, but the life of the original and the subtle play of emotion between hermit and knight are lost entirely.

The following analysis, suggested by similar outlines by Bötticher and Nolte, will recapitulate what has been said on the preceding pages. The section 433, 1—452, 13 has not been included in the earlier analyses just mentioned. It should be regarded nevertheless as the fitting prelude to the Trevrizent scenes. Both episodes included in the section—Sigune in the lonely forest cloister, and the Good Friday pilgrims led by the gray knight—strike the deep chord that vibrates throughout the whole of the ninth book. This portion of the epic resounds, not with the noisy din of battle or the merry thrill of festivity, but with the solemn note of worship, of remorse, and atonement. These episodes likewise yield a view of *Parzival's* state of mind before he comes to Trevrizent. In the first instance he is not greatly moved by Sigune's sorrow, he is too self-centered and thinks more of his own troubles:

"ich solte trûrn umb dine klage,
wan daz ich hœhern kumber trage
danne ie man getrûege.
mîn nôt ist zungefuege."

—442, 5–8.

¹*Parzival von Wolfram von Eschenbach*, in neuer Übertragung für alle Freunde deutscher Dichtung erläutert und zum Gebrauche an höheren Lehranstalten eingerichtet: von DR. GOTTHOLD BÖTTICHER (Berlin, 1885).

Again, when he gives his horse the reins to seek the way, in his proud heart he is giving the Lord one last chance to help him, 452, 1-12.

I proceed to an

ANALYSIS OF BOOK IX.

I. INTRODUCTION (433, 1-455, 22).

- 433, 1-434, 30. Parzival's adventures since leaving Arthur's court.
 435, 1-442, 26. Sigune in the forest cloister and Parzival.
 442, 27-451, 2. Meeting with the gray knight and his party.
 451, 3-455, 24. P. gives reins to his horse and goes in the direction of the hermitage. Digression concerning sources.

II. EXPOSITION OF CHARACTER OF HERMIT AND KNIGHT.

- 455, 25-460, 27. Arrival and reception of P.

III. RISE OF ACTION (460, 28-487, 30).

- 460, 28-461, 26. Stage 1: First confession of P.
 461, 27-467, 10. Stage 2: T. instructs P. in the nature of God.
 467, 11-468, 22. Stage 3: T. finds root of P.'s dissatisfaction; longing (1) for Grail, (2) for his wife. T.'s praise for (2) and ridicule of (1), since only predestined win Grail.
 468, 23-471, 29. Stage 4: Description of the Grail mysteries. (The Grail motif ends.)
 471, 30-473, 4. Stage 5: Parzival's presumptuous desire to be elected. T. on the dangers of pride. Examples.
 473, 5-474, 24. Stage 6: T. attempts to find out who the knight before him is.
 474, 25-484, 30. Stage 7: On discovery that P. is nephew of T., the relation changes. T. overthrows P.'s self-consciousness by direct appeal to his conscience. Charges him with murder (1) of Ither, (2) of his mother. Effect on P. T. speaks of the living, of the life and sufferings of Anfortas. Not knowing that P. has visited the Grail, T. speaks of the "tumber" who ruined his chance at the Grail. Silence of P.
 485, 1-487, 30. Stage 8: Frugal meal at the hermitage preparing P.'s second confession.

IV. CLIMAX.

488, 1—489, 21. P.'s second confession. T.'s consolation.

V. DECLINE OF ACTION, AND CLOSE (489, 22—502, 30).

489, 22—491, 18. Additional explanations: spear, knives, the fisherman. (Effect: to relieve P.'s suffering, and uplift him.)

491, 19—495, 12. P. tells his experiences at the Grail court, suggesting more questions to T.

495, 13—499, 10. T. tells the story of his life.

499, 11—501, 6. T. sums up P.'s sins.

501, 7—501, 18. Period of atonement, fifteen days.

501, 19—502, 30. Last day. P. continues to show interest, asking about Titurel. T.'s counsel to guard priests and women. T. absolves P. from his sins. The parting.

It appears from the foregoing that there are not only definite and continuous stages of progress in the action of the Trevrizent scenes, but that there is dramatic power in the method of construction. The conclusion is forced upon us that the ninth book of Wolfram's *Parzival* is a literary masterpiece, as much in composition as in thought and expression. Naturally, when viewing its symbolism and mysticism, we must be mindful of the taste and bias of the age in which the work was written. We should be as tolerant of the Grail lore and of mediæval superstition as we are of the phantasmagoria, the grotesque imagery and hocuspocus of Goethe's *Faust*.

If we compare Wolfram's ninth book with the only extant contemporary treatment of the same theme, that of Chrestien de Troyes, *Perceval le Gallois ou le Conte du Graal*, lines 7590—7892,¹ the Middle High German work cannot but rise mightily in our estimation. Chrestien gave to the subject of *Parzival*'s regeneration 302 lines; Wolfram, 2,100. But not alone in expansiveness or thoroughness did the latter exceed his contemporary. His portraiture compares with the French model as a life-like painting in color with an outline sketch in charcoal. The most important feature in which Wolfram gains the mastery over Chrestien is in his power of motivation, that is, his ability to assign motive for

¹ *Perceval le Gallois ou le Conte du Graal*. Publié d'après les manuscrits originaux par CH. POTVIN. (Mons, 1866.)

action, and his resourcefulness in preparing every stage of it. Exactly how much credit for this belongs to Wolfram and how much is attributable to his sources remains still a mooted question. It is beyond the purpose of this paper to enter into the intricate, yet fascinating maze of the Kyot discussion, which is not without present-day champions.¹ The question may never be satisfactorily settled. But whoever wrote the epic, whether Wolfram with Chrestien alone as his model, or whether Wolfram-Kyot, in which Kyot represents the model or models which Wolfram followed very closely, the fact remains that these joint labors have produced what Alfred Nutt² has aptly called "the most interesting individual work of modern European literature prior to the *Divina Commedia*;" a literary masterpiece, moreover, which, when measured by the standards of the age in which it was written, even when measured by absolute standards, takes very high rank in the world's literature. Concerning the appreciation of this mediæval edifice, in which the ninth book from my subjective view-point appears the keystone of the arch, the same oft-quoted maxim holds which Goethe applied to all literary criticism:

Wer den Dichter will verstehen
Muss in Dichters Lande gehen.

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¹ E. g., WESSELOFSKY, *Die Erzählungen von Babilon, der Stiftshütte, und dem hl. Gral.* (Petersburg, 1896.) Cf. S. SINGER, "Über die Quellen von Wolframs Parzival," *Zeitschr. f. d. Altertum*, Vol. XLIV, pp. 321-42; JULIUS LICHTENSTEIN, "Zur Parzivalfrage," *PBB.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 1-93.

² ALFRED NUTT, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, (London, 1888), p. 248.

NOTE ON ALBRUNA.

AT chap. 8 of the *Germania*, where Tacitus is speaking of the gods of the Germans, the MSS read *Aurinia*, *Albrima*, and *Albrinia*. On purely philological grounds W. Wackernagel, in the *Schweizer. Mus. f. hist. Wissensch.*, Vol. I, p. 109, proposed the reading *Albruna* from O. H. G. *alb* and *rûna*, a reading which has been adopted by all later editors of the *Germania*. It may be of some interest to know that the new Toledo MS of this work of Tacitus actually gives as a variant this true Teutonic form, and thus establishes the correctness of Wackernagel's conjecture. The same MS is also remarkably correct in reproducing, in the body of the text or on the margin, other Teutonic words, where all, or almost all, the other leading MSS are in error. Cases in point are *Hercynio* 30, *Semnonēs* 39, *Langobardi* 40, *Suardones* 40, and *Helisios* 43.

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LANCE SUR FAUTRE.

IN a note by Professor W. H. Brown, entitled "Fewter," in Vol. XVI, No. 8, of the *Modern Language Notes*, the author asked for the exact meaning of Middle English *fewter*, equal to Old French *fautre*. I have collected some facts on *fautre* which may help to a better understanding of that word.

Old French *fautre*, sometimes written *faultre*, *faltre*, *fatre*, *feutre*, *feltre*, modern French *feutre*, comes from Germanic *filt* (German *Filz*), and means in the first place *felt*, or *something made of felt*.¹ But its most frequent occurrence in Old English is in the phrase *lance sur fautre*, by which is denoted a certain movement or position of the lance in combat. An exact explanation of *fautre* in regard to this usage is what Professor Brown especially asks for in the note in question. He is inclined to accept a definition given by Godefroy, s. v. *fautre* 2: "arrêt fixé au plastron de fer pour recevoir le bois de la lance lorsqu'on chargeait à cheval;" but this definition is in contradiction with another remark in the same dictionary, s. v. *afeutrer*, *afautrer*: "afeutrer la lance, l'appuyer sur la partie feutrée de la selle, la mettre en arrêt." Bonnard and Salmon in their abridged edition of Godefroy's dictionary explain *fautre*: "garniture de feutre placée sur l'arçon de devant, et qui servait à appuyer la lance lorsqu'on chargeait;" and they keep the above-mentioned definition of *afeutrer*. This definition of *fautre* agrees better with the etymological meaning of the word. Besides, a lance-rest fixed on the armor of the knight to support the shaft of the lance was impossible, as long as the knights wore only mailcoats; the breastplate on which the lance-rest was fastened did not come into use before the fourteenth century.

Léon Gautier² refers to the different ways in which the lance was carried, and says that during the march and before the

¹ Cf. GODEFROY, *Lexique de l'ancien français*, s. v. *fautre* 3; SCHULTZ, *Höfisches Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger*, Vol. II, p. 498; also H. HAVARD, *Dictionnaire de l'ameublement et de la décoration*, tome II, p. 707, s. v. *feutrer*.

² *La chevalerie*, 3d ed., p. 713, note.

combat the knight held the lance vertically, resting it either on the stirrup or on the felt lining of the saddle. At the beginning of the duel or the battle the lances were lowered. But in a note to p. 730 he expresses his doubts as to the exact meaning of *fautre* and its use in connection with the lance. Schultz, *l. c.*, in note to p. 287, says: "Man stützte die Lanze auf den Sattelknopf, der um ein festeres Lager zu gewähren mit Filz beschlagen war." Schultz refers to a passage in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parcival*:¹

dô sazte er die glaevîn
vorn tîf des satels vilzelin.

Grimm's dictionary, s. v. *Filzlein*, refers to the same passage, bringing it in connection with *Filzsattel* or *Sattel mit Filzbesatz*. Schultz further cites a number of passages from Old French with *fautre* or verbs derived from *fautre*, which illustrate his remark. The quotation from Wolfram von Eschenbach is probably the only instance where *vilzelin* is used in that sense, but the following Old French passages seem to correspond closely to it in meaning.

Si gentil homme
S'esmeuvent, tuit chieres levees,
Lances a arçons afeutrees,
Pour plus dures coles rendre.²

and

Cascuns ot sa lance apoie
Devant son arçon sor le fautre.³

Schultz⁴ reports that a cover of felt was laid upon the saddle to make the seat softer; and a letter recently received from the Germanisches Museum in Nürnberg says that every saddle in the museum is lined with felt. In this letter the fact is also mentioned that the part of the lance held by the knight was covered with felt. Victor Gay⁵ also refers to a felt trimming of the lance which he believes to be identical with the Old French *fautre*. He says:⁶ "Le fautre, fatre ou feutre des XII^e et XIII^e siècles

¹ Ed. BARTSCH, Part II, p. 219.

² G. GUIAET, *Roy. Lign.*; see GODEFROY, s. v. *afeutrer*.

³ *Perceval*, 3838, 3839.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 493.

⁵ In his *Glossaire archéologique du moyen âge et de la renaissance* (Paris, 1887).

⁶ Tome I, p. 694.

est proprement une couverture, une garniture de laine feutrée fixée à la partie de la lance qui s'insérerait sous le bras du cavalier au moment d'une charge et empêchait la hampe de glisser par l'effet du choc." I think this explanation would be in contradiction to the above-mentioned passages from Wolfram von Eschenbach, Guiart, and *Perceval*, which leave no doubt that only the felt on the saddle can be understood in *lance sur fautre*.

If we accept that *lance sur fautre* means the lance resting on the felt of the saddle, there is still to be decided in which way it rested upon it. The explanations given by Bonnard-Salmon and Schultz seem to indicate that they understand *lance sur fautre* as referring to the horizontal position of the lance during the attack. The quotations from Old French given by Godefroy and Schultz in reference to this expression, and the reference to Wolfram von Eschenbach, describe the attitude of a knight previous to or during the attack. Pictures in manuscripts which show attacking knights of the eleventh and twelfth century demonstrate that the lance was held either vertically, with the butt resting on the saddle, or horizontally under the pit of the arm and high above the saddle. Now, if *lance sur fautre* means the lance in horizontal position resting on the felt covering of the saddle, it is impossible that the expression could refer to the position of the lance in attack. In that case the head of the horse would be in the way, and the lance would have to lie diagonally, with the butt standing out on the right side of the horse and the point on the left side of the horse's head, which is, of course, an impossible position.

The correct meaning of this expression is given by De Reiffenberg in his edition of Philip Mousket's *Chronique rimée* (Brussels, 1838). In his note to vs. 14650 (tome II, p. 95) he adopts the meaning *lance haute* for it, and refers to a passage from Wace which illustrates his explanation :

E Galerant sa gent conduit,
Lances leues uinent tuit.
Quant pres furent d'itel endroit,
Com hom pierre ieter porreit,
Laschent les regnes si s'eslaissent,

Lieuent escuz et lances beissent,
 Sur le conrei Neel turnerent,
 Granz colps e granz buz lur dunerent;¹

That the lances could not have been held horizontally when *sur fautre* appears also from the following passage :

Lors i ot très grant tençon
 Que li Normant à esliçon
 Le conte Herluin tuèrent
 Et XII contes ki là èrent
 Avec le roi et tout li autre
 S'enfuirent lance sour fautre.²

It would be absurd to think that the knights fled holding their lances horizontally. The same is true for a description of a procession of knights who ride two and two to a tournament :

Il s'atirierent belement
 -Ij- et -ij-, tuit li -j- lez l'autre,
 La lance painte sor le fautre.³

Méliador, after having broken two lances, takes a new one which his *escuier* was bringing *sus fautre* :

Son escuier a moult quoitie
 Et dist : "Vieng avant, si me baille
 Ce tierch plançon. Il fault sans faille
 Qu'il s'acquitte mieulz que li autre."
 Et cilz, qui le portoit sus fautre,
 Li a errant ens ou poing mis.⁴

The lance brought to Méliador by his squire can only refer to its vertical position because there was no occasion for the squire to be ready to attack personally.

Not only the *lances* are *sur fautre*, but also the *espées*, which can, of course, only apply to a vertical position with the handles resting on the saddle :

Sept menieres sont de batailles :
 L'une si est per comançailles
 Teles quant ensoignes, bannieres
 Et janz de trestotes menieres

¹ *Roman de Rou*, ed. ANDRESEN, vss. 1541-48.

² *Ibid.*, vss. 14645-50.

³ *Le Roman de la rose ou de Guillaume de Dole*, ed. SERVOIS, vss. 2463-65.

⁴ JEAN FROISSART, *Méliador*, ed. A. LONGNON, vss. 11204-9.

S'urtent et d'une part et d'autre
 Chascuns s'espee ou lance en fautre
 A ost quarrey et a fronc large,
 Ausi con li fol et li saige
 Toz jors l'ont costumey a faire
 Et fait l'on encor sanz retraire.¹

It would be impossible to imagine a troop of knights forming a square and holding their lances otherwise than vertical.

Another passage referring to *espees sus les fautes* is :

Agamenor, qui les estas
 D'armes savoit mieulz que nulz aultres,
 Voit que les espées sur les fautes
 Si doi adversaire portoient,
 Et grandement se deportoient
 En leur bonne chevalerie.²

E. Gachet in his glossary to the *Chevalier au Cygne* and *Godefroid de Bouillon* (Brussels, 1854) comes to the same conclusion, without mentioning De Reiffenberg's previous explanation. He cites the following passage from the *Roman de Renart* :³

Primes i cort, ainz que li autre,
 Lance levee sor le fautre,
 Roonel, le chien dant Frobert,
 Et Espillart, le chien Robert.

He thinks the knights carried the lances high when ready for battle, and did not lower them until near the enemy. Gachet asks where the lances were before they were put *sur fautre*. The answer that he gives is that they were carried by the squire of the knight shortly before the combat. This conjecture is supported by the passage from *Méliador* cited above and by a quotation from *L'Escoufle*.⁴

Li quens s'atorne et apareille
 Por avoir la premiere jousté,
 Et ses vallès lés lui s'ajouste
 Ki li met en la main la lance.

¹ JEAN PRIORAT, *Li Abrejeance de l'Ordre de Chevalerie*, ed. ULYSSE ROBERT, vss. 7199-208.

² JEAN FROISSART, *Méliador*, ed. AUG. LONGNON, vss. 22001-6.

³ Ed. MARTIN, *Vg*, vss. 1185-88.

⁴ Ed. H. MICHELAUT AND P. MEYER, vss. 1178-81.

The expression *lance sur fautre* was also used in a metaphoric sense meaning "promptly," "without delay."¹ Froissart uses that phrase in the following passages:

Di moi quel part s'en sont alé
Ceuls qui n'ont chanté ne parlé,
Mes sont partis lance sus fautre
Tout ensamble, l'un avec l'autre,²

Et me delivra, à Ferrare,
Sire Tiercelés de la Bare
A son commant, lance sus fautre
Quarante ducas l'un sur l'autre.³

Et en après, pour recincier
Le doulc air qui venoit sus fautre,
Il rendoit à la fois un aultre
Qu'on recoeilloit par grant solas.⁴

Godefroy's wrong explanation of *fautre* (s. v. *fautre*) may have been caused by a confusion of *fautre* and *faucre*, though only the former of the two is found in Old French. Victor Gay⁵ states that since the publication of P. Borel's *Trésor des antiquités Gauloises et Françaises* (Paris, 1655) a wrong reading of *fautre* by that author has put *faucre* into circulation. *Faucre*, which is probably a recent variant of *fautre* through association with Latin *fulcrum*, is the name given to the lance-rest affixed to the right side of the breastplate in order to support the lance.⁶ This lance-rest appears first as a simple hook in the latter half of the fourteenth century, but subsequently becomes a more elaborate contrivance. A detailed description of this lance-rest is given by J. Rob. Planché, *A Cyclopidia of Costumes*.⁷ P. Borel in his above-mentioned book explains, "Faucre—c'est l'arrest de la lance," and adds two quotations from *Perceval*:

Et met la lance el faucure et point.
Escu au col, lance sor faucure.

¹ Cf. *Oeuvres de Froissart*, ed. KERVIN, glossary to Vol. III, p. 354.

² "Le Dit don Florin," *Poésies*, Vol. II, p. 254.

³ "Le joli buisson de Jonece," *ibid.*, p. 11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 694.

⁶ Cf. also LITTRÉ, s. v.

⁷ London, 1876, Vol. I, p. 337.

The correct reading, of course, is *fautre*. Mistakes of this kind where *faucre* is the result of inaccurate reading in place of *fautre* may have inaugurated the confusion between *fautre* and *faucre*. Also Littré explains *faucre* as being the lance-rest on the knight's breastplate. If the iron hook upon which the lance rested was really called *faucre* (Godefroy does not mention the word in his dictionary), then it surely had nothing to do with the *fautre* of the previous centuries.

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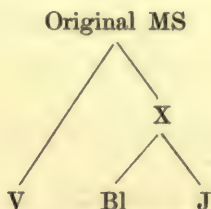
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NOTES ON THE BLICKLING HOMILIES.

I. ST. MARTIN.¹

IN addition to the Blickling MS the Life of St. Martin is contained in two other MSS, both unprinted: (1) MS Junius 86, foll. 62–81 (=J), and (2) the Vercelli MS, foll. 95–101 (=V). A comparison of these with Bl enables us to correct the text in a number of passages, and the object of the following notes is to make these corrections. The source of the Homily is, as M. Förster pointed out,² the *Vita S. Martini* of Sulpicius Severus (ed. Halm, in the *Corpus script. eccles.*, Vol. I, p. 109), and for the last portion, the death of the saint, Sulpicius's *Epistula tertia* (*ibid.*, p. 147). The English version is very much shortened and the translation is free, so that only in comparatively few cases does the Latin original afford help in the correction of the English rendering.

The relationship of the three English MSS may be represented by the following diagram, which does not indicate possible intermediate links:



As was pointed out by Hardy,³ the three MSS evidently fall into two groups, the first comprising Bl and J, which are derived from a common source X, and the other consisting of the single MS V. That Bl and J form a narrower group is shown by the passage missing in Bl and J, but preserved in V (No. 32, below),

¹ *The Blickling Homilies*, ed. R. MORRIS, pp. 211 ff.

² *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, Vol. XCI, p. 200. F. also discusses four passages of the Homily, viz., 215:22, 221:26, 227:10, 227:20. The Latin original is quoted as L.

³ A. K. HARDY, *Die Sprache der Blickling Homilien* (Leipzig, 1899), pp. 116 ff.

as well as by a number of passages in which Bl and J have a wrong reading in common where V reads correctly. These are Nos. 4, 7, 14, 26, 31, and 36.

That, on the other hand, X is not derived from V is shown by numerous errors in the latter, where Bl and J both have the correct reading. The following instances will suffice:

211:24, 25. *ah he sona þonne þa*] *ac he wæs on Godes þeowdome mycle swiðor & lufode þonne þa* V.

213:24. *forylde*] *forgulde* V.

213:27, 28. *Martinus man*] *M. dyde. He sona in cnihthade gedyde þeah þara godra dæda ma wære þonne hit ænig man* V; etc.

That J is not derived from Bl is proved by Nos. 2, 3, 6, 11, 15, 20, 21, 24, 34, 38, 39. Nor, on the other hand, is Bl derived from J, as shown by the numerous errors of the latter:

211:22. *cininges ðegna*, omitted J.

213:12. *geferum*] *gerefum* J.

215:13. *mare* Bl, *má* V, *mete* J.

217:17. *dagas*] *gær* J. L has *triduum*; etc.

The following are the emended passages:

1. 211:14. After *weorðiað* add & *mærsiað* J, V.
2. 211:23. Read *Iuliani* J, or *-nus* V. L has *sub Iuliano caesare*.
3. 211:26. For *þreas* read *dreamas*, as in J. V has *þa dreamas & þa welan*.
4. 211:28, 29. For *þæt se æresta gecyrred*, with which J substantially agrees, read with V *þæt bið sio onginnes & se æresta dæl þære halgan fulwihte*. L has nothing corresponding. Martin was as yet only a catechumen, the *fulwiht* (*baptismum*) did not follow till he was eighteen years old; cf. 215:34-36, 213:3 (see below, No. 6), also 213:14-16, and 215:22. The preliminary ceremony (*cristnung*) is here described as the first part of the *fulwiht*.
5. 211:30. For *wuldorlice* (om. in J) read *wundorlice* with V. L has *mirum in modum*.

6. 213:3. For *fewer* read *preo* with J, V.¹ L has *triennium fere ante baptismum in armis fuit*.
- 7.² 213:4. For *wæpnum* (in both Bl and J) read *synnum* with V. L has *integer tamen ab iis vitiis*.
8. 213:7. For *wærnesse* (Bl, J) read *swetnesse* V? L has *caritas*.
9. 213:34. For & *ælmessan* read *on æl.* with J, V.
10. 213:35. For *nænigre* read *ænige* with J, V.
11. 215:3. After *naht elles* add *næfde* J, or *hæfde* V. Zupitza,³ who had not access to J or V, suggested adding *nāhte* before *naht*.
12. 215:4. For *healf* read *eall* with J, V. In Bl *eal* was originally written.
13. 215:20, 21. Read *Ða geseah he mycele mengeo engla emb Drihten standende* (or *standan*?) & *ða gehyrde he hine, Drihten sylfne, mid switolre stefne to ðæm englum cweðendne* (or *cweðan*?). The readings of J and V are: *Ða geseah he mycele mænigo ængla ymbe hine Drihten stāndan & ða gehýrde he Drihten sēlfne mid swa cuðre stēfne & to þan ænglum cwæð* J, & *þa ges. he m. engla weorod ymbe þane Dr. standende, & þa geh. hine Dr. eac mid switolre st. to englum cweðan* V. L has *Mox ad angelorum circumstantium multitudinem audit Iesum clara uoce dicentem*.
14. 215:21–23. *Martinus . . . gegyredet*. L has *Martinus adhuc catechumenus hac me ueste contexit*. The readings of J, V are: *M. nu ðu eart gecristnod ær his fulwihte mid ðisum hrægle ðu me gegyredet* J, *M. nu iu cwæð þus gecristnod ær his fulwihte he mid þysse hrægle me gegyrede* V. The reading of V is obviously the best. I should, however, propose to delete the *cwæð þus*.
15. 215:25. Delete *ge cwædon*, which is wanting in J, V.
16. 217:9. *geornful & be gewyrhtum ymb(e) Drihtnes lāre* Bl, J. Morris renders it by “diligent in his works concerning the Lord’s lore,” thus ignoring the &. Instead of *be gew.* we should expect an adjective. V reads *geornful &*

¹ Already noted by HARDY, p. 118.² Already noted by HARDY, p. 117.³ *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, Vol. XXVI, p. 218.

biwyrde in *Dr. l.* Had the original some compound of *-wyrde* meaning "eloquent"? An adjective *biwyrde* is improbable.

17. 217:21. Read *stodan, þa*.¹ Cf. *unrôte wæran ymbe þæt lic ða J, unr. leton ymbe þæt lic & hie utan stodon þa V.*
18. 217:26. For *inbeleac* read *beleac*, as in J, V.
19. 217:27 For *deadan* read *aswoltenan*. Cf. *aswóltonan J, aswoltenes V*.²
20. 217:29. For *unsorh* read *unforht*, as in J. Cf. *unforhtlice V, intrepidus L*.²
21. 219:32. For *næfde* read *næfre*,¹ as in J. The passage is wanting in V.
22. 219:33. J has the better reading & *ealle men ða ðe feor ge néah ðyses éadigan weres lif cuðan oððe gehýrdan*. Wanting in V.
23. 221:14. For *þæm gelicost swylce* read *on ða geltcnesse swa* with J. V has *in þam gelicnesse swa*.
24. 221:28. For *heora geatwum* read *heregeatwum*, as in J, V.
25. 221:33. For *eal* read *á* as in J, V.
26. 223:12. For the *mægene* of Bl and J the original probably had *eges**an*, as in V. L has *diuino metu*.
27. 223:21. Before *fylðon* add *bræcon &*, as in J, V.
28. 223:32. After *fordemde* add *ne ne witnode*, as in V. J has *ne he wite ne nam*.
29. 223:36. Read *aht elles of his muðe* with J, V.
30. 225:1. Read *ne aht elles on his heortan*, with J, V.
31. 225:4. For the *rihte* of Bl and J read *ætrihte*, as in V. Cf. *dixitque fratribus dissolutionem sui corporis imminere, L*.
32. 225:9 After *ferde* the following passage, which is wanting both in Bl and J, occurs in V. As a corresponding passage is found in the Latin,³ there can be no doubt that this formed part of the OE. original. *Ða cwomon hie to sumre ea, þa gesawon hie welfeala þara fugela þe we scealfras nemnaþ, & hie ða fixas up tugon of þære ea, & þeah þe*

¹ Already suggested by ZUPITZA, p. 219.

² Already noted by HARDY, p. 118.

³ L, p. 147, §§ 8, 9.

heora hwylc þone fisc forswulge, þonne wæs he eft swa gifre swa he ær wæs, þæt he oðerne gename. Ða cwæð Sēs Martinus, "Hwæt, þas wiht habbað deofla onlicnesse, swa se¹ deofol á sætaþ hwær he mæge unware men beswican, & he næfre to þæs feala berædeð þæt he æfre ful sie." Ða bebed Sēs Martinus þam fugelum þæt hie þanon fram þam wætere gewiten & on westen & drige² land sohton. & efne on þa gelicnesse swa he þone deoful of stowa gehwylcere gestymde þær he þonne wæs, swa ða fugelas sona ealle ȝtsomme onweg gewiton, þæt heora nan ætstod furðum³ behindan. & hie þæt wundredon þe þæt gesawon & his feras wæron, þæt ða fugelas sylfe eac Sēe Martine gehyrdon.

33. 225:14. For *wæron* unrote read *weopon hie ealle sona* with V. J has *wéopan hie sóna ealle*.
34. 225:17. For *arisende* read *risende* "rapacious" with J. Cf. L, *lupi rapaces*. V has *rixende*.
35. 225:18. Read & *todr*. with J, V.
36. 225:21, 22. Ða he *geseah*. V has here preserved the best reading *ða he ða heora spræce þyllice gehyrde & he hie ealle wepende geseah*. J has *ða he ða ðás word gespræc & ðis gehyrde & he ealle wépende geseah*.
37. 225:26. For *nedþ-* read *ðearflic* with J, V.
38. 225:28. Before *ge þæt he leng supply ge þæt he ða broðor* (*gebroðran* J) *forlete*, as in J, V.
39. 225:29. For *þone gesawe* read *ða ne gesawe* "should not see it," as in J, V. After *gesawe* a piece is missing in V.
40. 225:34. For *for þinre campunga* read *for ðe campige* with J. Cf. L *militabo*.
41. 225:36. For *ðeah* read *ði*, "therefore," as in J.
42. 227:10. J as well as Bl has *earan*, but we must no doubt alter to *hæran*, as suggested by M. Förster, p. 201.
43. 227:20. J reads *respicere*; cf. Zupitza, p. 219, and M. Förster, p. 201.

¹ MS *þe*.² MS *ðrige*.³ MS *furðum*.

⁴ Fol. 100b of V ends with *gesawe*, and fol. 101 begins with *heofonlican* (see below, No. 44, note 4). The missing passage corresponds in length to about two pages of the Vercelli MS, so that no doubt a leaf has been lost between fols. 100 and 101.

44. 227:25. The remainder of the homily, which is wanting in Bl, is contained in J, and the last portion also in V. It runs in J: *Hwæt stāndest ðu, wælgrim wildeor? Nāfast ðu mēde aht æt me, ac me scyl Abrahāmes bēarm, þæt is seo ēce rést, onfón.*" *Ða he ða ðis cwæð, ða wearð his & wita swa bliðelic, & his mōd swa gefēonde, þæt hie ēfne méahtan on ðan gære ongytan þæt he gástlicne geféan geseah, & þæt hine hēofonlic werod gefétode. & he ða swa gefeonde ðas sarrhican¹ ofo² gelet, & hine ða ūre Dri³ to his ðam hēofonlican⁴ rice nam. Hwæt, wé nu gehérad hu⁵ eaðmodlice⁶ ðes éadiga wer⁷ his lif for Gode gelyfode ða hwile ðe he her on wuolde wæs, & hu fæger⁸ edlean he⁹ æt urum Drihtne onfēng; & nu á ða hwile ðe ðeos wūrold stāndeð his god¹⁰ mæn¹¹ mærsiað geond éalne ðisne¹² middangéard on Godes cyricean; & hé nu mid eallum halgum to¹³ wídan fēore on heofena rice for Drihtnes onsyne¹⁴ gefehð & blissað. Ac utan¹⁵ tyligan þæt¹⁶ we ðyses éadigan weres lif & his dæda onhyrgan ðæs ðe ūre gemét sige; & utan hine biddan ðæt he us sige¹⁷ on heofonum ðingere wið ūrne Drihten, nu we her on éorðan his¹⁸ gemynd wyrðiað. To¹⁹ ðan ūs gefúlltumige ure Drihten, se leofað & ricsað a²⁰ butan ánde, Amen.*

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¹ A portion of the parchment has crumbled away here.

² So MS. Read *hōfo?*

³ The edge has crumbled away. Read *drihten*.

⁴ V begins again here. I give the variants other than those of spelling.

⁵ Before *hu* V has *M̄ = Men þa leofestan*.

⁶ *haliglice* V.

⁷ *wer Sēs Martinus* V.

⁸ *fægerum edleanum* V.

⁹ *he þæs* V.

¹⁰ *gōð* V.

¹¹ *man mærsað* V.

¹² *ðisne* om. V.

¹³ *á* to V.

¹⁴ *onsyne* V, in J only *ne* is left.

¹⁵ *utan we la* V.

¹⁶ *M̄ þæt we þæs halgan w. Sēs Martinus* V.

¹⁷ *Sige* is guessed from the *sie* in V. It has been inked over by a later hand to *site*, and the original letters cannot be made out.

¹⁸ *his gem.*] *hine geond middangéard* V.

¹⁹ *Dr. us to þam gef. se ðe* V.

²⁰ *áð in eallra worulda woruld a* V.

NOTES ON THE "POEMA DEL CID"

IN FURTHER PROOF OF ITS SPANISH NATIONALITY.

THE conclusions of Milá y Fontanals in his *De la poesia heroico-popular castellana*, somewhat hesitating though they be, are undoubtedly correct, so far as our present knowledge permits us to judge of the influence of the French epic upon heroic-popular poetry in Spain. That some such influence existed there can be no doubt. It is all a question of degree. Milá was rightly concerned to indicate the fallacy of the wholesale conclusions drawn by Damas-Hinard, who edited the *Poema del Cid* with a French translation in 1858. It is the delight of this French editor to point out in his copious notes the resemblance, or at times the absolute identity, which exists between certain passages of the Spanish poem and the *Chanson de Roland*. The day of international jealousies in literary disputes had not yet passed. Indeed, it is not difficult for one more versed than Damas-Hinard in the abundant epic texts which have been published in France since the latter's day, to approach the *Poema del Cid* with a marked prejudice in favor of French influence upon the Spanish poem. The fact that the literary intercourse between southern France and Castille *via* Catalonia was close makes it easy for one to go too far in crediting the Spanish *joglars* with no epic originality. Milá did not refuse, nor should we refuse, to admit that the currency of French epic poems dealing with Charlemagne should have inspired a similar composition in Castilian upon a Spanish heroic-popular subject. We can see no reason for holding that epic poetry as a genre developed in Spain independent of all French influence. The very scarceness of any epic poems preserved in Spanish from a period when a similarly constituted feudal society in France was celebrating its local heroes in heroic epic songs, seems to betray the absence of the epic tendency in Spain. But even this admission made, we are very far from holding that the *Poema del Cid* is a base imitation of a French *chanson de geste*. The *Poema del Cid* in spirit is as

national a poem as one could wish. The form and some of the conventional features of the French songs have, insensibly perhaps, been utilized by the composer of the *Poema del Cid*. But beneath throbs the pulse of the Spaniard—his ideals, his sentiments, his practices, both private and public. Dozy¹ has pointed out that the Spanish poem, unlike the *Chanson de Roland*, is inspired by no great ideal, either religious or patriotic. What Damas-Hinard does not seem to have realized is that, in its material spirit of self-aggrandizement, the *Poema* is rather to be compared with certain poems of the French feudal cycle, wherein the reality of the strenuous warrior's life is narrated without the inspiring presence of a great ideal. Let us see now where this comparison holds and where it breaks down.

Having admitted, then, the existence of points of resemblance which show the *Poema del Cid* to be related to the French epic, we may note the features in the former which support the parallel. It will be seen that they are of paltry weight compared with the points of divergence to be noted later.²

1. The enemies of the Christians are the Moors, who, though superior in numbers, are always defeated.

2. The Cid and his men are especially protected by God (1094), the angel Gabriel once appearing to the Cid in a dream (406).

3. The hero's plans are blocked by "traitors," over whom, however, the hero finally triumphs.

4. The Cid's horse, Baviaca, and his two swords, Colada and Tizon, are frequently mentioned by name.

5. The true warrior's virtues are bravery, faith in God, generosity, and loyalty to the king.

6. The king, Alfonso, occupies a comparatively inconspicuous position, like that of Charlemagne in the French poems.

7. Jherónimo, the fighting bishop, is almost the exact prototype of Turpin in the *Roland*.

8. The religious and feudal practices of the warriors are described in detail.

9. The long prayer of the Cid's wife (330-65).

¹*Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne au moyen âge*, 2d ed., 2 vols., Leyde, 1860.

²The references are to the edition of the *Poema del Cid* by MENÉNDEZ PIDAL.

10. The "gabs" of the Cid and the Moorish king, Bucar, before their battle (2409-17).

11. Occasional verses of description of combats (765-67, 2421-24).

Some of these points of resemblance have been drawn out by Damas-Hinard as proof of his theory. But if we examine them, we notice, as Milá has pointed out, that there is hardly one which cannot be explained without impairing the essential originality of the *Poema*. The religious beliefs, the feudal practices, the hostility of the Moors (at least in tradition) were common to western Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. From a social milieu which was so similar as that then existing in France and in Spain there was bound to come a popular poetry which should bear many of the same traits. Yet Spain was far from being France, and our Spanish *cantar de gesta* is very far from being a made-over French *chanson de geste*. Here we have noted some of the more essential differences which lie hid in the very marrow of the *Poema*.

1. The war against the Moors is no longer one dictated by lofty and disinterested religious motives, but avowedly by the love of plunder. It is not a question of how many infidels were converted, but of how much booty was taken (473 f., 548, 617, 688, 794 f., 1016, 1149, 1233 f., 1733 f., 1772 f., 2493 f.).

2. The distribution of this booty, of which one-fifth is reserved for the Cid himself (in accordance with the *Siete Partidas*, as Damas-Hinard points out), is an important consideration (510 f., 804 f., 1216 f., 1780 f., 2489).

3. Substantial gifts are made to the king (815-18, 1270-74, 1813, 1814, 2144-46).

4. The battle scenes are not developed, but are dismissed with a few words, indicating plainly a lack of interest in such details (765-67, 2421-25). In only one passage (3623-92), describing the terrible judicial combat at the end of the poem between six champions, are there the familiar details of head-breaking upon which the French *jongleur* so tenderly lingered.

5. A material, bourgeois spirit is evidenced in the episodes with the Jewish money-lenders (106-200, 1431-38), in the aspirations

of the Cid for worldly favor which run all through the poem, and in his relations with the women of his family. As Dozy calls him, the Cid is an excellent *père de famille*, but hardly anything more heroic. There is no romance, but a natural family relation existing between the Cid and the women of his family, who, as Damas-Hinard remarks, are not yet entirely emancipated by chivalry (264 f., 368-75, 1594-1609, 1641, 1655, 1757-70, 2003-8, 2592-2608, 2889-95).

6. The occasional intimacy which must have existed between Moors and Christians at a time when Spain was divided between them is shown by the friendship of the Cid, who was a good deal of a freebooter after all, with the Moorish chief Avengaluon (1464, 2636, 2658, 2881).

7. The detailed geographical information is peculiar to the Spanish poem. As is the case with the wanderings of Don Quixote, so with those of the Cid every action is accompanied by accurate topographical details.

8. The saints invoked are for the most part Spanish saints, as will be shown later.

9. The ceremony of the betrothal in the presence of the king by the interchange of swords between the Cid and the two Infantes (2093), the lavish festivities of the wedding, which lasted a fortnight (2251), the summoning of all his vassals by Alfonso that they should assemble in "cortes" at Toledo to judge the suit of the Cid against the Infantes de Carrión (2961-84)—all these episodes bear the unmistakable stamp of nationality and of historic reality.

10. The importance of water to troops in a thirsty land is evidenced more than once (526, 555, 661, 667). Such a difficulty could hardly have been appreciated in France.

The points just enumerated include the essential lines of divergence followed by the *Poema del Cid*, viewed as an expression of Spanish nationality. Anyone familiar with the tone and execution of the French *chansons de geste* can follow out the study for himself. It has seemed worth while, however, to glance at the language of the poem for further proof of what already seems a certain fact. If the Spanish composer of the *Poema del*

Cid had consciously copied anywhere, he would have borrowed rhyme-tags, conventional epic epithets, *chevilles*, set phrases which required but a turn of the hand to be set down in Spanish. It will be noticed, however, how rarely we have any Old French equivalent for the epithets or the turns of phrase which occur most frequently in the *Poema del Cid*. The great majority of the latter bear the seal of nationality. I believe the figures given below are correct, so far as several careful readings of the text can make them. Where the word or phrase in question has been met but rarely the verses are noted.

In a poem of 3,735 verses we have the following epithets applied to the hero: *Cid*, 77 times; *myo Cid*, 334; *Campeador*, 155; *Cid Campeador*, 26; *el que en buen ora nasco*, 65; *el que en buen ora çinxo espada*, 13; *el de Bibar*, 19. Reference is made to the *barba*, usually of the *Cid*, 23 times, which proves that the beard in Spain was held in higher honor by the native warrior than was even the *barbe fleurie* of Charlemagne by his people.

The terms applied to God and the saints are very varied and show a considerable divergence from the French terminology. Of course, the following occur most often in invocations:

Dios, 91 times; *señor Dios*, 1 (2524); *el señor que es en çielo*, 1 (1094); *padre santo*, 2 (1047, 2274); *padre spirital*, 5 (300, 372, 1102, 1633, 1651); *señor padre*, 1 (8); *señor spirital*, 1 (343); *el (padre) que esta en alto*, 5 (8, 330, 792, 2342, 2456); *Criador*, 75; *el señor del mundo*, 4 (2477, 2493, 2684, 2830); *Christus*, 5 (1933, 2074, 2477, 2830, 3727); *Jhesu Christo*, 1 (1624); *Padre Criador*, 1 (2626); *Rey del çielo*, 1 (3714); *Santa Maria (madre)*, 8; *san Pedro*, 1 (363); *santi Yague*, 3 (731, 1138, 1690); *sant Esidro*, 5 (1342, 1867, 3028, 3140, 3509); *todos los santos*, 6.

There are three expressions of time which are full of color:

1. *Los gallos cantan*, referring to the hours just before daybreak, 6 times (169, 209, 235, 316, 324, 1701).

2. *El dia es passado y entrada es la noche*, or its complement, *Passada es la noche, venida es la mañana*, occurs in various forms 8 times.

3. *De dia y de noche* (in various forms), 15 times.

Add to these the following:

1. *Una grand ora pensso y comidio*, or, *Una grand ora callo y comidio*, applied to the deliberation before action of the king or *Cid*, 4 times (1889, 1932, 2828, 2953).

2. *Pienssan de cavalgar*, or, *Pienssan de andar*, meaning the preparation to start off on horseback, 20 times.

3. *Sueltan las riendas y pienssan de aguijar*, in various forms, meaning "they loose the bridles and put spurs to their steeds," 3 times (10, 227, 391).

The figurative language is represented by:

1. *Myo diestro braço*, 3 (753, 810, 3063).

2. *Cuemo la uña de la carne*, indicating close relationship, 2 (375, 2642).

3. *Lengua sin manos*, 1 (3328).

4. *Boca sin verdad*, 1 (3362).

5. *Linpia cristiandad*, 1 (1116).

6. *Mar salada*, 1 (1090).

7. *Blanco como el sol*, 4 (2333, 3074, 3087, 3493).

Rich with the flavor of the Spanish tongue are:

1. *Albricias*, that is, "the request of a reward when presenting good news," 1 (14).

2. *Besar las manos*, 52.

3. *Besar los pies*, 4 (1844, 2028, 2935, 2937).

4. *Vivir muchos años*, 1 (1760).

5. *Vivir muchos días*, 1 (934).

6. *Moros y Christianos*, 10.

7. *Oro y plata*, 10.

8. *No lo preçio un figo*, or, *un dinero malo*, as applied to something of little worth, 4 (77, 165, 503, 1042).

It is strange that there should be but three examples of a proverb or popular saying, for as such the following must be regarded:

1. *Qui a buen señor sirve, siempre bive en deliçio*; i. e.: "he who serves a good master always lives well" (850).

2. *Non duerme sin sospecha qui aver trae monedado*; i. e.: "he who carries money rests uneasily" (126).

3. *Qui en un lugar mora siempre, lo so puede menguar*; i. e.: "his possessions grow less who always stays in one place" (948).

All these indicate a distinctly material frame of mind in which the eye is singly fixed on the main chance.

Under the category of *chevilles* we have first the following expressions of willingness or heartiness:

1. *de alma y de coraçon*, 9.

2. *de amor y de grado*, 2 (1139, 2234).

3. *de coraçon y de alma*, 1 (2395).
4. *de amor y de voluntad*, 1 (1692).
5. *de voluntad y de grado*, 3 (149, 1005, 1056).
6. *de cuer y de voluntad*, 1 (226).

Then follows a long list of occasional epithets, some of which occur many times, to which perhaps it is not necessary to refer by verse. That prominent character Martin Antolinez is again and again referred to as: *Burgales conplido*, *Burgales contado*, *Burgales leal*, *Burgales natural*, *Burgales de pro*. The archbishop also has significant epithets: *coronado leal*, *coronado mejor*, *christiano del Criador*, *caboso coronado*; while a still greater variety of epithets express the warlike prowess of the Cid and his followers: *el caboso*, *ardida lança*, *barba tan complida*, *caballero de pro*, *caboso Campeador*, *Campeador contado*, *caballero lidiador*, *lidiador conplido*, *caballero de prestar*, *el mio fiel vassalo*. The king Alfonso and the Cid are variously addressed as:

1. Alfonso $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} \text{so} \\ \text{myo} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ *señor*, 3 (2024, 2036, 2044).
2. *Myo natural señor*, 1 (2031).
3. *Rey natural*, 1 (2131).
4. *Señor tan ondrado*, 2 (2142, 2295).

It only remains to add that the connection between the narrator and his audience seems very much closer than in most of the French *chansons*. I have counted in the *Poema del Cid* no less than twenty-two direct appeals or lyric exclamations coming from the *joglar* and showing his subjective share in the story he was telling.

It is believed that the internal evidence above offered from the poem itself may lend new support to the theory of Milá y Fontanals in favor of the intrinsic nationality of the *Poema del Cid*.

WILLIAM WISTAR COMFORT.

HAVERFORD COLLEGE,
January 1903.

THE DATES OF CHAUCER'S *TROILUS* AND *CRISEYDE* AND LEGEND OF GOOD WOMEN.

IN regard to the date of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* there has been among scholars a rather striking unanimity; 1378 and 1383 have been deemed by almost everyone the extreme limits. The following table will conveniently indicate the prevailing opinions:

Shortly before 1384—ten Brink (*Studien*, 1870, pp. 123, 124, 172).¹

?1382? finished—Furnivall (*Trial Forewords*, 1871, p. 24).

1380–81—Koch (*Chronology*, 1890, p. 79).

1380–83—Pollard (*Chaucer Primer*, 1893, p. 58).

Probably about 1380–82—Skeat (*Oxford Chaucer*, 1894, Vol. II, p. xlix).

After 1378; before 1381—Mather (*Chaucer's Prologue, etc.*, 1899, pp. xv, xvii).

But everyone must acknowledge that the evidence hitherto adduced on the subject is vaguer and weaker than that as to the date of almost any other of Chaucer's important works.

The points worthy of mention are six:

Dr. John Koch² suggests that the epithet "moral" applied to Gower in Book V, 1856, implies a reference to either the *Speculum Meditantis* (*Mirour de l'Omme*, written about 1376–79³) or the *Vox Clamantis* (after 1381⁴). But since this very passage shows that the poets were already on terms of familiarity, the allusion may quite as well be to Gower's personal qualities and conversational habits.

Secondly, ll. 1807–27 of Book V of the *Troilus* are believed by ten Brink to have been derived from a stanzaic *Palamon and Arcite*, suppressed by Chaucer, and therefore to indicate that the *Troilus* followed that unhappy poem.⁵ But even if we believe

¹ In his *Geschichte der englischen Litteratur* he does not commit himself as to the date, but discusses the poem between the *Parliament of Fowls* and the *House of Fame* (see Vol. II, pp. 89–99).

² *Chronology of Chaucer's Writings*, p. 36.

³ G. C. MACAULAY, *Complete Works of John Gower*, 1899, Vol. I, p. xliii.

⁴ *Id.*, Vol. IV, p. xxx.

⁵ *Studien*, p. 117.

such to have been the history of this passage, it cannot be used as evidence in this connection; for, as Koch¹ admits, it did not occur in the first version of the *Troilus*.

Thirdly, ten Brink,² followed more or less by Dr. Koch,³ Professor Pollard,⁴ and Professor Skeat,⁵ tries to show that the *Troilus* only shortly preceded the *House of Fame*; his arguments are two sets of parallel passages (*Troilus*, V, 358-85, and *House of Fame*, 2-55; I, 15-21, 512-18; II, 15-21, and *House of Fame*, 639, 640),⁶ and the supposition that the word "comédie" refers to the *House of Fame* in the well-known passage at the end of the *Troilus* (V, 1786-88):

Go, litel book, go litel myn tregedie,
Ther god thy maker yet, er that he dye,
So sende might to make in som comedie!

The words "tregedie" and "comédie" ten Brink assumes to be used in Dante's sense, and points out resemblances between the *Divine Comedy* and the *House of Fame*. As to the parallel passages, their fewness and commonplaceness allows them little or no evidential value. That the word "comédie" indicates a prevision of the *House of Fame* is not impossible, it is true; but it must be remembered that Dante's conception of comedy and tragedy is definitely set forth only in the tenth of his epistles (to Can Grande della Scala), which Chaucer is unlikely ever to have seen, and that the reference to a "comédie" may be naturally explained as a quite general aspiration after a cheery subject, in contrast to the woeful tale just finished.⁷ It must be remembered, also, that the grounds on which rests the currently received date of the *House of Fame* are, to say the least, precarious.

Fourthly, ten Brink⁸ believes that no long time elapsed between the writing of the *Troilus* and that of the *Legend of Good Women*. He remarks that in both Chaucer tries to shuffle off the responsibility for defaming Criseyde;⁹ and he suggests that

¹ *Chronology*, pp. 35, 36.

² *Studien*, pp. 120-22.

³ *Chronology*, p. 39.

⁴ *Chaucer Primer*, p. 83.

⁵ *Oxford Chaucer*, Vol. III, p. xi.

⁶ On dreams, and on Chaucer's own ill-fortune in love; in the latter connection ten Brink strangely refers also to II, 897-903.

⁷ As Professor Kittredge has pointed out to me.

⁸ *Studien*, pp. 118-20.

⁹ *Troilus*, II, 8-21; IV, 15-21; *Legend*, B 369-72 (A 349-52).

the occasion for the writing of the *Legend* may have been a recent revival by the *Troilus* of the ill-repute which Chaucer had long before earned by his translation of the *Romance of the Rose*. He even believes that Chaucer was meditating the *Legend* before he had finished the *Troilus*, and adduces two references to Alcestis in the earlier poem—V, 1527, and especially the lines (V, 1777, 1778):

And gladlier I wol wryten, if you leste,
Penelopees trouthe and good Alceste.

Of these three points there is certainly little or no weight in the first two; though the last is more striking, especially in connection with Chaucer's desire to produce "som comedye," it is far from carrying the conviction that he actually did write a cheerful poem about Alcestis shortly after writing the *Troilus*.

None of the arguments thus far considered can fairly be said to weaken a positive piece of evidence that the *Troilus* was written earlier than the earliest of the current dates. But two other arguments for a late date remain to be noticed.

The *Troilus* unquestionably belongs within Chaucer's so-called Italian period; this has usually been agreed¹ to date from his first journey to Italy, in 1373, but rather recently more than one attempt has been made to throw doubt on this date for its beginning. Mr. A. W. Pollard² suggests rather 1379, after Chaucer's second journey to Italy, mainly on the ground that the generally accepted chronology assigns the works which show Italian influence to a period later than this; he suggests further that, though during his first visit Chaucer may have learned to read a little Italian, he is less likely to have brought back Italian books than Latin, and that he was probably too poor to buy many of either. Dr. F. J. Mather in an important series of articles supports the same opinion. In a letter to the *Nation*³ he shows by a then unpublished account of Chaucer's expenses that the first journey lasted but 174 days (December 1, 1372, to May 23, 1373),⁴

¹ Since TEN BRINK's *Studien* appeared (cf. p. 39 of that work).

² *Academy*, Vol. XLII, p. 194; cf. *Globe Chaucer*, p. xxii. KOCH, in his review of the latter, strongly dissents (*Englische Studien*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 1-4).

³ October 8, 1896 (Vol. LXIII, p. 269).

⁴ These dates, for Chaucer's accounts, however, not for his journey, had already been given by SKEAT, in 1894; cf. *Oxford Chaucer*, Vol. I, p. xxiv, note.

instead of nearly a year, as had previously been supposed; and maintains that his actual stay in Italy, deducting the time necessary for the journeys to and from England, must have lasted something short of two months, which was further broken in upon by an expedition from Genoa to Florence. This, he thinks, reduces the time available for the king's business and Chaucer's own pleasure to little more than a month. He concludes that "it is of course possible that, in a visit of less than eight weeks, during which time he was engaged 'in secretis negociis Regis,' he might have received the impulse that appears in his works only after the lapse of seven years and an intervening visit to Italy—it is possible, but it is also wholly improbable;"¹ that the interim was probably occupied by business and reading, and that the period 1369–79 was mostly lost to literary production. In *Modern Language Notes*,² shortly after, Dr. Mather published the document referred to, and repeated his arguments; in a note later in the same volume,³ it is true, he admits that he may have insisted too strongly on this contraction of the Italian period, but he still believes it to be justified.

To disregard for the moment the empirical argument, there are other grounds for doubting these conclusions. To begin with, if the first journey to Italy lasted only 174 days, the second lasted only 115⁴—it was shorter by almost two months; if Chaucer's first stay in Italy was too short to set him to studying its literature, how about the second? This suggests a second objection. Dr. Mather seems to allow far too much time for the journeys across the continent; it will suffice to say that, if two months⁵ were needed each way, on his second journey Chaucer never got

¹ DR. MATHER remarks that by previous scholars "the lack of any works showing Italian influence and written shortly after the first Italian journey, was made good by assigning *ad hoc* certain of the *Canterbury Tales* to this period."

² Vol. XI, coll. 419–25. The document has since been printed again in *Life Records of Chaucer*, pp. 183, 184 (Chaucer Society, 1900).

³ Coll. 510, 511.

⁴ May 28 to September 19, 1378. So SKEAT, Vol. I, p. xxxii; and MATHER himself, *Chaucer's Prologue, etc.*, p. vi. POLLARD seems to prolong the journey till early in 1379 (*Chaucer Primer*, p. 14), but the document on which he bases his opinion does not seem to bear the interpretation he places on it (*Life Records*, p. 221). For the document giving the duration of the second journey see *Life Records*, pp. 213, 219.

⁵ *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XI, coll. 423, 424, and note.

to Milan at all. Therefore Chaucer probably had two and a half or three months in Italy the first time. Again, the possibility must be kept in mind that Professor Lounsbury¹ is right in suggesting that Chaucer was sent to Italy the first time because he already knew something of the language. It may be noted, too, that the third in Chaucer's party was "Johannes de Mari, a Genoese citizen,"² from whom a lively-minded man of thirty-two would have had every opportunity on so long a journey to learn something of the language of the country to which he was going. In a two or three months' stay, with his ready command of French and Latin and his keenness of intellect, Chaucer certainly could have gained some ability both to speak and to read Italian,³ if he cared to do so; and he is likely to have learned by hearsay enough of the great Trecentisti to have cared very much. Again, if he carried back manuscripts with him, there is no question that he could have found plenty of people in London to help him read them—at court, as Mr. Lounsbury suggests, or among Italian merchants, with whom he must have had to do at the custom-house. All this presupposes enthusiasm; but why not? Another objection to Dr. Mather's view is that it makes the blossoming of Chaucer's sweet new style amazingly sudden; his "six marvellous years," from 1379 to 1385, according to the current chronology are a little too marvelous for Dr. Mather's theory. And finally it would require very strong evidence to prove that Chaucer produced hardly a line⁴ between the ages of thirty and forty, and nearly thirty thousand between forty and sixty. On the whole, therefore, it is moderate to say that there is nothing against putting an Italianate poem before the second Italian journey. If we can find real reason for doing so, we may even make Chaucer chronology more rational.

The last argument for a late date that need be noticed is one which has been little dwelt on but which has probably had great influence—the length, excellence, and maturity of the *Troilus*; it

¹ *Chaucer's Parliament of Fowls* (Boston, 1877), p. 7.

² MATHER, *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XI, col. 422, note; cf. *Life Records*, pp. 181, 182.

³ So KOCH, *Englische Studien*, Vol. XXVII, p. 2.

⁴ KOCH makes a similar objection (*id.*, p. 4). I do not forget that there was a somewhat similar lacuna in the poetic activity of Milton, Crabbe, and other poets.

seems difficult to believe that it was finished within three or four years of Chaucer's first visit to Italy and his first acquaintance with the works of Boccaccio. Certain considerations will perhaps weaken the force of this objection. Three or four years would be amply sufficient for the conception, meditation, planning, and execution of such a work; what a man can do at forty he can do at thirty-five or so; we must not suppose that in 1369, when Chaucer wrote the *Book of the Duchess*, he was as immature a man as he was an artist, nor forget that under a keen stimulus the artist may have rapidly overtaken the man. Moreover, though this matter cannot be completely treated here, the insight and beauty of the *Troilus* does not conceal serious faults in its execution; it can hardly be denied that as a narrative the poem is much below most of the *Canterbury Tales*. But, with all deductions, this a priori argument against an early date for the *Troilus* must remain, not only weightier than any of the other arguments, but one which can be counterbalanced only by a strong piece of unequivocal evidence.

In Gower's *Mirour de l'Omme*,¹ Sompnolent, one of the children of Sloth, is bored by church-going; he does not think of his prayers,

ainz bass la teste
Mettra tout suef sur l'eschamelle,
Et dort, et songe en sa cervelle
Qu'il est au bout de la tonelle.
U qu'il oït chanter,² la geste
De Troilus et de la belle
Creseide, et ensi se concelle
A dieu d'y faire sa requeste.

The reference here, it can hardly be doubted, is to Chaucer's poem.³ In the first place, it is the only work known in the fourteenth century, I believe, except the *Filostrato*,⁴ in which the

¹ Ed. G. C. MACAULAY (Oxford, 1899); ll. 5245-56.

² Cf. *Troilus*, V, 1797: "red wher-so thou be, or elles songe" (pointed out to me by Mr. Kittredge).

³ This fact is pointed out by DR. GEORGE L. HAMILTON, who draws no conclusion, however, as to the date of the *Troilus*; see his *Chaucer's Indebtedness to Guido* (New York, 1903), p. 136, note.

⁴ The French prose romance of *Troilus and Briseida*, a translation of the *Filostrato*, was written at the very end of the fourteenth or early in the fifteenth century. See MOLAND

story of Troilus forms anything but an episode; and obviously the reference cannot be to the *Filostrato*. Secondly, it is the only English work before the end of the century which treats the story at all; the vogue of the story in England is due to Chaucer. Gower's reference has little point, unless it is to a well-known poem of considerable length on the subject of Troilus and Criseyde only; and the poem is most probably in English, for though Gower's poem is in French, he had England chiefly in mind. It may be urged that Chaucer's poem is hardly likely to have been popular among the class to which Sompnolent seems to belong; but Gower was not too good an artist to stretch probability in order to refer to a poem just written by his friend. Another indication that Chaucer's poem is meant is the fact that Gower spells the heroine's name with a *C*, though it is *Griseida* in Boccaccio and *Briseida* (or *Briseide*) in Benoît de S. Maur and Guido delle Colonne. It is true that continental documents occasionally have the form with a *C*, but such documents are mostly late.¹ We may conclude, then, that the probabilities are overwhelmingly in favor of the view that Gower is referring to Chaucer's poem.

The important question which remains, as to the date of the *Mirour*, has been answered by Mr. Macaulay with considerable exactness.² The poem contains no reference to the peasant rising of 1381, which produced so powerful an effect on Gower's mind; hence it was almost certainly finished before that time. Lines 2142-48 must have been written before June, 1377, when Edward III died, for they mention the rebellion of France against him

ET D'HÉRICault, *Nouvelles françaises du 14^e siècle*, p. ci. The only pre-Chaucerian reference to Troilus which I have found outside the works which tell his story is in FROISSART'S *Paradys d'Amour*, where he is mentioned among many other romantic lovers. See W. A. NEILSON, *Origins and Sources of the "Court of Love"* ("Harvard Studies and Notes"), Vol. VI, p. 79.

¹ E. g., old printed editions of the *Filostrato* (W. HERTZBERG, *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, Vol. VI, p. 197). Perhaps by the influence of MSS of this poem, the name appears with a *G* or a *C* in some fifteenth century MSS of Guido; *C* also appears in Armannino's ante-Boccaccian and quite different version of the story of Troilus, and in some MSS of the late French prose romance already mentioned (see MOLAND ET D'HÉRICault, p. cxxxv). Cf. H. MORF, *Romania*, Vol. XXI, p. 101, and HAMILTON, work cited, pp. 134, 135. It is worth noting that only forms with a *B* occur in the "*Geste Hystoriale*" of the *Destruction of Troy* (ed. PANTON and DONALDSON, *E. E. T. S.*, 1869; cf. ll. 8029-38-68, etc.), translated, of course, from Guido; it refers to CHAUCER'S *Troilus* (see 8053, 8054), and contains the second English account of Troilus.

² Pp. xlii f.

who received the right to the French throne from his mother¹—which could not be said of Richard II. The same is probably true as to the date of ll. 22804–12 and their context, which treat at great length of royalty; no reference is made to a child-king (as in the *Vox Clamantis*), and the allusions to the misgovernment at the end of Edward III's reign, and in particular to the influence of Alice Perrers, are almost unmistakable.² So early a passage as that which mentions the *Troilus*, ll. 5245–56, can hardly have been written later than 1376. Therefore, unless it can be proved either that Gower's reference is not to Chaucer's poem, or that this portion of the *Mirour* was written later than is supposed,³ we must accept 1376 as the latest possible date for Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*.⁴

II.

The question as to the date of the *Legend of Good Women* has always been seen to be more or less closely connected with the reference in the prologue to the queen (B 496, 497):

And whan this book is maad, yive hit the quene
On my behalfe, at Eltham, or at Shene.

1⁴ "Ce duissent savoir cils du France
Que dieus hiet la desobeissance,
De ce q'encontre leur liganee
Chascun par guerre se defent
De faire hommage et obeissance
A celluy qui de sa nescance
Le droit depar sa mere prent."

2⁴ "Ore voit om Roy tous ceaux haïr
Qui voir dient, mais qui blandir
Luy vuillont, cils serront manant.
Voir dist qui dist femme est puissant,
Et ce voit om du maintenant:
Dieus pense de les maïs guarir,
Q'as toutes loys est descordant,
Qe femme en terre soit regnant
Et Rois soubgit pour luy servir."

³ The allusion in ll. 13817–40 to the Great Schism, which began in 1378, must be regarded as a later addition, which, as Mr. Macaulay suggests, it has rather the appearance of being.

⁴ There is some confirmation for an early date in the fact that Lydgate more clearly indicates the earliness of the *Troilus* than that of any other of Chaucer's works, even the *Ceyx and Aleyone*. In the *Troy Book* he mentions the poem as one "which he made longe or that he deyde" (see ROSSETTI'S *Troilus and Criseyde and the Filostrato*, Chaucer Society, Introd., p. x, l. 15); and in the *Falls of Princes* he mentions the work as having been written "in youthe" and "long or that he [ye] deyde" (see *Chaucer's Works*, ed. RICHARD MORRIS [London, 1891], Vol. I, p. 79). If there is anything in the suggestion, first made by

Tyrwhitt¹ pointed out that we must therefore date the poem not earlier than 1382, when Richard II married Anne of Bohemia. But the more exact date which has since been universally accepted was proposed by ten Brink² in 1870. First he identifies the queen with Alcestis; then, "in Alcestens auftrag," he says,³ "gibt Chaucer die legende zu schreiben vor; er schrieb sie aber im auftrag der königin." "Eine königin," he continues, "gibt einen derartigen auftrag nicht, ohne eine andere gunst-bezeigung damit zu verbinden;"⁴ in the *House of Fame* (641-60), which he places shortly before the *Legend*, he finds a complaint over want of consideration and especially of leisure, therefore "die königin konnte Chaucer kein willkommneres zeichen ihrer gunst schenken, in ihm den dichter nicht besser ehren, als indem sie ihm die ersehnte musse verschaffte."⁵ That she actually did this he thinks is indicated by Alcestis's command that so long as he lives Chaucer shall spend the greater part of his time on a glorious legend, a charge which obviously implies some leisure; therefore we may suppose that the permission, granted February 17, 1385, to exercise through a deputy his comptroller-ship of customs and subsidies was gained by the mediation of the queen, and that the *Legend of Good Women* was produced during the years 1385-86. This view has been accepted, though sometimes with hesitation, by everybody (I believe) who has expressed himself in print on the subject; by Dr. Furnivall⁶ (doubtfully) in 1871, by Dr. Koch⁷ in 1890, by Professor Skeat⁸ in 1894 and earlier, by Dr. F. J. Mather⁹ in 1899 (doubtfully),

Tyrwhitt, that Chaucer constantly confused Boccaccio and Petrarch (cf. *Monk's Tale*, B 3515, 3516, and HAMILTON, *op. cit.*, p. 146, note), and by "Lollius" meant the latter, we may conjecture that the reverential way in which he refers to Petrarch in the *Clerk's* and *Monk's Tales* indicates that he had learned more of Petrarch's reputation on his second visit to Italy; and that his suppression of his Italian authority in the *Troilus* indicates that the poem was written before that visit.

¹ *Canterbury Tales*, (ed. 1830), Vol. I, p. elxi, note.

² *Chaucer-Studien*, pp. 147-50; his conclusion is repeated, more positively, in his *Geschichte der englischen Litteratur* (1893), Vol. II, pp. 111, 112.

³ P. 147.

⁴ P. 148.

⁵ P. 149.

⁶ *Trial Forewords* (Chaucer Society), p. 25 (at least he accepts the date).

⁷ *Chronology of Chaucer's Writings* (Chaucer Society), pp. 44, 45.

⁸ *Oxford Chaucer*, Vol. III, p. xix.

⁹ *The Prologue, etc.* (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1899), p. xxiii.

and by Professor Pollard¹ in 1901. In one of the last articles he ever wrote,² ten Brink kept this date for the first version of the prologue and for the legends.

Considering the ingenuity here shown and the lack of further light on the date of the poem, it is perhaps not surprising that the theory has found such favor. But, with all respect for the scholar who originated it and for those who have passed it on, I shall try to show, not only that it has no sufficient basis, but also that it is opposed by a new and almost decisive piece of evidence.

In the first place, almost every step in ten Brink's reasoning is a step in the dark; hardly one of his arguments carries conviction, though each is essential; the whole forms a pleasant fancy, which should exercise no compulsion over the intellect. We are by no means justified in inferring from the command of Alcesteis—though we may agree that at least in version B of the prologue she is to be identified with the queen—that the latter had charged Chaucer to write the poem; this would be to force a by no means perfectly consistent allegory. Again, complimentary poems addressed to the powerful are quite as apt to express prophetic as retrospective gratitude. Worst of all, ten Brink does great violence to the passage in the *House of Fame*. Jupiter takes very kindly, according to the eagle, Chaucer's disinterested celebration of Love:

Joves halt hit greet humblesse
And vertu eek, that thou wolt make
A-night ful ofte thyn heed to ake,
In thy studie so thou wrytest,
And ever-mo of love endytest.

* * * * *

Wherfor, as I seyde, y-wis,
Jupiter considereth this,
And also, beau sir, other thinges;
That is, that thou hast no tydinges
Of Love's folk, if they be glade,
Ne of noght elles that god made;
And noght only fro fer contree
That ther no tyding comth to thee,
But of thy verray neyghebores,

¹ *The Globe Chaucer*, p. xlv; cf. *Chaucer Primer* (1893), pp. 95, 96.

² *Englische Studien*, Vol. XVII, p. 19.

That dwellen almost at thy dores,
 Thou herest neither that ne this;
 For whan thy labour doon al is,
 And hast y-maad thy rekeninges,
 In stede of reste and newe thinges,
 Thou gost hoom to thy hous anoon;
 And, also domb as any stoon,
 Thou sittest at another boke,
 Til fully daswed is thy loke,
 And livest thus as an hermyte,
 Although thyn abstinence is lyte.¹

The eagle therefore does not commiserate Chaucer on his custom-house labors and Chaucer gives no hint that they were particularly irksome. What the eagle does is to banter him on his book-worm habits at home, which are dwelt on almost as much in the *Legend of Good Women*.² It must not be forgotten that all this part of the *House of Fame* is in very light vein, and may well be full of irony and exaggeration. Ten Brink's final step is hardly less questionable; Alcestis's charge that Chaucer shall spend the greater part of his time on the *Legend* is natural enough in any case at the beginning of a long series of poems; we do not know what new duties may have been assigned to him at the time when he was allowed the deputy, and at best ten Brink's deduction is a little forced. All this will perhaps suffice to show that the connection between the *Legend of Good Women* and the official relief of 1385 is very fanciful inference; it will be completely disposed of if we can show that the queen had nothing to do with the permission to appoint a deputy.

In the *Life-Records of Chaucer*, the publication of which by the Chaucer Society was completed in 1900, is printed³ from the Chancery Warrants a petition on this subject, with the date (supplied by the editor) February, 1385, and the encouraging caption "Le Roy lad grante." The petition runs as follows:

Plese a nostre sieur le Roy granter a Geffroy Chaucer, qil puisse avoir suffisant deutee en loffice de Comptrolour a le Wolkee de Londres, tiel pur qi le dit Geffray voet respounder, durant le terme qe le dit Geffray soit Comptrolour de la Custume nostre dit Sieur en le Port suisdict. Oxen.²*

¹ Ll. 630-34; 641-60.

² Cf. ll. 29-39.

³ P. 251. The editor of this part of the work is R. E. G. KIRK, Esq.

In a note the editor states the last word to be the "signature of the ninth Earl of Oxford, with an asterisk. He appears also to have written the words 'Le Roy lad grante,' at the head. Selby refers to Doyle's *Official Baronage*, II, 733. He did not consider this petition to be in Chaucer's handwriting. It is in an ordinary Chancery clerk's hand." A few days later—directly from the king, it would seem—came permission¹ to Chaucer to have a deputy as long as he should hold the office; this document ends "Teste Rege, apud Westmonasterium, xvij. die Februarii. Per ipsum Regem," though Chaucer's commissions in 1382 came through a subordinate official.²

Robert de Vere,³ ninth earl of Oxford, was born in 1362, and in 1385 was therefore twenty-three years of age; during the summer of that year, in a position of strong influence, he accompanied the king to Scotland, and later in the year was created Marquis of Dublin, with unprecedented powers. Froissart⁴ refers to him during this year as "li contes d'Asquesufort, qui estoit pour le tamps tous li coers dou roy." In 1385 he was therefore at the height of his fatal intimacy with the king; he clearly had no official connection with Chancery.

There is no avoiding the conclusion, therefore, that it was the Earl of Oxford who was Chaucer's sponsor in the matter of the deputy. To judge from Mr. Kirk's note, he not only signed the petition but took it in person to the king, who in consequence may have taken an especial interest in the affair. Hence it seems impossible to connect the queen with the appointment of the deputy; and with that connection disappears all clear relation between the *Legend of Good Women* and the date 1385.

If this is so, the *Legend*, on which Chaucer chronology so largely depends, is afloat once more between 1382 and 1394, the

¹ *Life-Records*, p. 251.

² Cf. pp. 236, 237. But his month's leave of absence in 1384 came "Per ipsum Regem" (p. 250).

³ See JAMES TAIT, in the *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, Vol. LVIII, pp. 243, 244; H. WALLON, *Richard II* (Paris, 1864), Vol. I, pp. 245, 252-54, 267; DUGDALE, *Baronage of England* (1675), Vol. I, pp. 194-96; J. E. DOYLE, *Official Baronage of England*, Vol. II, pp. 728, 729.

⁴ Ed. KERVIN DE LETTENHOVE (Bruxelles, 1870), Vol. X, p. 397; cf. Vol. XI, pp. 6, 135, 369.

dates of the marriage and of the death¹ of Queen Anne. But there are probably still good grounds, which cannot be discussed here, for believing that its date is not very far from 1385.

If these changed views as to the dates of the *Troilus* and of the *Legend of Good Women* are justifiable, they involve some revision of Chaucer chronology in general. As to this I hope to make some suggestions on a later occasion.

JOHN S. P. TATLOCK.

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July, 1903.

¹ June 7; see H. WALLON, *Richard II*, Vol. II, p. 81.

THE DEPARTING OF CHAUCER.

THE TEXT.

BRIT. MUS. ADDIT. 16165 is a quarto, paper, of 258 pages. On the recto of the first leaf is written, large, *ma ioye*, and below, very large, *Shirley*. Pages 2 and 3 contain a versified table of contents to be printed in full with my description and discussion of the "Shirley" manuscripts. The codex comprises about twenty-three numbers—*Boece*, Trevisa's *Nicodemus*, a prose *Book of Hunting*, Lydgate's *Complaint of the Black Knight*, his *Temple of Glass*, Chaucer's *Anelida* in two parts, the *Complaint* as No. 7, the remainder at the end of the MS, several short proverbial bits, and from No. 14 to No. 20 short poems by Lydgate, ascribed to him in their headings. No. 14 is an invocation to St. Anne, also found in the Shirley MS Ashmole 59; No. 15 is the text here printed; No. 16 is a poem in four-beat lines, arranged in fifteen stanzas of eight lines each, and beginning "Euery maner creature." This is headed in the MS, "Amerous balade by Lydegate made at pe departing of Thomas Chauciers on pe kynges ambassade into ffraunce." It appears also in the Shirley MS Ashmole 59, where it follows the invocation to St. Anne, and in the Stow MS Harley 367, the heading of which latter more nearly resembles that of Ashmole than that of 16165. It is not apparent from the text of this "amerous balade" that it had any connection with Thomas Chaucer, although it is a lament for enforced absence from the beloved. No. 16a in the 16165 codex is a "devynaile par Pycard" of the name of the lady addressed in the "amerous balade;" No. 17 is also in Ashmole, there following directly upon the "amerous balade;" so that Nos. 21, 22, and 23 of the Ashmole codex are Nos. 14, 16, and 17 of the MS 16165. Owing to the especial carelessness and derivative character of the Ashmole codex—a fact which I hope to demonstrate more fully later—the poem No. 16, as copied in 16165, possesses more value for

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students; but its connection with the name of Thomas Chaucer is not clear to us, while No. 15, that printed below, has a very definite interest for students of fifteenth-century history.

THE POEM.

From Rymer's *Foedera* it appears that Thomas Chaucer was in 1417 one of several ambassadors authorized to treat for peace with France; the power is dated October 1; this is probably the "ambassade" mentioned by Shirley, and the date of the poem therefore is fairly certain. Other royal or important commissions laid upon Chaucer—those of June 14, 1414, and of March 24, 1405—do not seem to have taken him out of England; but on November 28, 1417, he was still negotiating, in Berneville, the business upon which he was sent in October of that year.

The shire whose residents are called upon by Lydgate to bewail the absence of Chaucer was probably Norfolk, where Chaucer owned the "embattled" manor-house of Gresham. This appears likely from the mention of "gentyl Molyns." The manor of Gresham, as Mr. Gairdner has explained in his preface to the *Paston Letters*, was under Edward II the property of one Edmund Bacon, and descended from him to his two daughters, Margaret and Margery. The former married Sir William de Kerdeston, and her rights were inherited by her daughter Maud, who married Sir John Burghersh, and by the daughter of these two, Maud Burghersh, who became the wife of Thomas Chaucer, and carried to him the moiety of the estate which was hers by descent. The other half of the Gresham estate, the property of Margery Bacon, passed to her husband, Sir William Molynes; but, as he died before her, the property was by her willed to be sold, the prior right to purchase being given to William, son of Robert Molynes. He at first declined to buy, and his later attempt to complete the purchase came to nothing. Thomas Chaucer then bought the other moiety of the estate, and later conveyed it entire to William Paston. The subsequent struggle between the houses of Paston and Molynes for the possession of Gresham is fully described by Mr. Gairdner in his Introduction, as cited. It will appear likely,

however, from the family connection just sketched, that a son of the house of Molynes was a very natural inmate of the home of Thomas Chaucer, and that the manor of Gresham, as the place of common interest to both Molynes and Chaucer, is probably meant here. Further, this Norfolk manor was not far removed from the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, in Suffolk, where Lydgate spent most of his life; and the terms upon which this poem makes it apparent that he stood with the rich and respected Thomas Chaucer give an additional proof of the estimation in which the poet was held in his own time. The internal evidence goes to confirm the poem as Lydgate's, over and above the ascription of the verses to him by his contemporary Shirley; the style, the allusion to "Bacus' lykour," the catch-phrases, the vocabulary, are all Lydgatian. In view of the now general assumption that Thomas was the son of Geoffrey Chaucer, we may feel a little surprise that so ardent an admirer of the poet as Lydgate did not on this occasion allude to a connection of which his patron Chaucer was presumably not ashamed; but the circumstances are, of course, not fully known to us.

It may be added in closing that the last line of the first stanza shows that Lydgate did upon occasion apply the term "master" to someone other than Geoffrey Chaucer. The early date, earlier than Chaucer's death in 1400, to which Professor Schick assigns *The Churl and the Bird* because of the reference to "my master" in the concluding stanza, becomes therefore somewhat dubious.

Brit. Mus. MS Addit. 16165, pp. 248, 249. Owned and written by John Shirley, ob. 1456. Headed in his hand—

"BALADE MADE BY LYDEGATE AT ÞE DEPARTYNG OF THOMAS CHAUCYER
ON AMBASSADE IN TO FFRAUNCE"

(1)

O þow *lucyna* | qwene and Empyresse
Of waters alle | and of floodes rage
And cleped art | lady and goddesse
Of Iorneyng | and fortunate passage
Governe and guye | by grace þe vyage

Powe heuenly queene | sith I of hert pray
My maystre¹ *Chaucyer* | goodely to convey

(2)

Him to expleyten | and firperne on his way
With holsome spede | ay in his Iournee
And *neptunus* | make eke no delaye
Him to favour | whane he is on þe see
Preserving him | frome al adversytee
ffrome al trouble | of wynde and eke of wawe
And lat þy grace | so to him adawe

(3)

Pat wher to hym | may beo moost plesaunce
Per make him londe | he and his meynee
And god I prey | þe whyle he is [in]² ffraunce
To sende him helthe | and prosparytee
Hasty repayre | hoome to his cuntree
To recomfort | þer with his presence
ffolkys þat mowrne | moost for his absence

(4)

ffor sopely nowe | pagreable sonne
Of housholding | and fulsum haboundaunce
Eclipsid is | as men recorden konne
Pat founden þer | so ryche souffisaunce
ffredam bountee | with gode governaunce
Disport largesse | joye and al gladnesse
And passingly | goode chere with gentylesse

(5)

Ceres³ also | goddesse of welfare
Was ay present | hir chaare with plentee lade
And *Bacus* þer | ne koude never spare
With his lykour | hertes for to glade
Refresshe folkis | þat were of colour fade
With⁴ his conduytes | moost plentyvous habonde
Be wellis hed | so fulsome ay is founde

(6)

His moost Ioye | is Innly gret repayre
Of gentilmen | of heghe and lowe estate

¹ On margin, in scribe's hand, is written *Thomas*.

² Not in MS.

³ MS *Certes*.

⁴ Read *Wher*?

Pat him thenkep | bope in foule and fayre
 Withouten hem | he is but desolate
 And to be loued | þe moost fortunate
 Pat ever I knewe | with othe of sopefastnesse
 Of ryche and pore | for bounteuouse largesse

(7)

And gentyl *Molyns* | myn owen lord so der
 Lytel merveyle | þoughe þow sighe and pleyne
 Now to forgone | þin owen pleying feere
 I wot right wel | hit is to þe gret peyne
 But haue good hope | soone for to atteyne
 Þin hertis blisse | agayne and þat right sone
 Or foure tymes | echaunged be þe Mone.

(8)¹

Lat be youre weping | tendre creature
By my sainte Eleyne | fer away in Ynde
 How shoule ye | þe gret woo endure
 Of his absence | þat beon so truwe and kynde
 Hape him amonge | enprynted in your mynde
 And seythe for him | shortly in a clause
 Goddes soule to hem | þat beon in cause

(9)

Ye gentilmen | dwelling envyroun
 His absence eke | ye aught to compleyne
 ffor farwell nowe | as in conclusyoun
 Youre pleye | your Ioye | yif I shal not feyne
 ffarwel huntyng | and hawkyng bope tweyne
 And farewel nowe | cheef cause of your desport
 ffor he absent | farewel youre recomfort

(10)

Late him not nowe | out of remembraunce
 But ever amonge | hape him in memoyre
 And for his saake | as in youre dalyaunce
 Saythe every day | deuotely þis memoyre
 Saynt Iulyan | oure Ioye and al oure gloyre
 Come hoome ageyne | lyche as we desyre
 To suppowaylen al þe hole shyre

¹ On margin by this stanza, in Shirley's hand, is written *La feme Chauciers*.

(11)

And for my part | I sey right as I thenk
I am pure sory | and hevy in myn hert
More pan I | expresse can¹ with Inke
Be want of him | so sore dope me smert
But for al pat | hit shal me nought astert
Daye and night | with hert debonayre
And prey to god | pat he soone may repayre

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¹ On margin is a caret and *wryte*.

THE ETYMOLOGY OF ITALIAN *GREGGIO*, *GREZZO*.

THE most recent detailed study of the Italian word appearing in the forms *greggio* and *grezzo* is D' Ovidio's extended discussion in *Romania*, Vol. XXV, pp. 295 ff. This scholar agrees with Fumi¹ in rejecting the etymon *agrestis*² suggested by Caix³ and likewise the type **gregius* set up by Canello.⁴ The etymon **ἀγροικος* [!] proposed by Roensch⁵ appears never to have been taken very seriously. The type which D' Ovidio accepts as the probable etymon, namely **grēvius*, was first suggested by Fumi, who, however, was not able to explain the phonetic irregularities which the assumption of such an etymon involves. D' Ovidio attempts to overcome the difficulties by assuming that the word came into Tuscan from Venetian territory. According to him, by the side of **levius* (> *leggio*) for *levis*, a form **grēvius* for **grevis* may have existed in colloquial Latin. Then just as *pluvia* gave in Venetian *pioza* (nowadays *piova*), so **grēvius* may have given **grezo*. The *e* in this word would probably have been close, according to D' Ovidio, as in Venetian *greve* and *grue greva*. The meaning of *greggio*, *grezzo* is "rough, unworked." Since, during the Middle Ages, the Venetians excelled in the various arts, it is possible that this word **grezo* came into common use among them as a technical term and was borrowed as such by Tuscans. Assuming this introduction of the word into Tuscany, it may also be assumed, according to D' Ovidio, that some Tuscans would accept **grezo* in the form *grezzo*, while others would substitute for the Venetian *z* the group which usually represents this Venetian sound in Tuscan, *i. e.*, *ġġ* (cf. Venetian *mazor*, *pezo*, etc.).

This etymon **grēvius* is the only one thus far proposed meriting serious consideration now, since *agrestis* and **gregius* have

¹ *Misc. Caix-Canello*, pp. 99 ff.

² This etymon is also rejected by PARIS (*Romania*, Vol. VIII, p. 618).

³ *Studia di etimologia italiana e romanza*, § 39.

⁴ *Archivio glottologico*, Vol. III, p. 348.

⁵ *Rom. Forsch.*, Vol. III, p. 372.

already been disposed of by Paris and Fumi.¹ Now, *grėvius*, notwithstanding D' Ovidio's argumentation, still presents great difficulties. In the first place, we may, of course, doubt whether the word ever existed; but admitting the possibility of its existence, it may again be doubted whether it would have developed into **grezo* in the dialect of Venice, since D' Ovidio gives only one word showing the development *vy* > *z*, and in that very case the modern dialect shows not *z*, but *v*. Admitting, however, again that in this assumed word the development *vy* > *z* may actually have taken place in Venice, it is difficult to suppose that the word passed from Venetian into Tuscan in both Venetian and Tuscanized form, so as to give both *grezzo* and *greggio* in Tuscan. For this last assumption not a single parallel is cited. And, above all, why go to Venice to find an explanation for word-forms which, according to all manifest probabilities, originated in Tuscany? Taken all together, these objections are certainly serious. D' Ovidio, it should be said, is quite aware of the weak points in his theory, and claims only to have established a probability in favor of **grėvius*. K rting, who discusses the Fumi-D' Ovidio theory under the word *agrestis*,² reaches the following result: "Aber auch Fumi's annahme hat keineswegs die wahrscheinlichkeit f r sich, und die ableitung des wortes muss als noch fraglich bezeichnet werden, wie das schon Diez 377 gethan hatte."

It is thus quite in place to suggest a new etymon. Thus far etymologists, taking the meaning of the Italian word as their starting-point, have looked for an etymon meaning something like "rough." Having found or invented an ancient word giving approximately the right meaning, they have been constrained to assume an unparalleled development of one or another consonant-group in order to explain the phonetic relation of the Italian word to the etymon proposed. I believe that a start taken from the form of the Italian word leads to better results. The consonants *zz* beside *gg* almost certainly presuppose an ancient word in *dy* (cf. *razzo* beside *raggio* < *radium*, *mezzo* < *medium*, *rozzo* < **rudium*, beside *moggio* < *modium*, *poggio* < *podium*, etc.). No other

¹ The etymon *gregeos* (Old French), suggested by PETROCCHI in his *Dizionario scolastico*, presents insuperable phonetic difficulties.

² The Italian words are missing in K rting's index.

combination unquestionably giving both *ġġ* and *żż* in Tuscan has ever been cited. We should certainly look first of all for an ancient **gredius*, the development of which into both *greggio* and *grezzo* would not present the slightest phonetic difficulty. Now **gredius* is not attested, but a very near neighbor, namely *gerdius*, is found. It occurs in Lucilius apud Nonium Marcellum 118, 10, and in Julius Firmicus Maternus 8, 25 *med.* This word *gerdius*, which is given as meaning "weaver," is the Latin form of the Greek *γέρδιος*. The citation from Lucilius points to a very early borrowing, so that we are obliged to assume that the *e* of the Latin word was close, as was the Greek *ε* in early times. The passage from *gerdius* to **gredius* of course offers a slight difficulty, but is rendered probable enough by parallels such as Provençal *tresol* beside *tersol* < *tertiolus*, Italian *troppo*, French *trop*, probably going back to *porp*, Italian dialectic *trevetino* beside *tever-tino* < *tibur-tinus*, Old French *troubler* beside *tourbler* < *turbulare*, Old French *trousseau* beside *torseau*, Italian *torsello*, French *treuil* beside Italian *torchio* < *torculum*, Spanish *trujal* < *torcular*. I cite these few examples from Körting, and refer for others to Meyer-Lübke,¹ who expressly remarks: "Namentlich stark ausgeprägt ist die tendenz *r* mit dem anlautenden konsonanten zu verbinden." The closest parallel among the examples cited by Meyer-Lübke is that of *crovus* for *corvus*, occurring in western upper Italy and in Sicily. I have not been able to find any parallel showing an *r* passing over to an initial *g*; but this is not surprising in view of the fact that the number of words presenting an initial *g* followed by vowel + *r* is comparatively small. Moreover, parallels of this type, if existing, would be etymologically obscure on account of the metathesis, and for that reason could not readily be located. A possible physiological cause for the shift from *gerdius* to **gredius* is not far to seek: when non-syllabic *i* became *y*, the group *erdy* was doubtless unique and difficult to pronounce, so that the shift to the easily articulated *gredy* might well be expected.

I now turn to the semasiological development of *gerdius*. Since, as has been said, the Latin word is attested twice appar-

¹ *Rom. Gram.*, Vol. I, p. 481.

ently in the meaning of "weaver," while the Italian word is an adjective meaning "rough, unworked," the shift in sense which must be assumed appears to present considerable difficulty. A reference to the dictionary shows, however, that the Italian word is commonly used in phrases which immediately suggest an ancient connection in sense with a word meaning something like "weaver." Petrocchi's article on the Italian word reads as follows:

Grèggio,¹ *grezzo*, aggettivo. La materia delle diverse arti prima che sia lavorata. Come sono estratti dalle miniere. *Legno, Lana, Lino, Canapa gregge*: prima che sian lavorate. *Seta greggia*: adoprata come esce dalla filanda e collo stesso colore. *Tela greggia*: di lino grigiastro, piuttosto ruvida. *Ragazzi, Animi, Menti greggi*: non ancora educati, istruiti.

It is quite easy to derive all these meanings from the fundamental notion of "pertaining to the weaver." We have only to postulate the series: (1) "weaver's," (2) "fresh-woven," (3) "rough and untrimmed" (of cloth), (4) "rough and unworked" (of other materials). If Forcellini is right in assuming that the Latin word meant "carder" rather than "weaver," we may modify the scheme as follows: (1) "carder's," (2) "for the carder," i. e., "rough" (of the various materials which are carded, such as wool, flax, etc.), (3) "rough, unworked" (of other materials like silk, wood, minerals). The only point presenting difficulty is the shift from the value "weaver" or "carder" to the value "weaver's" or "carder's." We might perhaps assume that the noun *grèggio* = "weaver" or "carder," going out of use in prehistoric Italian except in phrases like *tela a grèggio* or *lana a grèggio*, phonetically *telaggrèggio*, *lanaggrèggio*, came to be felt as an adjective, whence *tela greggia*, *lana greggia*. It seems probable, however, that the adjectival use of Italian *grèggio* has a more ancient origin, going back to an adjectival use of the Greek and Latin words. The etymology and original meaning of γέργιος are not apparent, but Du Cange cites a gloss defining it with the words ὑφάντρια, ὑφαντής, proving that it was feminine as well as masculine. It thus shows resemblance in form to the class of adjectives

¹ Petrocchi is certainly wrong in marking the *e* of *grèggio* as open, since D' Ovidio (article cited, p. 296) states that "[*grèggio*] ha l' *e* in tutta Toscana e su ogni labbro italiano che non sia inetto a distinguere i due suoni dell' *e*."

which may be declined with either two or three endings. Moreover, the collateral forms *γερδιός*, *γερδαίος*, *γερδεῖος* must constitute with *γέρδιος* an adjectival group. Adjective doublets like *ἄγριος* and *ἀγρεῖος* from *ἄγρος*, *Βάκχειος* (*Βακχείος*) and *Βάκχιος* from *Βάκχος*, *δούλιος* and *δούλειος* from *δούλος*, *θαλάσσιος* and *θαλασσαῖος* from *θάλασσα*, may be seen on every other page of the lexicon, and even triplets like *λοχείος*, *λοχαῖος*, and *λόχιος* from *λόχος* *νυμφεῖος*, *νυμφαῖος*, and *νύμφιος* from *νύμφη*, are not extremely uncommon. Since a similar formation of original nouns is out of the question, we must place the group *γέρδιος*, *γερδιός*, *γερδεῖος*, *γερδαίος* in the same category, in spite of the fact that they are attested as substantives only. It is thus clear that *γέρδιος*—meagerly attested in both Greek and Latin in the meaning of “weaver,” was originally an adjective (meaning¹ probably “pertaining to the web,” or “pertaining to the card”); and it may

¹ Forms of *γέρδιος* are not given by the ordinary lexicons; they occur almost exclusively in glosses. The forms given in Hesychius and Suidas, in SOPHOCLES'S *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, in the *Middle Latin and Middle Greek Lexicons of DU CANGE*, in the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, in JOHANNES MEURSII'S *Lexicon Graeco-barbarum* (Greek-Latin dictionary, Sugduni Batavorum, anno CIO.IC.CXIV.), and in STEPHANUS'S *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, which have been sent to me by my friends Dr. J. C. Watson, of Cornell University, and Mr. E. Cary, Fellow in Harvard University, are as follows: *γέρδης*, *γέρδιος*, *γερδιός*, *γερδαίος*, *γερδεῖος*, all defined as meaning *ὑφάντης*, *textor*; *γέρδιος* = *ὑφάντρια*, *ὑφάντης*; *γερδία* = *textrix*; *γερδίσαι* = *textrices*; *γερδοποιόν* (for *γερδοποιεῖον*?) = *textrinum*; *συγγέρδιαι* = *συνυφάντριάι*; *γερδιακός*. With regard to the etymology of *γέρδιος*, Stephanus notes: “Secundum Schneid. est ab Aeolico *ἔρδω* pro *ἔργω*,” but this derivation is obviously objectionable. Forcellini *s. v.* says: “Ipsa certe vox peregrina est: videtur enim esse a Chald. *garday* quod vulgo vertitur *textor*; sed cum Hebr. *garad* significat *decorticavit*, vero [*sic*] simile est interpretandum esse *carminatorem*, Italice *cardatore*, a *carduis* nempe quibus in *carminando* utitur.” This view of the origin of *γέρδιος* is mentioned and rejected by the editor of the *Thesaurus Syriacus*, who accepts the derivation of the Semitic group from the Greek. The Semitic forms, for which I am indebted to Mr. Cary, are as follows: Chaldaic *garday* = “weaver;” Hebrew *garod* = “*decorticavit*” (*ἀπαξ λελεγμένον* occurring in the Book of Job); Syriac *gardā* = “*glaber, tela, textura, iugum textoris* (loom-beam),” *gardayā* = “*textor*,” *grad* = “*erasit. scalpsit, delevit*,” Modern Syriac *jrādā* = “*carpet woven on a frame*,” *jerdt* = “*the frame for weaving carpets*” and “*the carpets themselves*,” (Lexicons: J. LEVY, *Challdisches Wörterbuch, etc.*, Leipzig, 1867; *Thesaurus Syriacus* . . . edidit R. P. SMITH, Oxford, 1879; J. BRUN, *Dictionary Syriaco-Latinum, Beryti Phoeniciorum*, 1895; A. J. MACLEAN, *A Dictionary of Vernacular Syriac, etc.*, Oxford, 1901.) Whatever be the ultimate relation of the Greek to the Semitic group, it is clear that the attested Greek secondary forms must be derived from primary forms which went out of use or accidentally escaped registration. The gloss *γερδοποιόν* = *textrinum*, which has been emended to *γερδοποιεῖον* = *textrinum* (the Latin word being used in the sense of *textrina*, as elsewhere), however it be taken, seems to presuppose a primary word **γερδος* meaning “web.” The Syriac *gardā* = *tela* also deserves notice. On the other hand, Lucilius, as Meursius (*s. v.*) pointed out, differentiates *textor* and *gerdius* in the passage: “*curate domi sint Gerdius ancillae pueri zonarius textor*.” This, of course, supports Forcellini's view that *gerdius* meant “*carder*.” Possibly we should also assume a word **γερδῆ* = “*card*,” “*teasel*,” from which all the forms except *γερδοποιόν* may be derived. One might be tempted to identify the base of *γέρδιος* with that of *κείρω*, “*to clip*.” Note that the latter is supposed to be cognate

have remained long in use in this adjectival sense in both ancient languages. The postulation of the coexistence of the assumed adjectival value with the attested substantival value presents no difficulty: cf. *μουσικός*, "musical" and also "scholar;" and *consularis*, "pertaining to the consul" and also "ex-consul." Similar parallels might be cited in great abundance from both Greek and Latin.

Summing up, it may be said that phonetic law unequivocally requires the etymon **grēdius*, the derivation of which from *gerdius* = *γέρδιος* presents virtually no phonetic difficulty. A semasiological obstacle is the circumstance that the ancient word is attested as a substantive only, while the Italian word is an adjective. In view of the fact, however, that the ancient word is of rare occurrence in both Latin and Greek, while the Greek word is shown by its formation to have been originally, at least, an adjective, the assumption of an adjectival value for the Greek-Latin substratum certainly seems to be justified. But whether the apparent shift from the value of "weaver" to that of "weaver's" should be explained in this or in some other way, the assumed change of function is, after all, hardly violent enough to present material difficulty.

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with Latin *caro*, "to card;" *carduus*, "thistle." For the γ, cf. *γαμχός* from *κάμπτω*. At all hazards, it is probable that *γέρδιος* meant originally "pertaining to the web" or "pertaining to the card." The difference between these values and "pertaining to the weaver," "pertaining to the carder," is so slight that it may be overlooked, particularly since the sense of the Italian word may be readily derived from either member of either pair.

CAXTON'S OLD ENGLISH WORDS.

THE remark on p. 9 of the article on "References to the English Language in German Literature," published in the first number of MODERN PHILOLOGY, requires some modification. Leland, as well as the Cologne edition of Bede, is preceded by Caxton who, in chap. 50 of the first book of Trevisa's Higden, *De legibus legumque vocabulis*, gives the first old English words printed in England. The form in which these words appear is, of course, the Middle English of Trevisa's time in corrupted orthography, and so one might still be inclined to hesitate as to the honor of Caxton's precedence. The following is a transcript of the essential part of this chapter:

[Transcribed from copy in Bodleian Library, G. Selden, d. 7. Oxford University, July 21, 1903.]

¶ De Legibus legum q̄ vocabulis. ¶ Capitulum 50

. I holde it wel don to wryte here and² expowne many
ter- | mes of these lawes · Myndebruche · hurtyng of honour and
wor- | ship · In frenffhe blefchur dhonour · Burchbruch in frenffhe
ble- | schur de court on de cloys / Gritchbruch brekyng of pees ·
Myfken | nyng chaungyng of speche in court / Shewyng fettyng forth
of | marchandyfe / In frenffhe displeir de marchandyfe · Hamfokne ·
or | hamfare a refe made in hows / Forfallyng / wronge or lete doun
| in the kynges hye waye · Frythfoken fewrte in defence · Saka / for |
fait Soka Sute of courte / and therof cometh foken / Theam fute | of
bondmen · Fyghtingtwyte · Amersement for fightyng · Blode- | wyte ·
Mersement for fhedyng of blode. Flyt wite . amendes for fhe- | dyng
of blode . leyr wyte · amendes for lyeng by a bondewoman / | Gulte
wite amendes for trespas · Scot a gadryng to werke of bai | lyes /
hydage tayllage for hydes of londes Danegheld tayllage | yeuen to the
danes that was of euery bonata terre that is euery | Oxe londe thre
pens / A weepentack and an honderd is al one |

¶ For the contre of C townes were woonte to gyne vp wepen in |
the comyng of a lord² . Leftage custome y chalengyd² in chepyn- | gys
and fayres ftallage custome for ftondyng in ftretes in feyre tyme.

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A NEGLECTED SOURCE OF CORNEILLE'S HORACE.

IN *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XV, coll. 283-303, I have brought conclusive evidence showing that in the composition of his tragedy *La mort de Pompée* Corneille was indebted to Amyot's translation of Plutarch, though Amyot's name was not mentioned by him.

A similar indebtedness exists for *Horace*. Here the first editions of the tragedy contained no reference to any source whatever, while those appearing between 1648 and 1656 were preceded by chaps. 23-26 of Book I of Livy's *History of Rome*, and this account of the duel between the Horatii and Curiatii for the supremacy of their respective cities has naturally been looked upon ever since as the source of the play. A recent study of the tragedy led me to draw Amyot's Plutarch from my shelves, and to my great surprise I found distinct evidence that here also Corneille had been working with his Amyot apparently open before him. In the case of *Pompée* the verbal agreement was too close to admit of doubt. In the present instance the verbal indebtedness is smaller, yet a comparison of the three texts will show clearly that Amyot's version of Plutarch's account of the same incident, related in the life of Tullus Hostilius, chaps. 8-21, was well known to Corneille, and that portions of the play rest upon suggestions received there.

Act I, scenes 1 and 2, contain dialogues between the women (Sabine, Camille, Julie), and merely prepare the plot. The first

opportunity for a comparison of the play with its sources is found in the speech of Curiace in scene 3 (ll. 279 ff.). The Alban soldier here relates to Camille the manner in which the idea of settling the difficulty by a single combat had originated. He reports that the proposition to decide the question at issue otherwise than through a general battle, which would weaken both the victor and the vanquished, was made by the Alban commander, whom Corneille calls *dictateur*, agreeing with both Livy and Plutarch. In both sources the plan is outlined in a lengthy speech, which Corneille imitates without following either slavishly. In the ancient authors the main reason advanced by the Alban for such an arrangement is the need of defense against a common enemy that is threatening them. Let them unite against that danger, and not make war upon each other, who are relatives and neighbors. This is also the pith of the argument advanced in the play, ll. 285 ff., and, so far as the language is concerned, either Livy or Plutarch would be a sufficient source. With Corneille, however, the relationship of the two armies is the pivot, and this thought, though present in Livy, is much more elaborated by Plutarch, so that, so far as the spirit of the speech is concerned, Corneille seems somewhat more in touch with the latter than with the former. Two lines even contain a suggestion of Amyot's language (cf. ll. 295, 296):

Nos ennemis communs attendent avec joie
Qu'un des partis défait leur donne l'autre en proie,

and Amyot:

nos ennemis communs profitent de nos divisions et conspirent contre nous.

However, the verbal similarity may be due to accident, and Livy presents the same thought:

Memor esto, jam quum signum pugnae dabis, has duas acies spectaculo fore, ut fessos confectosque, simul victorem ac victum aggrediantur.

The proposition is then made by the Alban chief to select champions on either side, who by a single combat shall determine which of the two nations is the victor in the war. The offer is accepted, it is agreed that there shall be three representatives for each people, and an armistice is declared, during which the officers

of the two armies shall decide upon the proper champions (ll. 307-27).

Livy relates the same proposition to decide the war with less bloodshed:

ineamus aliquam viam, qua utri utris imperent, sine magna clade, sine multo sanguine¹ utriusque populi decerni possit.

However, the manner in which the kings are led to rest their choice upon the champions that are finally selected is somewhat different. He continues:

forte in duobus tum exercitibus erant tergemini fratres, nec aetate nec viribus dispares. . . . Cum tergeminis agunt reges, ut pro sua quisque patria dimicent ferro.

That is to say, Livy's account appears to be the reverse of that of Corneille. With the latter it is first determined that there shall be three champions on each side, and during the armistice the two trios are selected to fill the rôle. In Livy the first decision is merely to intrust the whole controversy to specially selected representatives, and when this has been agreed upon, the number seems to be an after-thought.

Plutarch's account of the agreement accords in this particular with that of Corneille. The Alban dictator "*proposa de décider le différend par les armes. Cet avis fut généralement approuvé. Mais on n'étoit pas d'accord sur le nombre des combattans.*" Tullus then proposes to select one representative on each side, and suggests that he himself fight the duel for the Romans, and the Alban dictator for his people. But this proposal is rejected by the Alban:

Il concluoit qu'il falloit choisir de chaque côté trois champions pour combattre à la vue des deux armées; et pour donner plus d'autorité à son sentiment, il ajoutoit que le nombre de trois étoit un nombre très propre pour décider toutes sortes de contestations, parcequ'il comprend un commencement, un milieu, et une fin.

This proposition meets with approval, and in consequence the Horatii and Curiatii are selected to represent their respective cities.

It is evident Corneille's arrangement of the story agrees with

¹ Cf. CORNEILLE, "*à moins de sang*," l. 305.

Plutarch rather than with Livy. At the same time, several of Corneille's lines reflect quite closely the thought of Livy. Compare—

Que chaque peuple aux siens attache sa fortune;
Et suivant ce que d'eux ordonnera le sort,
Que le foible parti prenne loi du plus fort

(ll. 308-10)

with Livy: "*ibi imperium fore, unde victoria fuerit . . . ut cujus populi cives eo certamine vicissent, is alteri populo cum bona pace imperitaret . . .*"

The time elapsing between this proposition and the final choice of the champions, which fills up in Corneille the interval between the first and second acts, is suggested by both the ancient authors. However, Livy merely says, "*cum tergemini agunt reges*," while Plutarch devotes some space to their family history. They were sons of Alban twin sisters, the one married to a Roman called Horace, the other to an Alban by the name of Curiace. When asked to accept the honor offered them, the Curiatii at once signify their readiness to do so. The Horatii are equally eager, but they ask for time to obtain the permission of their father. All this is absent from Corneille's play, and one wonders why he did not make use of this admirable opportunity to picture at length the attitude of the older Horace before the battle. Perhaps the last line of Act II, in which the father says to his son and Curiace, "*Faites votre devoir, et laissez faire aux dieux*" (l. 710), is an echo of this portion of Amyot: "*Allez, généreux enfants, je vous donne mon consentement; allez porter à Tullus une réponse digne de vous.*" In Livy the old father does not appear until after the victory.

The next passage in which Corneille follows his sources directly occurs in Act III, scene 2, when Julie gives an account of the beginning of the duel, ll. 779 ff. Here Plutarch is much more elaborate, and it seems evident that Corneille has followed him. When the brothers, ready for battle, advanced toward each other, Livy merely says: "*horror ingens spectantes perstringit.*" Plutarch goes into details:

Un spectacle si touchant tire des larmes aux spectateurs, ils accusent leurs généraux de cruauté, et se reprochent à eux-mêmes d'avoir obligé

des parens à s'égorger les uns les autres pour les intérêts publics, tandis qu'ils auroient pu sans conséquence donner à d'autres une si triste commission.

Compare Corneille, ll. 781-84:

Sitôt qu'ils ont paru, prêts à se mesurer,
On a dans les deux camps entendu murmurer :
À voir de tels amis, des personnes si proches,
Venir pour leur patrie aux mortelles approches.

A little farther on Amyot continues:

Mais dès qu'on les vit aux mains, on entendit de part et d'autre un grand bruit mêlé d'acclamations, de vœux, d'exhortations, d'applaudissemens, de gémissemens, et l'air retentissoit de leurs cris militaires.

This passage has evidently inspired ll. 785-92:

L'un s'émeut de pitié, l'autre est saisi d'horreur,
L'autre d'un si grand zèle admire la fureur ;
Tel porte jusqu'aux cieus leur vertu sans égale,
Et tel l'ose nommer sacrilège et brutale.
Ces divers sentiments n'ont pourtant qu'une voix :
Tous accusent leurs chefs, tous détestent leur choix ;
Et ne pouvant souffrir un combat si barbare,
On s'écrie, on s'avance, enfin on les sépare.

The momentary separation of the champions which now follows (ll. 808-27), to give the two kings the opportunity to consult again the wish of the gods through a sacrifice, is an invention of Corneille. There is nothing in Livy that in the slightest degree hints at such a delay. Plutarch also presents nothing similar, yet it is not impossible that the elaborate way in which he describes the feelings of the two armies may have suggested to Corneille the supposition of a temporary armistice.

The story is continued in the speech of Valère, ll. 1104 ff. In the description of the battle Corneille plainly follows Livy, with evident translation of the Latin text; cf. ll. 1131-33:

J'en viens d'immoler deux aux mânes de mes frères ;
Rome aura le dernier de mes trois adversaires,
C'est à ses intérêts que je vais l'immoler,

and Livy: "*duos . . . fratrum manibus dedi: tertium causae belli hujusce, ut Romanus Albano imperet, dabo.*" The account

of Plutarch varies fundamentally here (cf. chap. xvi), though at the end he refers to the version contained in Livy as that commonly current among historians.

The close similarity with Plutarch begins again with Act IV, scene 5, when Horace returns to his home, laden with the spoils of his victims. Both Plutarch and Livy agree in relating that he met his sister before the gates of Rome. This variation from the sources was demanded by the unity of place; the stage direction to this scene, "Procule portant en sa main les trois épées des Curiaces," is plainly a translation of Livy's "tergmina spolia prae se gerens." Now, Livy merely relates here that at this sight the sister burst out into tears, "solvit crines et flebiliter nomine sponsum mortuum appellat," whereupon Horatius, moved by sudden anger, killed the girl.

Plutarch tells that Horace thought the sister had come out to meet him in order to congratulate him on his victory:

Il crut que c'étoit l'empressement de le complimenter sur sa victoire, et d'apprendre les circonstances du combat, qui l'avoit fait passer par dessus les règles de la bienséance, qui obligent une jeune fille à se tenir toujours sous les yeux de ses parens.

The thought of the merited congratulation is evidently present in ll. 1255 and 1256:

Vois ces marques d'honneur, ces témoins de ma gloire,
Et rends ce que tu dois à l'heur de ma victoire.

Then Plutarch describes her attitude, when she saw the evidences of her lover's death:

. . . . elle déchire ses habits, elle se frappe la poitrine, elle répand des torrens de larmes, et appelle son cousin; l'air retentit de ses gémissemens. Après avoir pleuré la mort de l'Albain qu'elle aimoit, elle arrête ses yeux sur son frère, et lui fait les reproches les plus sanglans.

The suggestions contained in this passage, entirely absent from Livy, are elaborated in the attitude and words of Camille, ll. 1262-1318.¹

¹It is interesting to note, in passing, that the famous passage, ll. 1301-18, in which Camille hurls malediction upon Rome, is an imitation of a similar outburst in MAIRET's *Sophonisbe*, ll. 1854-64; cf. PETIT DE JULLEVILLE, *Corneille, Horace* (Hachette & Cie), p. 41.

Finally Horace is carried away by anger and stabs his sister. Both ancient authors agree here in substance as to the words uttered by him as he sees his sister fall. Yet Corneille's

Ainsi reçoive un châtiment soudain
Quiconque ose pleurer un ennemi romain
(ll. 1321-22)

reflects Amyot's "Puisse toute Romaine qui ose pleurer un ennemi avoir le même sort, et périr d'une mort aussi tragique," rather than Livy's "sic eat quaecumque Romana lugebit hostem."

Further evidence of the influence of Amyot becomes apparent in the scene in which the older Horace is confronted with his son after the murder of Camille, Act V, scene 1. According to Livy, Horace was at once led before the king, and his trial begun. Plutarch relates that the young man went from the scene of the murder "plein d'une indifférence sauvage du même pas à la maison de son père." Then he continues:

Horace le père, digne d'un tel fils, reçut le vainqueur et le parricide avec des transports de joie qu'on ne peut exprimer. Ayant appris la mort de sa fille, loin d'y paroître sensible, il trouva, qu'elle avoit mérité un si triste sort, et que son fils s'étoit comporté en toutes choses comme un zélé citoyen.

Compare with this passage ll. 1405-18 of the play, in which the father gives voice to very similar sentiments.

The scene which follows contains the trial of Horace before the king. Here Livy relates that the king handed him over to duumvirs with instructions to find him guilty of high treason, at the same time advising him to appeal from their judgment to the people. Plutarch again describes the whole scene more in detail, and in fact seems to contain in outline the whole trial scene of Act V. He relates that Horace is brought to the king by

quelques-uns des premiers de la ville . . . pour lui demander justice du sang de sa sœur dont il s'étoit souillé. L'accusation fut vive, et soutenue de fortes raisons. On cita les loix qui défendoient de tuer: elles étoient formelles; et à les suivre à la rigueur, Horace méritoit la mort.

Here lies, unless we are much mistaken, the kernel from which has sprung the speech of Valère, ll. 1481-1534.

Plutarch continues that the king, not knowing what to do in this predicament, decided to hand him over to duumvirs, that Horace then appealed upon his advice, and that his father pleaded his cause with vehemence. The same facts are reported by Livy, but the substance of the father's argument is not identical with that outlined by Plutarch. Both accounts are, however, of the greatest interest in the present discussion, for a scrutiny of the speech of the older Horace, ll. 1631-1728, reveals the fact that Corneille has utilized them both, joining them freely together, but without obliterating the traces.

The speech is divided into sections addressed to the different persons prominent in the action. First comes an answer to Sabine's accusation of Horace (ll. 1635-47), which is invented, as is the character of Sabine. Then the father turns to the king and answers the arguments of Valère (ll. 1647-74). Here Corneille plainly follows suggestions found in Plutarch:

Son père plaïda sa cause avec véhémence. Il soutint que l'action que son fils avoit faite ne devoit point passer pour un meurtre, mais une juste vengeance; qu'il étoit le père de l'accusé et de celle pour qui on demandoit justice; que le malheur, s'il y en avoit, le regardoit lui seul; qu'il étoit le juge le plus compétent des affaires de sa maison, et que s'il eût cru son fils coupable, il l'eût lui-même condamné et puni de son autorité paternelle. . . .

The passage in Corneille is too long to be cited in full; I will point out merely the lines in which the imitation is particularly evident:

. . . . ce bras paternel
 L'auroit déjà puni s'il étoit criminel;
 J'aurois su mieux user de l'entière puissance
 Que me donnent sur lui les droits de la naissance.
 (ll. 1657-60)

Qui le fait se charger des soins de ma famille?
 Qui le fait, malgré moi, vouloir venger ma fille?
 Et par quelle raison, dans son juste trépas,
 Prend-il un intérêt qu'un père ne prend pas?
 (ll. 1667-70)

Then the older Horace turns to Valère, and again to the king (ll. 1675-1710); and here Corneille just as plainly follows the suggestions of Livy:

Orabat deinde, ne se, quem paulo ante cum egregia stirpe conspexissent, orbum liberis facerent. . . . Huncceine aiebat quem modo decoratum ovantemque victoria incedentem vidistis, Quirites, eum sub furca vinctum inter verbera et cruciatus videre potestis? quod vix Albanorum oculi tam deforme spectaculum ferre possent. I, lictor, colliga manus, quae paulo ante armatae imperium populo romano pepererunt. I, caput obnube liberatoris urbis hujus; arbori infelici suspende; verbera, vel intra pomoerium, modo inter illam pilam et spolia hostium, vel extra pomoerium, modo inter sepulcra Curiatorum. Quo enim ducere hunc juvenem potestis, ubi non sua decora eum a tanta foeditate supplicii vindicent.

With this passage should be compared particularly ll. 1687–1700:

Où penses tu choisir un lieu pour son supplice?
Sera-ce entre ces murs que mille et mille voix
Font résonner encor du bruit de ses exploits?
Sera-ce hors des murs, etc.

And again ll. 1705–8:

Sire, ne donnez rien à mes débiles ans:
Rome aujourd'hui m'a vu père de quatre enfants;
Trois en ce même jour sont morts pour sa querelle;
Il m'en reste encore un, conservez-le pour elle.

The attitude of the younger Horace during the whole trial is passed over in silence by Livy. Plutarch describes it as follows:

Pendant que ses accusateurs pressoient ses juges de le condamner à mort, et lors même que sa sentence étoit prononcée, il étoit aussi tranquille que s'il se fût agi d'une chose indifférente.

In the face of the decided influence of Amyot in the scene, it is not impossible that the speech of Horace, ll. 1535–94, owes part of its spirit, at least, to the passage from Plutarch just cited.

A final instance of the influence of Plutarch seems to occur in the directions given by Tulle for the purification of Horace. Livy merely mentions the fact: "imperatum patri ut filium expiaret. . . ." Plutarch says: "Il [*i. e.*, Tullus] fit donc venir les pontifes et leur ordonna d'appaiser la colère des dieux et des génies. . . ." Compare with this passage ll. 1770–76 of the play:

Mais nous devons aux dieux demain un sacrifice,
Et nous aurions le ciel à nos vœux mal propice
Si nos prêtres, avant que de sacrifier,

Ne trouvoient les moyens de le purifier :
Son père en prendra soin ; il lui sera facile
D'apaiser tout d'un temps les mânes de Camille.

This comparison will have proved, I think, the assertion made at the beginning of this article. The actual additions to the interpretation of Corneille's tragedy are small, and yet the point is of interest, because it allows us to see Corneille at work.

That he knew Amyot's Plutarch goes without saying; in fact, it were strange if he had not read him. That he should have used him without even once mentioning his name is probably to be accounted for by the fact that Amyot had practically become a French classic, a modern author, whose name did not belong in the same category as those of classical writers.

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ELEMENTS OF MAGIC IN THE ROMANCE OF WILLIAM OF PALERNE.

ABOUT the year 1350, at the command of Sir Humphrey Bohun, the French *Roman de Guillaume de Palerne* was translated into English by one William, of whom we know nothing but this name. The translator was unusually faithful to his original, omitting nothing essential and making no important addition; though he greatly increased the poetic merit of the whole by adding, here and there, some bit of description or character portrayal, as unusual in the romances of the fourteenth century as the fresh humor which is William's undying charm.

Of the origin of the French *Roman* we know nothing. Sir F. Madden in his preface to the first modern edition of the English poem¹ makes the suggestion that the story was founded "on some Italian tradition picked up by the Norman adventurers in Apulia and Sicily;" thus taking for granted that in the French poem² of the last quarter of the twelfth century we have the earliest version of this delightful and unusual little romance.

It would seem necessary, before turning to the discussion of the subject of this paper, to give a brief synopsis of the story embodied in both versions of the romance. Short portions of the first part of the English version are missing, so that it is necessary to supply the corresponding parts from the French. As the stories are identical, however, in all other parts, it is both safe and easy to use the original version.

Although William of Palerne bears the title rôle in this romance, he is not, in my opinion, the real hero of the story. Alphouns, the Werwolf, who does, in fact, appear in the second title of the English poem, is undoubtedly its most interesting, indeed its central, character. His story is briefly as follows: His father was the king of Spain, a just and kindly man. At Alphouns's birth his mother died, and in course of time the king married

¹ Quoted in the Introduction to the Early English Text Society edition, Extra Series I, p. xiv.

² Société des Anciens Textes Français, ed. H. MICHELANT, 1876.

again. The new queen was a woman renowned for her occult wisdom and the power of her magic charms. She seemed, for a time, merely indifferent to the boy Alphouns; but, after the birth of a son, she grew jealous on his behalf and determined to remove the king's elder son from her boy's path to the throne. By means of a magic salve and charms she transformed Alphouns, therefore, to a werwolf, who, realizing his plight, very naturally rushed at the queen—

And hent her so hetterly to have hire astrangled
 Pat hire deth was neiz̃ diȝt to deme pe sope.¹

At her cries he fled, and thus began his many years of wandering, in his strange disguise.

One day Alphouns came to Sicily, and there discovered that the baby heir to the throne, William of Palerne, was about to be slain at the command of his wicked uncles. He seized the child, bore him across to Italy, and at last left him in the care of a kindly cowherd living near Rome.

For seven years the little William, always watched from a distance by his rescuer, lived happily with his foster parents. Then the werwolf, thinking it time his protégé should be advanced and educated, led the emperor of Rome, whom he found opportunely hunting in the forest, to the spot where William was tending his kine. Charmed with the unusual beauty of the boy, the emperor took him home and placed him under the care of his little daughter, Melior. The two, growing up together—always, though they knew it not, under the eye of the “witty werwolf”—not unnaturally fell in love, and, at last, upon the eve of a projected marriage between Melior and a Greek prince, ran away together, disguised by their clever little friend Alexandrine as two white bears.

Upon their arrival in the forest, the werwolf claimed them as his charge, and led the lovers—quite unconscious of his maneuvers—back to Sicily, William's native land. After many adventures and hair-breadth escapes from the eager pursuit, the pair reached the island, constantly guided, provided for, and consoled by their four-footed friend. Finding his mother and sister besieged by the king of Spain, William, without knowledge of his

¹ Ll. 150, 151.

relationship to them, at once espoused their cause, and, with a werwolf as device upon his shield, overthrew all that opposed him and reduced the king, not only to subjection, but to imprisonment.

Alphouns, the werwolf, who had meanwhile been absent, now reappeared and by his curious motions and obeisances before his father, the king of Spain, led him to think of his lost son and the rumors concerning his transformation into a werwolf. His step-mother, the queen, being promptly summoned, aroused a murderous rage in Alphouns, who was with difficulty restrained by William from rushing upon her at once. In terror, she confessed her guilt and her present readiness to make amends; retired with the werwolf, now quieted, and by means of a ring tied with a red thread about his neck, and the usual charms, restored him to humanity in the shape of a naked man. The story ends with the marriage of Alphouns to William's sister, Florence, of William to Melior, of the clever Alexandrine to Alphouns's half-brother, Braundins; the return of all to their homes; and, finally, the election of William, after the death of his father-in-law, to the empire of Rome.

Apart from its literary excellence, the characteristic which distinguishes this romance, as outlined above, and gives it a place all its own among the non-cyclic romances, is the great prominence it gives (1) to the element of magic, especially as expressed in the transformations of men into animals, and (2) to the influence of prophetic dreams. No less than five dreams, bearing directly upon the story and influencing its development, are related at length. Two of these are caused by the magic of the witch-like Alexandrine, to promote the love affair of William and Melior.¹ Two are prophetic of immediately ensuing events, the one leading to the escape of William and Melior from their pursuers, the other acquainting them with events occurring at a distance,² and the fifth, that of the queen of Palerne, longest and most elaborate of all, foretells, not only the coming of William and Melior in their second disguise as deer, and William's conquest of her enemies, but her son's final triumph as emperor of Rome.

¹ Ll. 657-77, 862-70.

² Ll. 2208-2313, 3104-7.

More interesting than the dreams, however, are the three cases of men's transformation into animals presented in this poem: the change of Alphouns into a werwolf, the change of William and Melior into white bears, and their and the queen's final change into deer. It is true, the last two metamorphoses mentioned are spoken of in the poem merely as disguises: William and Melior, determined to escape together for the sake of their love, appeal to the crafty Alexandrine to aid them in their departure. Alexandrine, having procured two white bearskins from the kitchen, sews up the lovers in the skins and sends them off on all fours.¹

From this time until they change their disguise, William and Melior are most frequently mentioned by the poet as "the beres," and he seems throughout to lose consciousness of the fact that they had not actually undergone transformation.² The change from human to bear-nature was almost as common, especially in Germanic countries, as that to wolf-nature, as witness the Berserker of Scandinavia. A popular tradition of the sort, in which the transformation has been rationalized and Christianized (by the introduction of the devil!) is found in Grimm's "Bearskin" Tale 101—where "Bearskin" hardly retains any human characteristics during his seven years' compact with the Evil One. In this instance, as in that of the chief transformation in our poem, the werwolf, the man does not partake the character of the animal whose shape he assumes, but retains the better part of his human mind.

Having become notorious as bears, William and Melior, led always by the ready wisdom of their wolf-friend, reject the tell-tale white skins and assume those of a hart and hind, provided for them by Alphouns.³ This would seem to be mere repetition in another form and hardly worth remark, were it not for a curious bit of additional detail which appears to corroborate the theory that the disguises of this poem must have been, in some earlier form of the story, actual animal transformations. This additional bit of evidence consists in the account of how the queen of Palerne, having seen the hart and hind in her garden, and having learned, through her dream, that these were to be her deliverers, herself

¹ Ll. 1686-1744.

² See l. 2401 and elsewhere.

³ Ll. 2574-86.

put on a *deerskin* before going down to meet them.¹ Of course, this may be merely the elaboration of the poet, but it seems rather to bear the marks of early tradition. For why should the queen, if perfectly sure that the strangers were actual human beings, merely clothed in deerskins, not go to meet them in her proper costume? It seems an unanswerable question. If, on the other hand, the lovers were actually transformed into deer, they would very naturally be afraid of a human queen, but quite unaffrighted by one of the same form as themselves. To primitive conceptions it was perfectly natural that the queen should herself become a deer, in assuming the deerskin, in order the better to parley with her deer-transformed guests. The fact, too, that transformations into the forms of animals or birds were, from the earliest times, often accomplished for the sake of speed falls in with this theory.² Strength, represented by the bears, and speed, represented by the deer, were both necessary to bring the lovers, William and Melior, from Rome to their asylum in Sicily, and to enable them to escape the vigilant pursuit and the manifold dangers of their journey.

Whether William, Melior, and the queen were or were not originally transformed into the creatures whose skins they wore, however, we have an actual transformation here which forms the central interest of the story for students today, as it doubtless did for the less analytical readers on whose account it was first set down in French and English. The werwolf, Alphouns, is, as I have said above, without doubt the real hero of the romance, combining in himself most strangely the characteristics of victim and *deus ex machinâ*, of wild beast and guardian angel.

Mr. Kirby F. Smith, in "An Historical Study of the Werwolf in Literature,"³ mentions the *Lai de Bisclavret* and two other *lais* closely connected with it, as the only stories of the "constitutional werwolf" in which the author is on the side of the werwolf and enlists the sympathy of the reader on his behalf. We have in William a yet more conspicuous example of the glorifica-

¹ Ll. 3059-71, 3110-19.

² Cf. the story of the Swedish soldier Afzelius, UMGEWITTER, 2, 361, quoted by MR. K. F. SMITH, "The Werwolf," p. 23, note; also, p. 25. The gods of Scandinavia use the power of transformation "for the purpose of making rapid journeys."

³ *Publications of Modern Language Association*, New Series, Vol. II (1894).

tion of the man-beast. His type is that of those involuntarily transformed; but, even among stories of such guiltless victims, sympathy on the part of the author is exceedingly rare.

It will have been seen in the synopsis of the story, not only that the attitude of the author is very unusual, but that the character of the werwolf himself is almost unprecedented. In only two instances does Alphouns show a resemblance in nature to the traditional werwolf: in his two meetings with the step-mother who transformed him. The ferocity and thirst for blood and the horrible gruesomeness which are the traits of the man-wolf from time immemorial are entirely absent here. He is most often spoken of as the "witty werwolf," and even when deeds of violence would be perfectly natural, as in stealing food for William and Melior, he harms no one. He rushes not upon a man "wip a rude roring," but lets him escape unhurt save for a grisly fright. "His wit welt he euer," in the full sense that not only could he reason and calculate with a man's mind, but he could feel with a man's heart. He was, in fact, no more truly transformed than William and Melior when they donned the bearskins as a disguise. And it may be added here that the unusual rationalization and humanization of the acknowledged magic change from man to werwolf is an additional argument in favor of the bear- and deerskin changes being originally actual transformations also.

This unusual characterization of the werwolf might arise from one of two causes: either directly from the influence of the author of the French romance, or from the late form of the story as it came to him. Since we have nothing earlier than the French version, and since our English poem is a direct translation of that, it is impossible actually to decide between these alternatives. It seems more probable, however, since the whole plot of the story as we have it hinges on the character of the werwolf, that wherever the poet found it, he found it in substantially its present shape. Of course, it is easy to imagine that, in an earlier form of the tradition, the theft of William by the werwolf had no other motive than the satisfaction of the latter's hunger, and that the child was afterward rescued by the cowherd with whom he passed his boyhood. If, as I have suggested, the earlier story had really transformed

the lovers into bears, they would then be fitting companions for a werwolf and their journeyings together were not unnatural. In the dearth of facts, however, it is only possible to say that the character of the werwolf would of itself be sufficient to stamp this story as very late, and it is impossible to do more than guess at its primitive form.

Let us turn, now, to a discussion of the various classes of werwolves and to the place of Alphouns among them. I shall first consider three general types of werwolf-transformations—for it is by their transformations that the classes are distinguished—and then try to show that the widely spread and various stories of swan-transformations can be placed in corresponding categories.

Mr. Kirby Smith, in his article on the werwolf, to which I have already had occasion to refer, makes two general divisions under which the werwolf stories that have come down to us from all ages can be grouped; these are the "voluntary," or "constitutional," werwolf, and the "werwolf by magic." The distinction between the two is sharply drawn, but no possibility of a connection is considered. For the purposes of this paper it would seem better to make three divisions, all more or less connected, yet each clearly distinct. Before describing them, however, I must state the fact that the use of magic charms and ointments which often accompanies one or other method of animal transformation is not in any way distinctive of these methods, but belongs to the general province of folk-magic, and will not therefore be more particularly considered here. In every instance of transformation, as here in the case of Alphouns, the charms and ointments have probably been added at a late date, after a sophisticated system of magic had been developed.

To return: the first of my three types is that so ably discussed by Mr. Kirby Smith—the constitutional type, or werwolf-by-nature. Here the change from man-form to wolf-form is purely voluntary¹ and occurs either at the option of the wolf-man or at fixed time intervals. The only condition necessary to the change

¹"Voluntary" in the sense that, whether the change be periodic or not, *desire* for the change always precedes. The *wish* may recur at regular intervals, but, the nature of the man being twofold, the wish always precedes the act. Cf. *Lai de Bisclavret*.

is the removal of the man's clothes when he desires to become wolf, and his resumption of the same clothes to become man. Here the wolf-nature is distinctly predominant, and, as Mr. Smith says, the man is looked upon as "a demoniac wolf in disguise, a flimsy disguise which he may throw off at any moment." The best illustrations of this type are: the "Freedman's Tale" in Petronius, *Satire 61*, and the *Lai de Bisclavret* by Marie de France, both quoted by Mr. Kirby Smith. In the former a freedman sees a soldier, a friend of his, suddenly stop at a lonely place in the road, remove his clothes, emit a howl, and rush off into the woods in the form of a wolf. Later the freedman hears that a ravenous wolf has been among the cattle of another friend and has received a severe cut in the neck. On returning to the soldier's lodging, his friend finds him lying bathed in blood which pours from a great gash in his neck. The conclusion is evident: the man is a voluntary,¹ constitutional werwolf, and an object of horror ever after.

In Marie's *lai* a husband is guilty of frequent and mysterious absences from home, recurring at regular intervals. His wife, evidently acquainted with the habits of werwolves, having wormed from him the admission that he possesses the hated dual nature, begs him to tell her where he hides his clothes. After much hesitation he reveals the secret hiding-place, and to his sorrow. For when next the desire for transformation comes upon him, his wife follows him, steals his clothes, and leaves him powerless to regain his human shape. Afterward, by the intervention of King Arthur, he is restored and his unfaithful wife punished.²

The second method of transformation is that called "Teutonic" in Mr. Smith's article. The process is just the reverse of the former one. A man becomes a werwolf by putting on a "wolf-shirt"—or later a wolfskin girdle—and returns to human shape by removing it. Here, as in the first type, the change is usually voluntary, and occurs at either regular or irregular inter-

¹ See note on preceding page.

² See, in connection with this *lai*, the interesting article of PROFESSOR G. L. KITTEDGE appended to his recent edition of "Arthur and Gorlagon," a Latin version of a Welsh-Irish werwolf tale. The four versions of *The Werwolf's Tale* with which he deals all belong to the "constitutional" type with more or less admixture of later magic (*Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, Vol. VIII, pp. 149 ff.).

vals.¹ It is usually periodic, the periods often connected with the number nine. In this type the human nature, on the whole, predominates, even though, as in the case related in the *Volsunga Saga* (chaps. 5-8), the werwolves are wolves for longer periods than they are men. Mr. Smith quotes this latter story. Sigmund and Sinfiötli "fared forth into the forest after spoil; and they came upon a house, and two men with great gold rings were sleeping therein. They were at the time free from a great ill, for wolf-shirts were hanging upon the wall above them; every tenth day they might get out of those shirts." Sigmund and Sinfiötli, having put on the shirts, found themselves unable to return to human form, and rushing forth into the forest, gave themselves up to ravage and murder for the prescribed nine days. Then they returned, burned the skins, and so relieved themselves and the king's sons of the fatal temptation to lead the wolf-life.

An Armenian story, into which later religious ideas have been introduced, shows the same fundamental characteristics. A woman, for her sins, is condemned to wander seven years as a wolf. A spirit robes her in wolf-clothes, which arouse in her wolf-appetites. She devours first her own children and those of her relatives, then the children of strangers. She rages only at night. When morning comes, she returns to her human shape and carefully conceals her wolfskin. Hertz says that this legend is so closely related to European, especially Slavic, werwolf legends that it almost seems as if it must have wandered into Armenia from Russia or Greece.²

The third type of transformation is distinguished from the first two by the fact that, in the large majority of cases, it is brought about by the power of some person other than the werwolf, and against his will. The change both to and from the wolf-form is accomplished by means of a ring or necklace, *i. e.*, a magic circle, usually of gold. It is not periodic, therefore, and frequently the man, once transformed, remains wolf to his death. A good illustration of this method is a story taken from the

¹ In these stories, however, it is taken for granted that *whoever* puts on the "wolf-shirt" will become wolf, while in the case of the first class the gift of change, depending on a dual nature, is purely personal.

² W. HERTZ, *Der Werwolf*, p. 27.

German-Jewish *Maase Buch*.¹ In this story a rabbi sees one day a curious-looking weasel with a large gold ring in its mouth. He captures the weasel, obtains the ring, and finds it to be a magic talisman capable of granting his wishes. All this he tells his wife, but keeps the ring from her. At last, and of course, she discovers the ring and gains possession of it. In revenge, probably, for her goodman's lack of confidence in her, she promptly uses the powers of the captured ring to turn him into a wolf. He leaps out of the window and makes for the forest. The erewhile harmless rabbi now becomes a pest to the entire neighborhood, killing the cattle, threatening men's lives, and ravaging as no mere wolf could ravage. The king sets a price on his head, and a famous knight starts out to take him. When he reaches the depths of the forest he meets the wolf and struggles with it. Almost overcome, he resorts to prayer, and the wolf falls fawning at his feet. The knight having obtained the promised prize, the wolf remains with him till, one snowy day, he discovers the beast *writing Hebrew* with his paw on the snow. He hurries back to town, secures the king, and returns to the forest, where the wolf is awaiting him, his whole story scratched out upon the ground. The wicked wife is, of course, sought at once and the ring procured. When it has been placed upon the paw of the wolf, the witnesses see a wolf no longer, but the man restored to his humanity.

In this third division—of involuntary werwolves—must be placed our werwolf, Alphouns, who, though apparently made werwolf by magic salves only, no ring being mentioned, is restored to human form through a combination of ring and necklace.

A noynment anon sche made: of so grete strengþe
 bi enchaunmens of charmes: þat euil chaunche hire tide,
 þat whan þat womman þer-wizt: hadde þat worpi child
 ones wel an-oynted þe child: wel al a-bowte
 he wex to a werwolf wiztly þer-after
 al þe making of man so mysse hadde ȝhe schaped.²

¹ Earliest known edition, Basel, 1602; quoted by REINHOLD KÖHLER in the Introduction to the "*Lais de Marie de France*," *Bibliotheca Normantica*, Vol. III, pp. lxxix, lxxx.

² *William of Palerne*, E. E. T. S. Ex. Ser., I, ll. 136-41.

But at the last, when compelled to redress the wrong she had committed:

pan rauzt sche forþ a ring: a rich and a nobul.
 þe ston þat þeron was stigt was of so stif vertu
 þat neuer man upon mold: miȝt it him on haue
 ne schuld he with wiccheecraft be wicched neuer-more.

* * * * *

þat riche ring ful redily with a red silk prede
 þe quen bond als bliue a-boute þe wolwes necke.
 seþe feiþli of a forcer a fair bok sche rauzt.
 & radde þeron redli riȝt a long while
 so þat sche made him to man,¹

a naked man, as almost all werwolves seem to become when freed from the wolf-nature.

Of course, there are endless combinations of these types with each other and with other methods of magic, as shown by the salve and the magic book in *William*. All probably represent some confusion or combination of stories, and all are comparatively late. Even the story of Sigmund and Sinfjötli, one of the earliest of the Teutonic tales of werwolves that have come down to us, may be a combination of Types II and III, since it is expressly stated that the men who lay asleep with the wolf-shirts hanging above them had "great gold rings" on their fingers. Again, we have a combination of Type I, the constitutional werewolf, with the ring type, III, in the *Lai de Mélion*, where the hero removes his clothes, but must also be touched with his magic ring before he can assume werwolf shape, and touched with it again before he can return to human form.²

It was in trying to fix the position of Alphouns among his werwolf brethren that I was led to make the foregoing distinctions, with the results that shall be summed up later on. Having settled the predominating types of werwolves, in the three chief divisions that I have described and illustrated, I was struck with the fact (hinted by Mr. Kirby Smith in a general statement that the Scandinavians worked out a complete theory of transforma-

¹ *Op. cit.*, ll. 4424-34.

² See Introduction by R. KÖHLER to "*Lais de Marie de France—Bisclavret*," *Bibliotheca Normannica*, Vol. III, pp. lxxvi-lxxviii.

tions—but not in any way developed or illustrated by him) that the swan-transformation stories and legends, which, in various forms, are interwoven in the romances of the Middle Ages, would fall into exactly parallel classes—even including that first class which Mr. Kirby Smith makes *sui generis* and quite unparalleled in literature or legend.

Under the first method of transformation come the stories recorded by Grimm that represent the folk-tales corresponding to the "Schwann-Ritter Saga." In these the children who have become swans must put on *shirts* to become human children again. The mere throwing of the human garments about them transforms them at once to human shape. The detail that, in most cases, the shirts are required to be of a special sort, made after a magic formula—as in the story where the small sister must weave the shirts of nettles gathered by night in a churchyard, and must neither speak nor laugh during the seven years of the weaving—all this is mere late addition of folk-magic, designed to heighten the effect of the tale.¹

In the second category fall the legends of the swan maidens, the valkyrie, who for the sake of speed assume the swan-mantles for which they are specially distinguished. One of the most charming of the stories about them is that into which Wayland has also been introduced.² Wayland, following a hind that appears suddenly before him, is led to a fountain in the midst of the forest. Presently to this fountain come three swans (another version says three doves), who transform themselves into beautiful women by the removal of their swan-mantles, or clothes, and, leaving these on shore, step into the fountain to bathe. Wayland possesses himself of their garments, and so has the maidens in his power. In the one story he lets two of the swans escape, keeping the third for his wife; in the other, the "Volundarkviða," where he is joined by his two brothers, each takes one and forces her to marry him. The point of the story lies in the fact that the

¹ See BRÜDER GRIMM, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (Berlin, 1870), Tale 49, p. 191. Compare HANS ANDERSEN, "The White Swans;" also GRIMM, Tale 9, p. 37, "Die zwölf Brüder"—a similar story.

² See "Friedrich von Schwaben" and "Volundarkviða," quoted by SCHOFIELD, "The Lays of Graelent and Lanval," *Publications of Modern Language Association*, New Series, Vol. VIII (1900), pp. 134, 135.

moment the swan-mantles are removed their owners become human, and they cannot possibly resume their bird-forms without regaining and assuming the mantles.

In one of the swan-boy legends, also, the boys return to their swan-shapes by means of swan-shirts which they have removed to become human. In this case, since the boys are enchanted, they can remove their feather-clothing only at fixed intervals—during the night—and are compelled to resume it, even against their wills, at daybreak.¹

But the method of transformation that is most frequently used in the versions of the swan-knight story is that third method that depends upon the magic circle of gold, in this case represented by a necklace. The six little boys, all born at one time in the forest, excite the envy of the wicked queen, their grandmother, by the gold necklaces found upon their necks. When the necklaces are stolen from them, all become swans, and remain in that form until, years afterward, the necklaces are restored. The one little swan-boy whose necklace has been melted up, and the magic thus destroyed, never becomes human.² In one swan-maiden story also the maiden's necklace is mentioned, and though it is not directly connected with the transformation, in some older version it is altogether probable that it figured more prominently.

Perhaps the last-named story would stand best as a combined type, like some of the *Märchen* of the swan-children, where the boys, transformed by their wicked grandmother, can be brought back to their rightful shape only through the shirts woven by the little sister whose necklace is mentioned as her most precious possession. Since no adequate reason appears to explain why the little girl did not become a swan with her brothers, perhaps it is

¹ *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, Tale 49, p. 193.

² In English, *The Romance of the Chevalere Assigne*, ed. H. H. GIBBS, Early English Text Society, Extra Series 6, 1863; prose version, *Helyas Knight of the Swan*, printed by Robert Copland early in the sixteenth century, ed. THOMS, 1858. The earliest version of the story known to exist is in the Latin romance by the monk JEAN DE HAUTE SEILLE (JOHANNES DE ALTA SILVA), entitled *Dolopathos siue de Rege et Septem Sapientibus*, twelfth century, ed. OESTERLEY, 1873. There are several French versions, the first directly from *Dolopathos* by the poet HERBERT, twelfth century, "Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne," ed. in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, Vol. IV (1889); *Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne et de Godefroy de Bouillion* (so-called *Elie* version), ed. HIPPEAU (Paris, 1874), etc. Cf. WAGNER's *Lohengrin* for modern treatment of the story.

not too presumptuous to assume that here, as in the more elaborate romance versions of the story, the necklace proved an effective charm to keep its owner human.

We have seen, then, that both werewolf stories and swan stories—the best-known and most widespread examples of the human-animal transformation idea—may be grouped in three general classes. The first class accomplishes its transformation simply by the removal of human clothes, and by the resumption of these same clothes. A dual nature is presupposed. Ordinarily there is no fixed time at which the metamorphosis takes place. The change is usually voluntary. The man becomes wolf when and where he pleases, and returns to the human shape when his wolf-passions are appeased. The swan-boys, on the other hand, have been cursed with the swan-shape and cannot return to their true form at will. The wolf story, in this instance, is probably the more primitive. Definite time limits, such as are imposed in the “Lai de Bisclavret,” are probably a later addition also.¹

The second class comprises the transformations by means of the skins of animal or bird—when the skins assumed are removed their wearers return to human shape. The change may be voluntary or involuntary; forced upon the man by a curse, or assumed at his own discretion and for a special purpose. The human nature here is uppermost, as is the animal nature in the first class, the power to transform it lying, as before, in the clothes assumed. Here the change is more frequently periodic than not, as we saw in the case of the swan-children who were boys by night, swans by day, and in that of the *Sigmund* story, where the periods were nine days long.

Lastly, the third class covers all those legends in which voluntary—or involuntary—change to wolf or swan is caused by the use of a magic circle of gold—ring or necklace—with or without accompanying charms.

What, now, is the relative age of these three classes of transformations? Undoubtedly, Class I, in its *oldest* form a purely voluntary constitutional type,² in which only the removal and

¹ Cf. KIRBY SMITH.

² In many versions coming under this type the change is due to a curse, inherited or incurred by the man himself, and so is *involuntary*, occurring periodically at definite inter-

resumption of human clothes are necessary to accomplish the change of shape, is the most ancient.¹ For, in the first place, it is the simplest in device, thus agreeing with the principle that, the farther back we go, the simpler do beliefs and legends become; the older they are, the less are they burdened with detail. Again, it shows a primitive belief in the weakness of the division between man and the lower animals, and in the ease with which the line may be crossed by one and the other. Finally, it is not only the simplest, but the most perfect expression of the underlying idea, in at least all the werwolf transformation stories, of the duality existing in the very nature of the man-wolf; that duality which, more than all his acts of ferocity while in the wolf-form, has rendered him an object of hatred and grisly horror from the oldest times until now.

The relative ages of the second and third types are harder to determine. The magic-circle type is not necessarily the latest. For this idea of a magic circle is very ancient. Possibly this, once a general formula for changes of all kinds, may have come to be used for changes in form and nature between man and animals as early as the use of the actual skins of animals—or earlier. On the face of it, however, the use of the skins of the birds or animals themselves appears more primitive. It is a case of the appearance making the man: as, in the first type, one puts on human clothes to become human, so, in the second, one puts on animal clothes, and with them the nature and attributes represented by them in the popular imagination. As Mr. Kirby Smith says:² “The reasoning is simple and clear to the primitive mind—put on the wolf-shape, you become wolf.” In the same way, assume the feathers of a swan, you are swan—with, of course, traces of the original nature remaining. A later age, with its more sophisticated ideas of magic, finds insufficient causation in the old stories, and the most widely used instrument of its magic, the *ring*, is introduced as a result.

vals of time. But in the *most ancient* form of the legend the change would seem to have depended on the man's own will, and so may be classed as purely voluntary. Cf. KIRBY SMITH, as before.

¹ Cf. KIRBY SMITH, “The Werwolf,” pp. 39, 40.

² “The Werwolf,” p. 40.

The primitive form of the werewolf stories which group themselves in classes I and II, as compared with that of those in Class III, corroborates the belief in the comparative lateness of the latter. Moreover, in the case of the swan-series, we find the *Märchen* and folk-tales going into Classes I and II with, if anything, only a trace of the ring idea; while the romances, in all cases less primitive, group themselves in Class III.

The werewolf story embodied in *William of Palerne*, therefore, falls into what is probably the least primitive class of transformations, and its nearest parallel is found in the romance of the swan-knights. The fact that the ring, in Alphouns's case, is not used as a ring upon the finger, but is suspended by a cord about his neck, makes him the more nearly akin to the knights whose necklaces were necessary to their lives as men. Their stories in general, too, are similar. Like them, he suffered from the wrath of a witch in his father's household; like them, he wandered far and wide in his transformed shape; like them, he performed services of kindness wherever he went; and, like them, was finally restored to humanity through the golden circle. Though inhabiting a form which carried with it suggestions of wickedness and horror beyond expression, he seems to me fully worthy to stand in our affections side by side with those darlings of romance.

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NOTE.—A transformation analogous to a combination of Classes I and II of the werewolf transformations has been pointed out to me by Professor F. I. Carpenter in STRAPAROLA's *Nights* (English edition, Vol. I, pp. 53-64). The story is as follows: Galeotto, king of Anglia, had a very beautiful wife named Ersilia. Their union was perfect but for one thing—the lack of children. One day Ersilia fell asleep in the forest, and while she slept three fairies came and blessed her. One said she should never fear, and should have a son. The second endowed this son with great gifts of mind and character. The third said he should be born in the shape of a pig, and should retain that form until he had thrice wedded a beautiful maiden.

In process of time the prince was born. Great was the horror of king and queen when they beheld his shape. His mother loved him, however, and he was allowed to run at will over the palace, even after wallowing in the mud of the street. One human gift he possessed—that of speech.

When the pig-prince had attained to years of manhood, he came one day to his mother and demanded a wife; and so violent did he become, when his request was refused, that the king and queen were forced to consider some means of agreeing to his demand.

There was a poor widow in the country who had three beautiful daughters. Her they summoned and asked the eldest of the girls for their son. Reluctantly the mother consented. The daughter was brought to the palace and wedded to the pig-prince. But at

night, when she saw him come in covered with mud, she plotted with herself how to kill him. He heard her whispered words, and rushing upon her slew her in her bed.

Some time after he again demanded a wife. The widow's second daughter, who had married him, like her older sister, in the hope of murdering him and succeeding to his wealth, met with the first wife's fate.

Once more Prince Pig demanded a spouse, and this time so violently that the queen went trembling to the widow to beg the hand of her third and youngest daughter for her terrible son. Gladly and humbly the young girl consented. With great gentleness and show of affection she called the prince to her and bade him lie on a fold of her gorgeous bridal gown. With patience she awaited his return at night, and lovingly summoned him to her side. What was her astonishment to see him strip off the loathsome hide of the pig and stand before her a radiantly beautiful naked prince. By day he continued for some time to assume the pigskin, by night his human form. At last, however, he was freed from the charm, and king, queen, and people rejoiced in his release.

Here we see indicated several characteristic points of the general transformation formula: (1) The prince possesses the dual nature, for while he retains the swine-shape he has the swinish desires of wallowing and gluttony. (2) He has certain murderous instincts which ally him with the werwolves, though in this instance justified as self-defense. (3) After his marriage with the youngest daughter he can assume or remove the skin at will—a trait of the transformations under Type II. (4) His animal shape is the result of a curse laid upon his mother previous to his birth—a common circumstance among the stories under Type I. On the whole, his is a combination of Types I and II.

The gift of speech is not generally granted to transformed men while in their animal or bird shapes; e. g., Alphouns communicates with William and Melior only by signs, the Jewish wolf by writing.

No doubt many other sporadic examples of transformation into the shapes of various animals could be adduced. Those given above, however, seem sufficient to establish the theory of three distinct yet interconnected types, under which may be grouped parallel stories at least from the swan and werwolf series of legends.

PRIMITIVE POETRY AND THE BALLAD.

III.

THE dualism of communal and individual poetry, and the formula of distinction between cumulative impression in an appeal to emotional community and provocative, imaginative appeal to individual sentiment, rest on the assumption that such changes as have come about in the conditions under which poetry is made have affected the whole poetic process, composition and record alike, changing both the poetic quality and the poetic appeal. The changes in environment are sociological and ethnological facts for which evidence is plentiful, and which led M. Brunetière¹ to invoke that "croissante complexité de la vie sociale" as cause of the modern personal notes in poetry. The changes of quality and appeal are literary facts open to the estimate of every critic. Professor Brandl remarks, in the essay already quoted, that I ought to have been jested out of my *sancta simplicitas* as a disciple of Jacob Grimm; I could wish that Professor Brandl were to be persuaded out of his hilarity into a look at the facts. When Mr. Seebohm, in his new book² as in his old, ranges the facts to show that older stages of social development must have cherished communal ownership and must have greatly restricted individual rights, one does not answer him with an obituary notice of the late Mr. Buckle. Again, within the range of facts, only those are to be considered here which bear directly on the case in hand. I protest against any implication of other critical views as fatal to the communal claim. Suppose, to quote from Professor Gildersleeve's "brief" but delightful "mention" of Bréal's essay, suppose that the Homeric poems were made, like modern opera, for a fashionable audience, and are sophisticated to a degree. Suppose the main thing in Homer to be the individual appeal, the cosmic thinking, the sentiment; suppose that the communal epic

¹ *Questions de critique*, "La littérature personnelle," p. 236, first published in 1888.

² *Tribal Customs in Anglo-Saxon Law* (1902), cf. pp. 496 ff.

majesty, the cumulative appeal, asserted in the foregoing section of this paper, are not to be found in Homer at all. Suppose his rich imagery takes him out of the communal file altogether, and suppose the *Nibelungen* itself to have no trace of the really popular strain.¹ Or, again, suppose this Homer was the wandering minstrel lately described with such charm by M. Anatole France. Or suppose ballads with F. A. Wolf; suppose *gemeinsames dichten* with Lachmann; suppose with the accretion folk; suppose a nation in verse with Grimm; suppose celestial origins with that reverent and tiptoe critic of the *Nation*; suppose what one will, or—*nam non curatur qui curat*—suppose nothing serious whatever, as Mr. Gregory Smith seems to recommend in the case of ballads: from none of these suppositions about the epic can come any real conclusion about the argument now before us. To prove that Homer is not primitive does not touch the validity of a formula based on known facts of actual primitive poetry. It must be proved by direct literary facts that ballads are not a survival of the old communal verse, of the primitive habit of poetic composition; it must be proved by sociological facts that the conditions of primitive verse-making were not essentially different from those of the modern poem. For such proof, I think, one will wait in vain. Sociological facts of merely modern range, without historical perspective, can say little for the matter; and as little can be said by pretty “laws” of social life, unless they really cover all the ground which they claim. It is a neat summary and phrase of M. Tarde when he says² that “il n’y a pas de science de l’individuel, mais il n’y a d’art que de l’individuel.” Yet no one knows better than M. Tarde, with his clever illustration of the juryman, that an individual thinking and acting for himself is another person from the same individual feeling and acting with a crowd. Nor again, for confuting the theory of poetic dualism and destroying the formula of distinction, will it do to appeal to ultimate unity. In the last analysis poetry is one and the same at all times and places. If poetry of the throng is dominated by oral tradition, so the poetry of solitude is compassed about by its own cloud of

¹ EUGEN WOLFF, “Über den Stil des Nibelungenliedes,” in *Verhandlungen der 40sten Versammlung deutscher Philologen*, etc. (Leipzig, 1890), cf. pp. 262 ff.

² *Les lois sociales* (1898), p. 155.

silent but determining forces; literary heredity is there, literary environment is there; and every poem must be at heart a mysterious blending of individual with social elements. But conditions of production determine the product in its characteristics; these are sufficient for dualism and formula; and with these, as plain facts, one has to deal.¹

The product, however, is in itself a plain fact; and to the plain facts of ballad literature recent writers have been devoting their attention untroubled by questions of a comparative and of a sociological drift. Two,² whose intimate knowledge of Scottish vernacular literature gives them an advantage in the discussion, have looked at the ballad for itself; their conclusion not only rejects the communal claim of origins, but makes, if successful, for a destruction far wider and far deeper in its reach. In his earlier book³ Mr. Henderson depends mainly on humorous remarks about "the heart of the people," which really tends, he says, to obscure and finally to efface the ballad. A reviewer,⁴ with style and comment astonishingly like the style and comment of Mr. Andrew Lang, disposes of this argument with the remark that "Mr. Henderson shows no sign of knowing anything about the matter;" and, while these are indeed bitter words, I must agree with them, if only for the reason that a writer who discusses the ballad with-

¹ Folk-song, a far wider field than that of the traditional ballad, complicates the problem, but must be met in any final argument on this communal theme. Two interesting papers, one by JOHN MEIER, "Volkslied und Kunstlied in Deutschland," in the *Beilage zur allgem. Zeitung*, Munich, March, 1898, Nos. 53, 54, and one by DR. P. S. ALLEN, on "W. Müller and the German Volkslied," in the *Journal of Germanic Philology*, Vol. II, pp. 283 ff., assert the contemporary doctrine that a folk-song is and was merely something sung by the folk. See also an article on "Cafés-concerts et Music Halls," *Revue des deux Mondes*, July, 1902, p. 61; "le café-concert est devenu l'art du peuple;" each man sings his couplet, it would seem, as the Norwegian peasant sang his *stev* or the Italian his *strambotto*. With such dissent as the upholder of communal theory finds in these articles there are two ways to deal. One is to deny outright any real analogy between the popular song of today, whether rural or of the *café-concert*, and the ballads and songs once produced by homogeneous communities and handed down by oral tradition. The task here is to prove the homogeneous conditions, once real, to be now no longer in existence, and also to prove the necessary connection of these conditions with communal poetry. Or one may reply that the ballad and the folk-song of tradition are simply higher and better specimens of a degenerating art which with these "crazy couplets in a tavern hall" has reached almost the lowest step in its melancholy *dégringolade*. For what follows I shall only ask the reader to keep always in mind the absolute difference between stages in chronology and stages in evolution.

² MR. GREGORY SMITH, in his *Transition Period*, 1900, handling the European ballad of the fifteenth century, and MR. HENDERSON, first in his *Scottish Vernacular Literature*, 1898, and now in this edition of the *Minstrelsy*.

³ Chap. xi.

⁴ *Daily News*, January 4, 1899.

out looking at its elements and characteristics, without answering claims about the conditions under which it arose, deserves no serious consideration. Very different is the case in Mr. Henderson's edition of the *Minstrelsy*. He deals there with a definite group of ballads, briefly in his introduction, but mainly in his comment on individual poems. The drift of this critical work is very plain. Not only does proof of recent manufacture and of wholesale contamination seem to reduce communal theories to a pious but absurd superstition; it is really an attack upon balladry as a whole. It tends to break down, once for all, what so many other critics assail in these latter days—that worship of the ballad as a thing apart, as flotsam and jetsam from a sunken Atlantis of poetry.¹ Mr. Henderson, except for a few introductory opinions, does not argue the case; he examines the specimens of his collection and politely points out amiable but misguided enthusiasms of the former owner. "You see," he seems to say, "Sir Walter's labels? Of course, he had the best intentions. . . . Strange, though, that Professor Child, indeed an industrious and sagacious man, should have copied so many of these tags." Flaws, defects, mistakes of date and locality, are pointed out; but this zeal is not meant merely to correct the record. In the museum at Oxford, I think it is, one sees a number of genuine old flint arrow-heads, knives, and the like; close beside these are the counterfeits, and a photograph of the wily peasant who made them. Mr. Henderson goes farther than this. Scott, as everyone knows, put some innocent and acknowledged counterfeits into his collection—imitations made by himself, by Leyden, Sharpe, and others; they do no harm and have never disturbed the student of popular song. Now, Mr. Henderson will not utterly and at once deny the distinction; but he does imply that from imitating to editing and patching is no wide leap, and he evidently believes that the constantly growing mass of excisions from traditional material—excisions due now to discovered forgeries and now to innocent

¹ Appreciation of poetical qualities in the ballad is not our present concern; but I am inclined to think the reader will back what MR. CHILD says (Vol. II, p. 238) of *The Wife of Usher's Well*: "Nothing that we have is more profoundly affecting," against MR. HENDERSON's remark (Vol. III, p. 320): "There is nothing remarkable in the story, which might well be the creation of a dream." To Mr. Child's praise of "Edward," MR. HENDERSON (*Scot. Ver. Lit.*, p. 338), drily remarks that the thing has been "doctored."

misunderstandings, innocent restoration, correction, arrangement—must in time reduce the ballad of tradition to quite negligible quality and quantity. He gives to Burns, for example, a share in that fine “old” ballad of “Tam Lane,” which he suspects to have come from a romance, and to Scott practically all of “Kinmont Willie,” as we knew, and of “Katharine Janfarie.”¹ But we are not troubled over these random losses; like King Hal,

We do not mean the coursing snatchers only,
But fear the main intendment of the Scot.

Ballads, he declares, grow worse by tradition—a statement quite true for the circumstances to which he confines his research.² Could one come at all the facts, so he seems to argue, one would find popular poetry to be a patchwork of silk and frieze—silk both contributed from the private store of a Burns and begged as scraps from the discarded gowns of romance; frieze from the uncouth and vulgar haunts of the wandering minstrel, the sturdy beggar, the act-of-Parliament rogue.

This argument, however, is going to prove, if it is valid, a vast deal more than one might think, and will pull down a huge critical edifice heretofore regarded as solid and firm. It is not an argument; it is a revolution. Down go the gates of authentic balladry. Tom Deloney, Anthony Now-Now, and all that rout, are free of the city. Down go the barriers between a traditional ballad and doggerel of the stall. If one find this excellent ballad, give it to an excellent but anonymous poet. If chivalry and the large air of deeds commend that ballad of battles long ago, consider it a fragment of old polite romance flung to the chances of popular and oral record.³ More than this, it seems that no test is left, that I can discover, by which one may pass upon the claims of a ballad to its place in any collection. Spirit, purpose, and meaning disappear, for such criticism, from the great work of Professor Child. “This Ninth Part,” he wrote in 1894,

¹ Vol. II, pp. 380, 387.

² As far back as 1809, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie celtique*, p. 238, “Notice du Patois Vendéen,” M. REVILLIÈRE-LEPEAUX noted that it was the bad songs that got into print, while the best were to be sought in oral tradition.

³ For considerations which seem to make impossible this theory of Scott himself, of Professor Courthope, Mr. Henderson, and others, see the writer's *Beginnings of Poetry*, pp. 179 ff.

"completes the collection of English and Scottish ballads to the extent of my knowledge of sources"—with the exception of one uncopied piece in a lost manuscript. But how "complete"? It is clear that the notion of a traditional ballad existed in very exact shape for Professor Child, when one thinks of the host which he rejected. In Johnson's *Cyclopædia* he made a provisional statement of this notion; but it was not final, and he wished it to be neither quoted nor regarded as final. The statement is both negative and positive. With his sturdy common-sense, Mr. Child balked at the idea of folk-made poetry as set forth by Wilhelm Grimm; with sturdy particular sense, however, gained from long commerce with his subject, he goes on to say that, although men and not communities make the ballad, it comes from a period when people are not divided into markedly distinct classes, when "there is such community of ideas and feelings that the whole people form an individual." It must be traditional, then, and sprung from that homogeneous, unlettered community which all the great writers on balladry, including Ferdinand Wolf, himself a resolute skeptic about communal authorship, have demanded as a necessary condition of the original ballad. But this positive part of the statement Mr. Henderson rejects as highly inconvenient for his own view of the case; if Professor Child had put his mind on the subject, so a note¹ of expostulation declares, he would have come to a sounder and saner judgment. He would not, one may so interpret Mr. Henderson, any longer call the ballad "a distinct and very important species of poetry." He would not call fifteenth-century ballads "the creation . . . of the whole people, great and humble, who were still one in all essentials." He would not say that later ballads "belong to a different genus; they are products of a low kind of *art*."² In other words, he would have come to negation absolute, and could have given no final reason for the inclusions and exclusions of his own collection—itself a definition of balladry—save a kind of consistent caprice.³ That most scientific and comprehensive effort to gather what the

¹ Vol. I, p. xxiii.

² Professor Child's italics. See the whole article.

³ In his *Scottish Vernacular Literature*, p. 336, MR. HENDERSON speaks kindly but firmly of this collection: "The chaff is out of all proportion to the wheat." How does Mr. Henderson test the wheat?

editor thought to be a definite class of poems, a class no longer represented in contemporary verse and therefore inviting a balance of the account, becomes a sort of glorified commonplace-book to be regarded, *mutatis mutandis*, somewhat as one regards Ben Jonson's *Timber*. The ballad, as a literary species, is thus read out of existence; and, as in the case of folk-songs, nothing is left to it in the way of definition save the vague predicate of "popular." Mr. Child simply collected the things which he liked out of a mass of things which seem to have been liked by the people.¹

Such is the implication of Mr. Henderson's remarks on the ballads which he has edited, for the narrower case, with taste, knowledge, and skill. But what he does not say is said out loud and bold by Mr. Gregory Smith,² who speaks from his critical watch-tower overlooking all the literature of the fifteenth century. What are these ballads, then? Popular? Not in the slightest. They are "a *literary*³ survival or *réchauffé* . . . of certain pre-existing literary forms;" they are "literary products." In Italy, "*rispetti* and *stornelli* were written for the people." The epic is not a resultant of ballads;⁴ and ballads themselves, far from being "popular," far even from being the work of minstrels, are a literary venture from the start, and a late venture at that. Mr. Smith does not go outside of Europe and the fifteenth century for his facts, and he pays no heed to argument or authority. He gives a polite nod to the late Gaston Paris, and then ruthlessly rides him down. Such communal elements as refrain, repetition, lack of trope or figure; such sociological facts as the power of improvisation once universal with the peasants of Europe; such ethno-

¹ No one can say what would have been Mr. Child's final word on this matter. Some notes for his general introduction which he showed me—I think in the summer of 1893—were scanty and tentative, mainly references to early English and other sources where ballads are either mentioned or implied. There is rich reward, however, for anyone who will excerpt all his critical remarks and determine their general drift. What, for example, are the qualities which make Mr. Child say of "Johnie Cock" that it is "a precious specimen of the unspoiled traditional ballad" (Vol. III, p. 1)?

² *Transition Period*, pp. 181-235.

³ Mr. Smith's own italics.

⁴ That is, I suppose, the *Gest of Robin Hood* was not "put together as early as 1400 or before" (CHILD) on the basis of older ballads; the ballads were broken up from it or from an older form of it. When SLOTH in *Piers Plowman* refers to "rymes of Robin Hood," he doubtless means the epic, a copy of which he carries with him! But MR. SMITH calls the *Gest* "a conglomerate of the ballad episodes," and says "the seemingly 'popular' character of these ballads requires some explanation." I agree with Mr. Smith here; but vehemently protest against Robin as an avatar of King Arthur.

logical facts as the growth of ballad-like songs in lower stages of culture; such cases as the Bannockburn songs, the Faroe islanders' ballad, the dancing and singing women of mediæval fame who made ballads upon persons and things as they danced; the survivals of communal song gathered by folk-lore from field and farm—for these and kindred facts Mr. Smith has no care. A specimen of his attempt at serious argument to show that men like Villon and Dunbar wrote what we call popular ballads is his use of the word *ballate*¹—a word then applied, if Mr. Smith but knew it, to anything from sensational journalism up to the Song of Solomon in an early version of the English Bible. Nobody could possibly go farther in the rejection of ballads as a class than Mr. Smith goes in these brief and light-hearted remarks, flung out, he says, not to convince the seeker after truth, but “simply to add to the gaiety of the ballad symposium.” That is all very well for the common-room after dinner; as a printed contribution to what professes to be the historical study of literature, purpose and performance will be weighed in the scholar's balance and found wanting. Something more is needed to do what this argument essays to do, and bring the critical world back to that aristocratic disdain for all poetry of the people which held sway until the third quarter of the eighteenth century. Better, wider, deeper thinking must be spent upon this subject, if Herder and the Grimms and Wolf, pioneers, are to have all the hard-won territory taken from them, if colonists like Percy of old, Grundtvig and Child of later days, are to be proved aliens without right to the soil, their planting and reaping all in vain. Mr. Smith's arguments and theory have done no harm. Danger lies in direct attacks upon the ballads themselves. Admit what is hinted by Mr. Henderson, run every ballad to earth in a poet's yard, and the ballad itself is a figment of theory, a missing link. Mr. Henderson may say, indeed, that he is simply editing the *Minstrelsy*, and telling the whole truth about it so far as his information goes; he is not trying to read the ballad out of existence. But he must take the consequences of his general statements and of his particular criticism. Both statement and criticism suffer,

as Mr. Smith's theory not only suffers but dies, from the fact that the conclusions are very wide and the range of material very narrow. Mr. Child's keen instinct for a ballad of tradition was backed by intimate acquaintance with the balladry of all Europe. Mr. Henderson is like the physician who has never walked a hospital—sharp enough in his perceptions, conscientious, accurate, patient; but these qualities are not enough for diagnosis. Lack of experience leads him into particular error. "That *Willie's Ladye*," he says,¹ "is a genuine antique is not self-evident. It is not in the usual ballad measure." Had he only looked at the first volume of Child's collection, not to speak of Scandinavian and other ballads, he would not have made such a remark, no matter whether he held with Rosenberg that this old couplet added to the older refrain is source of ballad quatrains, or whether he took refuge in the septenar.

Two things the defender of communal origins in the ballad has a right to claim. First he asks that all the material be considered; and secondly he demands reasonable restitution of those communal elements—as he chooses to call them—which editors have very naturally omitted from the record. "Johnie Cock," which Mr. Child welcomed as a "precious specimen of the unspoiled traditional ballad," has a pervasive burden or refrain in the oldest copy, which was procured in 1780 by a lady of Carlisle. Marks of an even more pervasive tendency to repetition are also on this version. Scott's "Johnie of Breadislee," however, the same ballad made up from different copies, omits the refrain, touches away here and there the vain repetitions, and, making it more readable, leaves in it little traditional echo of the singing throng. It is evident, then, that an argument based on communal elements in the ballad needs to go outside of the *Minstrelsy* for material; and an answer to such argument must also come upon open ground. Plainly, too, in defending the test of a genuine ballad as traditional and ultimately derived from the remote time and place of homogeneous communities, collections like Child's and Grundtrig's, which assume such an origin, along with constant use of related literature, are indispensable material. Nevertheless, I shall take the

¹ Vol. III, p. 214.

Minstrelsy as it stands, and I shall ask whether Mr. Henderson's critical estimate of its contents must not yield to the communal claim that the ballads in it refuse to be classed with merely "popular" poems of art, but rather agree with the test of cumulative appeal to emotional community. It is not easy, in this sort of argument, to keep one's feet on firm ground. Refrains are refrains; repetition is repetition; the Faroe islanders, in their communal dance, singing an improvised ballad about an event hardly finished before their eyes, and with the hero in full view, present a stubborn fact; and I have noticed that the rationalists avoid discussion of such facts. But "cumulative appeal" and "emotional community" are fine food for rational powder. These qualities, so the taunt may run, exist in all poetry, have existed, will exist, like the other qualities of atomistic conception and imaginative appeal to individual sentiment. It is simply *naive und sentimentale dichtung* once more, under new names, to furbish up a shop-worn and unsalable theory.

It may be replied that cumulative appeal to emotional community is far more than *naive dichtung*; it is the vital principle of communal verse, and derives from the very elements which nobody really denies in that verse. If such an appeal is found in poetry of art, it is imitation, in whatever degree of success, of the communal quality. Scott, as I think, was the last of our poets who caught the note at its clearest and used it without effort; Tennyson, perhaps, carries his art as far as any in the opposite direction of individual appeal. In "Bonny Dundee," with its swinging refrain, where Scott revives the old charm far more successfully than in his direct imitations of the ballad, there is a stanza which at first sight seems analogous to a stanza of Tennyson's "Maud;" each is simple and direct in its appeal to emotion, and each employs a kind of natural magic in blending this appeal with a quality for which there is no better name than the picturesque:

He waved his proud hand, and the trumpets were blown,
The kettle-drums clashed, and the horsemen rode on,
Till on Ravelston's cliffs and on Clermiston's lee
Died away the wild war-notes of Bonny Dundee. . . .

and Tennyson :

Alas for her that met me,
That heard me softly call,
Came glimmering through the laurels
At the quiet evenfall,
In the garden by the turrets
Of the old manorial hall . . .

Critical analysis, however, soon puts these stanzas far apart, and traces back their distinct, and diverging paths of origin. Tennyson's simplicity and directness, suggestive withal, came by an exquisite art; Scott almost improvises. Tennyson's appeal is to individual sentiment; every word is a provocative whisper that sets the imagination peering down vista after vista of romance; every suggestion makes a kind of solitude for the reader's dream. Scott transports his hearer—not his reader, for the verse sings aloud—amid the clans and the bustle of march; he appeals, so far as the conditions of his art allow, to emotional community. Not a line, it is true, of "Bonny Dundee" could be foisted upon us for real ballad of tradition—perhaps that is the reason for its success in reproducing something of the communal spirit;¹ and yet it leads us back to the *Minstrelsy*, just as the *Minstrelsy* leads us to the balladry of Europe, and just as that holds in survival the elements of primitive song. In each of these backward steps one loses from view something more of the individual art without which, in however small degree, no deliberate effort of poetry can be rounded out and preserved. It is not a question of finding poetry where absolutely no individual art is concerned; one looks rather for poetry made under conditions which subordinated the individual to the community; and the ballads of the *Minstrelsy* are still in this class.

The first step from modern art back to communal conditions is made in passing from poetry written and read to poetry recited—or sung—and heard. Recited poetry can waken thought and

¹ The ballad "suggestion," however provocative and beautiful, is never akin to the beauty of the real ballad.

"She lingered by the Broken Brook,
She drank of Weary Well,"

makes one think of ballads, but in doing so ceases to have the ballad appeal.

sentiment; but that is not its primary and prevailing appeal. The listener is rarely solitary; and what is now called an "audience" makes at once for emotional community, calling for cumulative impression, for repetition, and for progress by omitted details, qualities which are shunned by the art of written poetry, but which atone for their lack of suggestion by chances for gesture and emphasis in double working upon the eye and the ear. Now, these ballads of the *Minstrelsy* were handed down by recitation or song. Exceptions are unimportant. To trace this or that passage to a known and near source of composition, to expose Buchan's "wight of Homer's craft" as a kind of Mr. Jorkins, says nothing to the case; counterfeits prove the coin. If, then, these ballads, which Scott gathered with such care, show a measure of communal rather than individual traits, as they do, and if their appeal is to emotional community rather than to personal sentiment, is it not logical to attribute the presence of one set of qualities, the absence of another set, to the conditions under which these songs were made and then recited or sung? Is it not highly illogical to assume that an initial literary effort, the poetry that is written to be read, created the assumed communal qualities antecedent to the communal conditions? Such a supposition would be accepted in no other science than that of poetry. And what becomes of Mr. Smith's "*literary* survival or *réchauffé* . . . of certain pre-existing literary forms"? Warmed-up literary material might pass; but "warmed-up literary forms" is more than a hard saying. It defies common-sense and the facts in the case. Good stories wander everywhere. But the matter of a ballad, the tale it tells, is not the ballad. What "pre-existing literary forms," pray, are "warmed-up" in that pretty ballad¹ which is almost certainly the old tale of Hero and Leander passing through a hundred changes to its Westphalian version? Prince and princess pine for each other; deep waters intervene; love finds out the way; a *falske rune*, or witch, quenches the light; the prince is drowned, and the princess is broken-hearted. What follows has neither Antipater's conciseness nor Marlovian breadth; it takes the ballad way:

¹ REIFFERSCHIED, *Westfälische Volkslieder* (1879), p. 3.

"O Moder, sede se, Moder,
 min Ogen dot mi der so weh,
 mag ick der nich gahn spazeren
 an de Kant van de ruskende See?"

"O Dochter, sede de Moder,
 allene sallst du der nich gahn,
 weck up dinen jongsten Broder,
 un de sall mit di gahn."

"Min allerjungeste Broder,
 dat is so 'n unnüsel Kind,
 he schüt wol alle de Vüglkes
 de an der Seekante sind." . . .

Rebuff of this excuse follows, and then four exactly corresponding stanzas, with incremental repetition, about the youngest sister. The third of the series is decisive, of course, with a fine climax of the increment:

"O Moder, sede se, Moder,
 min *Herte* dot mi der so weh!
 lat annere gahn na de Kerken,
 ick *bet* an de ruskende See!"

Then the fisherman, and the body of the prince, and death. But the ballad is not in the tale; it is in the still small communal voice, in that cumulative appeal, that echo of communal emotion, it is in the singing¹ and in the hearing. And whence come these elements of the actual ballad, if not from the conditions under which poetry was made and sung in the unlettered homogeneous community? What pre-existing literary forms explain them? If Mr. Smith asks, as we all ask, why the older ballads are not preserved, why this "literary form" seems to spring up suddenly about the fifteenth century, we point to ample proof that popular ballads had existed but failed of record. Where, indeed, are the Anglo-Saxon ballads? *Urgentur longa nocte*, save for a faint glimpse of their matter in the chronicles of a William of Malmesbury. Art had not come to their rescue as actual poems. And why are fifteenth-century ballads handed down? First, because art did come to their rescue; secondly, because oral tradition of a given vernacular reaches back to those days,

¹ Professor E. H. Meyer, of Freiburg, told me that the motive of the third stanza of this ballad — where the *Rune* comes in — was worked into one of the great German symphonies.

and no farther. Finally, how does one know that the ballad, with these communal elements, really existed in early stages of poetic evolution? Because, by happy chance here and there, as with the Faroe case, one can see this early stage of the process and surprise a communal ballad in the making. More than this, one argues by analogy with the drama. Aristotle's account of the classical drama as developed out of chorus and communal improvisation rimes exactly with this theory of ballad origins. Carry Mr. Smith's or Mr. Henderson's theory to its logical conclusion, and it falls softly but surely into the bosom of Count de Maistre; primitive culture, beginnings of civilization amid savagery, are a myth of the sociologists, and barbarism is itself a *réchauffé* of pre-existing civilizations.

But Mr. Henderson calls us back to the material of the *Minstrelsy*. What are these ballads? Representations of the communal ballad, crossed by a deal of rude or polite art, along with considerable changes, additions, and arrangements of the editor. One will not find here *a* communal ballad, but one will find *the* communal ballad—entered, it is true, on its last stage as a living species of poetry. The late Professor ten Brink admirably defined old and vanished balladry as a making which “oscillated between production and reproduction.” Preserved only by a mingling of individual art, this old communal ballad begins with the smallest possible amount of production—one thinks, for matter, of the so-called cumulative songs; for style, of incremental repetition as developed out of refrains—to the greatest possible amount of reproduction; and gradually reverses this proportion, until the communal element has too little energy of its own, and too little aid from social conditions, to keep up its life. Then the ballad is dead. Now, the tradition which keeps this old ballad alive is at its best in popular memory; but it may also fall into professional hands. Then results what is called the minstrel ballad. Most of the historical ballads in Scott's *Minstrelsy* are of this class, and are often referred by Professor Child and others to the minstrel's actual making; perhaps a better phrase would be “minstrel's control.”¹ Here, of course, new subject-matter, new con-

¹ See the writer's *Old English Ballads*, pp. 311 ff.

ditions, and individual control reduce to a subordinate position those old elements of the ballad as a species. Refrains vanish; repetition is less insistent; recitation or individual chanting supersedes the song; and improvisation, if employed, has grown professional and almost thaumaturgic in purpose, the trick of a trade. Cumulative appeal, so far as iteration is concerned, becomes faint; whether the record fails to show what recitation allowed in this respect, one cannot say. Editors and printers abhor repetition. These orally transmitted chronicle ballads are taken down, but not until literary contamination has been at work; for the minstrel loves to pose as a rustic bard. Before print indeed, and before the general use of writing, the minstrel easily turned poet. Widsith, Deor, blind Bernlef, the poet of the *Heliand*, even Caedmon, are examples of this development. Under more modern conditions minstrels degenerate, lose caste, and fairly come upon the parish, like their wares; an interesting survival of this sort is furnished by the German bard of thirty years ago, who made a song¹ about Saarbrücken, and went on to sing every battle of the war along with his regular *mordgeschichten*. He fell on evil times, "Mordgeschichtenbesitzer Erb," and could have envied even the lot of his Scottish brethren a century ago. To these, indeed, we owe such a ballad as the "Rookhope Ryde."² "Composed," says Scott, "in 1596"—but certainly not in its present form—it was taken down by Ritson from the chanting of George Collingwood, a very old man. He died in 1785. Minstrelsy itself, not to speak of the ballad, is here in nearly its last stage. Of ballad elements one finds, besides barrenness of style, only the monotonous chant, and the occasional ghost of an old clan emotion as names of persons and places are droned out: "George Carrick and his brother Edie," the "Wear-dale men," "Harry Corbyl." The last stanza is that familiar minstrel tag, which has beguiled sundry scholars into a hasty inference about origins, but which, I am glad to say, even Mr. Gregory Smith³ brushes aside as alien to the real ballad. There

¹ "Lied auf die Besetzung Saarbrückens durch die Franzosen." See CARL KÖHLER, *Zeitschr. für Volkskunde*, Vol. VIII (1898), pp. 223 ff.

² HENDERSON, Vol. II, pp. 130 ff.

³ *Transition Period*, pp. 229 f. On the "I" in ballads see *Beginnings of Poetry*, pp. 182 ff.

is no repetition, no lilt in the verse, no refrain; the minstrel has killed the ballad with clumsy kindness. Contrast the swing and the communal emotion, and the fine appeal of a ballad like "The Baron of Brackley"! In "Dick o' the Cow," another old ballad of this minstrel class, communal life is more astir; but they are all enfeebled offshoots of that old stock which, under far nobler graftings of art, grew into epic and finally into romance.

The next division of his collection, indeed, Scott calls by the name of Romantic. Here the old communal emotion, the old elements, are in a better case; that incipient art which has preserved them is in full sympathy with their original charm and appeal. It plays over the surface, and leaves almost intact the repetitions, the refrains, the ballad texture. Verging on the lyric, these ballads show a better symmetry and a smoother finish than one finds in the chronicle ballad, or, to be frank, than one could have found in the original communal song. Tradition, and that lyric quality which all popular use imposes upon such material, have sung them into their smoothness; but art has helped. "Sir Patrick Spens," communal in its structure, in its appeal, in its distinctively collective and impersonal emotion, has nevertheless in its form and finish suggestions of individual art. If Mr. Henderson wishes to say "doctored" of this ballad, of "Lord Randal" and the rest, as he does of "Edward," I shall not dispute about the word. The doctor in the case is not the parent. I think, however, that here is no real doctoring, but only the result of a change of air. In a wider emotional range such ballads lose their local awkwardness, their rusticity, and come closer to their lyric of art. Something of the artistic suggestion dear to individual lyric hovers about them, as it does also about those few but exquisite ballads of the supernatural like "The Wife of Usher's Well;" but this artistic suggestion is largely evoked from the modern reader, and is not a part of the old ballad appeal. The modern reader cannot escape his romantic and imaginative training. They have no personal sentiment in them, these ballads, no "lyric cry" of the modern type; they all lead back to the emotions of the throng and of the clan. Nowhere does one feel this communal quality so strongly as in the group of kin-tragedies,

such as "The Cruel Sister," a group very scantily represented in Scott's collection. "The Twa Brothers," "Child Maurice," even a half-spoiled traditional ballad like "Bewick and Graham," point unerringly back, not to the wrecks of romance, but to the beginnings of poetry in the singing and dancing throng.

Has not criticism of the ballad come at last to a point where it can break the deadlock of two hostile propositions, each in itself fortified by a confident appeal to facts and the ordinary sense of truth? Common-sense lies in the proposition that a distinct poem, a sequence of expressions in rhythmic form which tell a definite story or voice an intelligent thought, implies under modern conditions a distinct poet who has uttered them in that shape. Common-sense lies, too, in the proposition that there are elements in the ballad as a literary fact which cannot be explained by the modern conception of a poem. Certain masterpieces of the past are conceded by all critics to be impossible for modern poetry to reproduce, not because the particular creative genius of them does not happen to appear, but because the conditions under which they came to be have disappeared in the evolution of society and of art itself. There is no real opposition between the modern view and the historical estimate. We can cheerfully render unto that modern Caesar, the individual poet, all that poetry now implies. We should as cheerfully concede something to communal conditions of the past. In the present revolt against democracy of every sort, we are fain to exalt unduly the realm of individual power; and we are close upon the commission of a sort of scientific crime when we assert that no permanent result has been achieved for criticism by that great democratic impulse in literature which began about the middle of the eighteenth century, found its prophet in Herder, its teachers in F. A. Wolf, the Grimms, the Schlegels, Lachmann, and many another, which put forth its creed along with distinct achievements of investigation that have never been surpassed, which could boast in these latter days, and within the limits of modern philology, of such scholars as ten Brink, Child, Gaston Paris, and which now faces its end in mere derision. For a while, only particular teachings were attacked; the present move-

ment is against the whole spirit and significance of the democratic school. Surely in vain! Mistakes and extravagances beset the doctrine of the older school, and must be cleared away. The immaculate conception of poetry, the people that make an epic and the song that sings itself, are not defensible ideas. But the claim for communal poetry as a fact in the evolution of literature, a claim amply supported by the new sciences of sociology and ethnology, is a claim that can be defended, and will one day come to full recognition. In the foregoing pages I have tried to put the general claim in terms which are in accord with modern criticism as well as with modern science; and I have essayed within narrower lines to give a reasonable account of the relations which link the ballad to primitive and frankly communal poetry.

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CARLYLE'S LIFE OF SCHILLER.

IN KÜCHLER'S exhaustive study on Carlyle and Schiller¹ the statement is made that, owing to the absence of the *London Magazine* (1823-24) in the principal libraries of Germany, the *Life of Friedrich Schiller*, as it appeared in book form (1825), could not be compared with the original form in the *London Magazine*.

Contrary to the assumption of Küchler, not only the appendix and some notes were added in 1825, but the text was modified and increased in more than one way. These changes may be of interest to close students of Carlyle, and hence the chief ones are herewith presented.

In regard to the text: Almost all of the translations in verse appeared for the first time when the *Life* was republished in book form.

From *Don Carlos* the *London Magazine* quotes only nine lines, beginning with:

Look round and view God's lordly universe.

In the sixth line of this quotation the wording was changed from "He leaves to will" to "He leaves Free-will," and in the last two lines from

The rustling of a leaf alarms King Philip,
The Lord of Christendom must quake at every virtue,

to its present reading, which is closer to the German original.

From *Wallenstein* Carlyle inserted in the *London Magazine* only the short translations scattered through several pages of the text preceding the first long extract from *Piccolomini*, and substituted the very last quotation:

This kingly Wallenstein, whene'er he falls
for the following words: It is almost as if we viewed the ponderous
swaying of some high majestic tower about to fall.

¹ Leipzig dissertation, 1902, p. 17. The second part of this study has just appeared in *Anglia*, Bd. XXVI, Heft 3.

Again, from *The Maid of Orleans* he quoted merely the two lines:

On the soil of France he sleeps, as does
A hero on the shield he would not quit.

This rendering is somewhat better than the earlier translation in the *London Magazine*, which read:

On the soil of France in death reposes
As a hero on the shield he would not quit.

The paragraph following this citation Carlyle added when he decided to insert the five scenes from the above-mentioned drama.

And lastly in discussing *Wilhelm Tell* he tells the story of the *apfelschufsszene* in the *London Magazine*, instead of giving it all in translation.

Besides these poetic extracts, four additions in prose were made: the introductory portion of Goethe's paper entitled "Happy Incident,"¹ in which the poet discusses his attitude toward Schiller (pp. 92-94);² the extracts from *Naive und sentimentalische Dichtung* and from the *Briefe über die aesthetische Erziehung des Menschen* (pp. 198, 199, 200-203); the long paragraph in which Carlyle pleads for Kant's philosophy as presented in Schiller's miscellaneous essays (pp. 112-14).

At least five notes were appended to the text in 1825: on p. 7, in which Carlyle quotes the curds-and-cream anecdote from Schiller's *Leben* (Heidelberg, 1817); on p. 25, where he speaks of the obnoxious passage in *The Robbers*, "Go to the Grisons," etc.; on p. 99, where he calls attention to Schiller's historical and philosophical essays; on p. 114, "Are our hopes from Mr. Coleridge always to be fruitless?" etc.; on p. 170, a quotation from Doering.

In addition to the alterations above mentioned, Carlyle substituted words and phrases at various places, and even, now and then, whole sentences. All these modifications would seem to indicate that the *Life of Schiller* when published in 1825 was not a reprint of the articles as they appeared in the *London Magazine*, but a carefully revised and enlarged biography.

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¹The paragraph immediately preceding this quotation as well as the following one are also wanting in the *London Magazine*. Such transitional passages were, of course, necessarily inserted in several places.

²Centenary edition of CARLYLE'S *Works*, Vol. XXV, 1899.

OLD ENGLISH NOTES.

I.

BEHYDIGNES, "A DESERT."

IN Somner's *Dict. Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum* (1659) and in Lye's *Dict. Saxonico et Gothico-Latinum* (1772) we find a *behydignys*, *desertum*, and thence the word with this meaning assigned to it found its way into all the later dictionaries, down to the most modern ones, in which it is generally brought into connection with *hȳdan*, "to hide." I think I can show that there is no real authority for a *behydignes*, "a desert," and also how the error arose. Somner gives the word and its meaning without any reference, but Lye adds *Ps.* 28, 7, and his source¹ as well as Somner's is evidently John Spelman's *Psalterium Davidis Latino-Saxonicum vetus*, which appeared in 1640, nineteen years before the publication of Somner's dictionary. Spelman's text (from a MS in his own possession, now MS Stowe in the British Museum) reads *Vox domini concutientis desertum*, the last word being glossed *westen*. On the margin he gives the variant *behydignys* from MS C (now MS Ff. i. 23 in the Cambridge University Library), and this of course led the dictionary makers to believe that in MS C the Latin word *desertum* occurred and was glossed by *behydignys*. But a reference to this MS shows that its Latin text does not read *desertum* (the Gallican reading), but *solitudinem* (the Roman reading). Thus a gloss *desertum*, *behydignes*, does not exist at all.

For completeness' sake it may be well to give the readings of all the MSS:

MS Vespasian A. 1 has *solitudinem*, glossed by *bihygdignisse*.

MS Junius 27 has *solitudinem*, glossed by *bihydignesse*.

MS Ff. i. 23. has *solitudinem*, glossed by *behydignys*.

MS Royal 2. B. 5 has *solitudinem*, glossed by *westen*.

The remaining six MSS (MS Stowe 2, MS Vitellius E. 18, MS Tiberius C. 6, MS Arundel 60, MS Salisbury 150, MS Lambeth 427) all read *desertum*, glossed by *westen*.

¹ Whether direct or through the medium of Junius's collections is immaterial.

It is obvious that the glosses in the first three MSS go back to one archetype, and also that it originated in the glossator's wrongly reading *solitudinem* as *solicitudinem*,¹ for that is the meaning of the word; compare my *Old English Glosses*, I, 5430, *sollicitudo*, *bihydines* (the Brussels MS has *bighydignys*), and I, 906, *sollicitudinis*, *bihydine* (MS Brussels *bihyd*). Compare also Matth. (Rushworth), 13, 22, *sollicitudo*, *behygdnis*, and the Vercelli MS fol. 90b, *Ac uton we nu forþan ure sylfra lif mid mycle egesan and mid mycle behygdnesse geseon and sceawian ure sylfra lif and gearnian we mid godum dædum*, etc.

The further question arises: Should the word be written with the prefix *be-* or *bī-*? The majority of the instances given, with their *bi-* or *big-*, decidedly point to the latter, and this is confirmed by the spellings of the adjective and adverb in Beda, which I here cite according to page and line from Miller's edition:

P. 282, l. 29: *bighygdig* T, *byg-* B,² *bi-* O, *bi-* Ca.

P. 466, l. 26: *behydegæsta* T, *be-* B.

P. 66, l. 22: *bihygdlice* T, *big-* B, *be-* O, *be-* Ca.

P. 210, l. 32: *bighygdlice* T, *be-* B.

P. 336, l. 33: *bihygdlice* T, *big-* B, *bi-* O, *big-* Ca.

P. 380, l. 22: *bighydglice* T, *big-* B, *bi-* C, *big*, O, Ca.

The evidence is thus decidedly in favor of *bī-*.

II.

HLOSE, "A PIGSTY."

In a passage in the so-called *Gerefa* (*Anglia*, IX, 261) we read, among the various duties to be performed in autumn, "*fald weoxian, scipena behweorfan and hlosan eac swa*." Liebermann translates *hlosan* by "schutzdach bauen" with a query, and adds in a note: "falls aus *hleō* (obdach, schirm) gebildet. Oder vorgänger von *looze* (schweinestall) bei Halliwell?" This latter suggestion is undoubtedly right, and indeed the context points to the same conclusion; the *fald* is the "sheepfold," the *scipena* are the "shippons" (cowhouses), and as a third we should naturally expect the places for housing the pigs. That

¹ I see that SWEET in his *Oldest English Texts*, p. 573, has noticed the scribe's confusion of *solitudo* with *solicitudo* in the *Vespasian Psalter*.

² I give the variants of the prefix only.

the word really does mean "pigsty" is confirmed by its occurrence in a gloss (Wright-Wülker, 204²): *Ceniluti* (read *ceniluti*, with Sievers, *Anglia*, XIII, 320) *swina hlose*. It is quite possible that the gloss has been assigned to a wrong lemma, or the glossator may have been thinking of the usual dirt in pigsties. The modern dialectal word *lewze* (pronounced *lūz*),¹ "a pigsty," is found in Somerset and Devon, and its present pronunciation points to an Old English long close *ō*.¹

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June, 1903.

LANCE SUR FAUTRE.

SINCE the publication of my article on "Lance sur fautre" in MODERN PHILOLOGY, October, 1903, a new passage has come to my knowledge, through the kindness of Professor T. A. Jenkins, which illustrates my theory better than any of those quoted before. It can be found in Foerster's edition of "Li chevaliers as deus espees," vss. 4675-83, and reads:

Parle orent en tel maniere
Entr'els, puis se traient arriere
Et ont les cheuaus adrecies,
S'ont les escus auant sacies
Et mueuent li uns contre l'autre,
Si metent les lances sus fautre
Et de fautre sous les aissieles,
Andeus les missent en astieles
Si tost comme il s'entrencontrerent.

I should also like to correct a misprint which occurred on p. 1 of my above-mentioned article. In l. 9 "Old English" should be replaced by "Old French."

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¹ Cf. WRIGHT (*Dial. Dict.*, III, 584), who suggests connection with *lew* "a shelter, etc.," Old Engl. *hlēo*, but its occurrence in O. E. as *hlose* disproves that. Note that the development of O. E. *hlēo* to the modern *lew* presupposes the same shifting of stress that we have in Modern English *tose* from O. E. *-lēosan*.

MÜSPILLI.

THE origin and meaning of O.H.G. *müspilli*, O.S. *mūdspellī*, *mūtspellī*, have been subjects for much discussion among Germanic scholars, and there has been no lack of theories. The explanations offered are widely different with respect to the former, but very similar with respect to the latter. For whatever the origin of the word may be, it is pretty generally agreed that it means some catastrophe closely connected with the end of the world or the end itself. I shall here cite the words of A. Olrik, whose discussion of the matter in his study of the Ragnarok myth¹ is one of the latest contributions to the subject; he has no doubt sifted all the evidence, but he accepts or offers no explanation for the origin of the word:

Concerning the real meaning of this word philologists have expressed widely different opinions; and neither in the German nor in the Northern sources does it seem that anyone has the slightest conception of its origin. But of its value as a word there reigns no doubt: *mūtspellī* means the same thing which otherwise in these poems is designated as the "day of retribution," "doomsday," "this light's (this world's) last day," "this world's end." More specifically it means the destruction of this world in its suddenness and in its terror. Since the world-fire belongs to the Christian doctrine concerning the destruction of the world, it is of course included, but *mūtspellī* is never directly connected with the fire.

If this be accepted as a fair statement summing up all that an impartial scholar may with safety say concerning the crux, the problem which still remains to be settled may perhaps be stated as follows: How is the compound *müspilli* to be accounted for? What did it originally mean? Did its meaning change, and if so, how has it come to mean what it seems to mean, according to the opinion of Olrik and of other scholars? If its original meaning was

¹"Om Ragnarok," *Aarbøger for nord. Oldkyndighed og Historie*, Vol. XVII (1902), 3. Hefte, p. 223. Cf. the following definitions of *müspilli*: BRAUNE, *Ahd. Lesebuch*, "der weltuntergang, jüngste tag;" STEINMEYER, in M. und S., *Denkmäler*, Vol. II, p. 38, "weltbrand, weltuntergang durch feuer;" in the *Heliand* the meaning is, he says, "schon verblasst und abgeschwächt;" MÜLLENHOFF, *D.A.*, Vol. V, p. 66, "Das feuer das dereinst die welt zerstören wird hiess bei den Baiern im achten, neunten jahrhundert *müspilli*, bei den Altsachsen *mūdspellī*;" HEYNE, *Heliand*, 281, "feuer des jüngsten tages, weltbrand;" BEHAGHEL, *Heliand*, p. 214, "Weltuntergang;" PIPER, *Die alts. Bibeldichtung*, p. 207, "weltuntergang;" so also HOLTHAUSEN, *As. Elementarbuch*, p. 286.

the same as its meaning in the texts in which it has been preserved to us, we should have a comparatively simple (though not necessarily an easy) problem before us, namely, to ascertain the identity of each element of the word. If the original meaning has been lost, we should not only have to identify the two elements of the word, but also take into account complex, subtle, perhaps curious changes in meaning, in which misconceptions may not be excluded as possibilities. If the word be of heathen origin, there is a possibility that its use in the Christian poems *Heliand* and *Muspilli* may be "incorrect;" Christian poets may have misconstrued the word, because they may have had no conception of its origin, and if this be so, who shall say that one poet understood it in precisely the same way as another poet? If it be of Christian origin, the same possibility remains. A technical term based on some word or suggestion in Christian material dealing with the end of the world may not have had an absolutely fixed value, but may have had a considerable scope of meaning in the sphere to which it belonged. I think that one may grant the possibility that absolutely certain knowledge about the origin of the word need not necessarily bring with it a certain knowledge of what the authors of *Heliand* and *Muspilli* thought it meant, whether it was with them a general term embracing many catastrophes at the end of the world, or a special term for only one of them.

Having found, as I shall try to show, that the word is of Christian origin, I need hardly discuss at length the attempts that have been made to show that it is of heathen origin. Kögel¹ explains *mū-* in *mūspilli*, which he thus regards as the original form of the word, as identical with *mū-* in *mū-wurf* = "maulwurf," i. e., "erdaufwerfer." "Die bedeutung 'erde' ergiebt sich aus dem synonymum *mult-uurf* Graff I, 1042 zu *molta got. mulda*." The second element *spilli* is explained as related to O.E. *spillan*, "verzehren, verderben, zu grunde richten," and the meaning of the whole word is therefore, according to Kögel, "erdvernichtung." Neither the one nor the other equation is convincing: see Bugge, *Studier*, p. 419; Detter, *Beitr.*, Vol. XXI, p. 107;

¹In PAUL's *Grundriss*, Vol. II², p. 111.

Mogk, Paul's *Grundriss*, III², p. 382, who rejects all theories.¹ Kögel further explains O.S. *mūd(t)spelli* as due to the influence of the word which appears in M.H.G. as *mot*, "schwarze torfartige erde, moor, morast," cf. *mutwurf*. Kauffman,² who accepts Kögel's interpretation of *mū*- ("erdhaufen, hügel," O.E. *mūga*, *mūwa*, "heap," cf. Kluge, *Etym. Wtb.*, s. v. *maulwurf*), holds the strange doctrine that O.H.G. *mūspilli* and O.S. *mūd(t)spelli* are two distinct words, distinct in meaning and in origin:

Hier [in the *Hēliand*] haben wir es auch mit einem andern wort zu tun. . . . Man wird daher gut tun mit ahd. *muspilli* zwar anord. *muspell* zu vereinigen, aber as. *mutspelli* vorerst fernzuhalten, denn es liegt nicht bloss ein anderes wortgebilde, sondern auch die verschiedenheit der wortbedeutung zu tage.

He has reached this desperate conclusion because he finds Braune's definition³ of *mūspilli* as "weltuntergang, jüngster tag" impossible for the Bavarian poem, but correct for the *mūd(t)spelli* of the *Hēliand*. In the Norse mythology, he says, the world is really not destroyed, but sinks into the sea (*stgr fold i mar*, *Vsp.*, 40, 2; Jónsson's ed.), and hence *mūspell*, *mūspilli* cannot mean "erdvernichtung." The word *spilli* must be related to German *spalten*, and the meaning of the compound is therefore, in Kauffmann's opinion, "erdspaltung." What to do with O.S. *mud(t)spelli* is a question which he does not answer.

Even if it should be granted that the equation *spilli* = "vernichtung, zerstörung" or "spaltung" is a good one, nothing that has been brought forward in regard to the word *mū* is sufficient to render it at all probable that it might have had or got the value of "mundus, world;" nor is it any clearer that *mud(t)spelli* (>*muspilli*) passed from the meaning "heidebrand" to "weltbrand" (Martin, to whom the first element is cognate with English *mud*). But the theories of the identity of *spilli* with O.E. *spillan*⁴ or German *spalten*, are merely phonological speculations and form only wretched foundations for the building up of any plausible explanation. The only thing that is certain about *mū*, (in *mū*-

¹ A theory similar to Kögel's is that of MARTIN, *Zeitschrift f. deutsches Altertum*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 186; cf. also WOESTE, *Zeitschr. f. d. Philologie*, Vol. IX, p. 219.

² *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 5 ff.

³ *Ahd. Lesebuch*, 4. Aufl., 1897.

⁴ O.E. *spillan* < O.N. *spilla* = O.S. *spildian*.

werf), if it indeed be identical with O.E. *mūha*, *mūga*, *mūwa*, is that it never appears anywhere in the sense postulated,¹ and the same is also true of M.H.G. *mot*, English *mud*. The definitions of *spilli* as "vernichtung" and as "spaltung" are born of a desire to make the original meaning of the word fit as closely as possible to the meaning it seems to have in the texts. So we have two improbable theories for the whole compound, one for each element, and it is no wonder that neither Kōgel's nor Kauffman's solution of the problem has met with wide acceptance.²

Since the word *mūspilli*, *mūd(t)spilli*, first occurs in Christian environments it is most natural to infer that its source may most likely be found in Christian material. No one will find any fault with this inference. But if anyone shall reject my proof for the correctness of it, he cannot use the Christian setting of the word as proof that it is of heathen origin.

From this inference I pass to another which seems very reasonable from a linguistic point of view: *mūspilli*, *mūd(t)spilli*, *mūspell* are one and the same word and are derived from one ground-form. The various forms of the word are most easily accounted for by assuming that the first element was originally **mūd-*, which could naturally become *mū-* on account of the similarity between voiceless *ð* and *s*. In O.S. *mūd-* and *mūt-* appear for the same reason that *ð* in *sōð* becomes *d* or *t* in *sodspel*, *Heliand*, 3838, Cott. MS, *suotspel*, München MS.³ If **mūd-* was the first element of the word, it follows that it is a borrowed word in the Norse sources of a hundred years later (*Vǫluspó*, *Lokasenna*), as well as in the Bavarian poem *Mūspilli*. From Low German it may have traveled both northward and southward, as many scholars have assumed.

Our next step must be the consideration of the identity of the parts and the meaning of the whole. If the word was originally **mūd-spelli*, then we may reasonably say that this word does look

¹ The word is well represented in the Scandinavian languages, but never, so far as I am aware, does any usage of it support Kōgel's theory.

² E. H. MEYER, *Die Mythologie der Germanen* (Strassburg, 1903), pp. 499 f., gives up the problem in despair: "Das wort, von dem kaum der zweite teil *spell* mit einiger sicherheit als rede, botschaft, weissagung erklärt werden kann, der este teil *mu*, *mud*, *mut* aber rätselhaft bleibt, mag schon heidnisch gewesen und ein grosses feuer bedeutet haben."

³ BUGGE, *Studier*, p. 420, footnote.

very much like *mūd*, "mouth," in composition with *spelli*, which may be a by-form of *spell* (cf. O.S. *beddi*: *bed*), and the identity of the second element is thus determined by the first; its precise meaning it may be difficult or impossible to know without a knowledge of the origin of the whole word, but it is, at any rate, the same word as O.E. *spell*, "saying, message, tale, discourse." As a word meaning "something spoken by word of mouth" it is analogous to several words cited by Detter¹ in this connection: O.E. *mūd-hæl*, "salutary words" (cf. Dan. and Norw. *mund-held*, "talemaade som en person idelig fører i munden"²), O.N. *munnrþōa*, "rede," Du. *mondgesprek*, "gespräch," German *mundsprache*, "mündliche verabredung." Each one of these has its own peculiar history to account for its special meaning, and if *müspilli* (<**mūdspell*) means "something spoken by word of mouth," the problem is to discover what peculiar history it has had in order to account for its use in poems dealing with the end of the world.

It will be objected that **mūd*- in the hypothetical form **mūdspell* need not necessarily have been the original form word, just as O.E. *corn-trēow*, "cornel tree," has nothing to do with *corn* except by popular etymology, for it is only Latin *cornulium* remade, and this should rather have yielded **horn-trēow*. And just here someone might urge Bugge's theory,³ which has recently been essentially restated by Golther.⁴ The first element **mūd*- arose, says Bugge, from a **mundspell* in which **mund*- is borrowed from Latin *mundus*, "world." This **mund*- was by Saxons or Frisians identified with the word *mund*, "mouth," used by neighboring High Germans, and thus changed into their own native *mūd*. The meaning of **mundspell* was "prophecy concerning the end of the world, *consummatio mundi, finis mundi*." An essential part of this prophecy was the destruction of the world by fire, and so *mudspell* came to mean "world-fire."

That a word meaning prophecy concerning a certain catastrophe might come to mean the catastrophe itself is a process for

¹ "Müspilli," *Beitr.*, Vol. XXI, p. 108.

² See FALK OG TOEP, *Etym. Odb.*, s. v.

³ *Studier*, p. 420.

⁴ *Germanische Mythologie* (Leipzig, 1895), pp. 539 ff.; but see the "Nachträge," p. 660, where he displays signs of weakness of faith in the identity of the first element with *mundus*.

which many analogies could be mentioned (cf. O.E. *dōm*, N.E. *doom*, *fate*, etc.), and it is not here that the weakness of Bugge's theory lies. It is his theory concerning the origin of the element **mūd-*, which must, it seems to me, be regarded as highly improbable on account of its complex character. There is no **mund-spelli*, but we may be reasonably sure of a **mūdspell*; there is, moreover, no Latin loan-word **mund* (< *mundus*); and we cannot feel certain that Low Germans, who possessed many words ending in *-und* (*mund*, "hand," for example), would be very likely to change **mund-* to *mūd-* in a word which need not necessarily have called up the idea of "mouth."

In his article on *Mūspilli* in *Beitr.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 107 f., Detter avoids the circuitous route of Bugge in his search for the identity of **mūd*. He allows the genuineness of **mūd-* and accepts it at its face value. The first element is *mūd*, "mouth," the second means "verkündigung," and the whole, "mündliche verkündigung," is a "freie [here Kauffmann¹ adds an !] wiedergabe" of Latin *prophetia*, "prophecy concerning the end of the world." The difficulty here is to find sufficient proof for such a translation. Selma Dorff² has recently tried to show that *mūspilli* is a "synonymum von *urdēli*, *urteili*, der verdammende spruch des richters. Es ist die poetische wiedergabe des neutestamentlichen *κρίμα*, das lateinisch mit *judicium*, *damnatio*, von Luther wechselweise mit *urteil* und *gericht* übersetzt ist." Between Detter's "freie" and Selma Dorff's "poetische wiedergabe" there can be little choice. A prophecy would seem just as likely to be called a "mündliche verkündigung" as *κρίμα*, *judicium*, *gericht*, a "slow mouth-utterance."³ One might almost as well look for the origin of *mūspilli* in the voice of the trumpet,⁴ which some

¹ *Zeitschrift f. d. Phil.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 5.

² *Archiv f. d. Studium d. neueren Sprachen*, Vol. CX, p. 1.

³ SELMA DORFF, *ibid.*, p. 5: Goth. *spillōn*, O.H.G. *spellōn*, etc.,—"langsam auseinander-setzend sprechen," especially so in pronouncing judgment.

⁴ Cf. Matt. 24:31: *mittet angelos suos cum tuba et voce magna*; Honorius: *angeli sonitu tubae terribile judicium Dei intonabunt* (cited by E. H. MEYER, *Völuspa*, p. 190); the Norwegian *Draumkvæde*, 33:

Det var sanke Sæle-Mikkjel,
han bles i luren den lange:
Og no skal alle sâlinne
fram fyr domen gange.

—*Norske Folkeviser*, ed. TH. LAMMERS, Kra., 1901, p. 14.

angel, Michael for instance, will put to his mouth on the last day when all men are summoned to doom.

At this point it may be mentioned that already Jakob Grimm, in the first edition of his grammar, it seems, glossed *mūspilli* "oris eloquium" (also "mutationis nuncius," as a suggestion on the assumption that *mūspilli* might be from an original **mut-spelli*), but without result, for in his *Mythology*¹ he gives another theory which, however, need not be reviewed here. It has seemed a simple matter to get thus far, but it is right here that difficulties begin, as the theories which have just been mentioned show: it has not been proved that the ground-form **mūdspellī* is correct, although it has been deduced by the application of rational principles of philology.

I shall now try to show that all those who have assumed an original form **mūdspellī*, with a meaning like Grimm's "oris eloquium," have been on the right track, and that particularly Bugge and Detter, in so far as the second element of the word is concerned, have come very near to what I believe to be the true origin of the word: *mūspilli*, **mūdspellī*, is an etymological translation of the Latin word *oraculum*, and its use in Christian poems dealing with the great events prophesied to take place at the end of the world (and in a sense "world-fire, world-end," or whatever the meaning may be in each case) is due to the presence, in northwestern Germany, either of a sibylline oracle in the Latin language or of citations from such an oracle in writings dealing with the same subject (*e. g.*, a homily, a treatise, a poem). In addition to what has already been said concerning the Christian setting² of the word in the German poems of the ninth century, it must here be emphasized that this really means a learned setting, for the Christian culture of the time was its highest learning; and this learning was dependent upon the Latin language for its existence. The O.H.G. poem *Mūspilli* (so named by Schmeller) and the O.S. *Hēliand* are both learned poems and represent the highest culture of their time. They are the work of learned men, and these are incon-

¹ *Teutonic Mythology*, translated by STALLYBRASS, Vol. II, p. 809.

² Cf. KÖGEL, in PAUL's *Grundriss*², Vol. II, p. 111: "Nichts in dem gedicht mit einziger ausnahme des wortes *mūspilli* wurzelt noch in dem boden des heidentums."

ceivable without assuming the existence of learned predecessors. An etymological translation, such as I have mentioned, was surely within the bounds of the Christian learning of a much earlier time than that of the *Hēliand* and the *Mūspilli*. A very slight acquaintance with the Latin language would be sufficient to enable the creator of the term *mūspilli* to recognize the similarity between Latin *oraculum* and *os* (*oris, ore, ora*, etc.), "mouth." The probability that this is the correct explanation of *mūspilli* is, I believe, raised to a reasonable certainty by an actual case in which *oraculum* is etymologically described, in effect, as a "mouth-utterance," a **mūdspellī*: *Quid est enim oraculum? nempe voluntas divina hominis* ORE ENUNCIATA, Seneca, *Controv.*, 1 praef.:¹ "What then is an oracle? Forsooth it is the divine will declared through the mouth of man." Seneca's *ore enunciata* corresponds as closely as possible to *mūspilli*, and for the same reason: the Roman and the German are both thinking of the Latin word *os* (gen. *oris*), "mouth," and Seneca would hardly have come nearer to the German **mūdspellī*, conditioned as it is by the Germanic method of compounding words, if he had said *oris eloquium*.

Bugge² based his explanation of *mūspilli* on the probable existence in northwestern Germany of a prophecy concerning *mundus* (**mundspellī*) and took occasion to express his agreement in opinion with Müllenhoff in his belief that the doctrine of the destruction of the world must have spread over the Germanic world in the form of a prophecy. Müllenhoff's statement is, as usual, very emphatic:

Die ansicht von dem künftigen weltuntergang, die uns das *mūspilli*—*mūdspellī* bei den Südgermanen verbürgt, kann in der germanischen welt nur in der form einer verkündigung und prophezeiung verbreitung gefunden haben, und dass weise frauen von anfang an ihrer annahmen, wie noch die Alemannin Thiota, der die mainzer synode im j. 847 den process machte (Myth.³ 78 f., 679), für sie mit ihrem ansehen eintraten und gewähr leisteten bis etwa andre sie ablösten, . . . dies ist eine folgerung der sich niemand entziehen wird.³

Also Detter, who considers *mūspilli* a free translation of Latin *prophetia*, stands on the same ground. It would be futile

¹ ANDREWS, *Lat. Lex.*, s. v. ² Studier, pp. 418 f. ³ *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, Vol. V, pp. 67 f.

to try to guess in what particular form of literature the originator of the term *müspilli* found the word *oraculum*, "prophecy concerning the end of the world." Was it in a complete sibylline oracle, was it in a homily on the end of the world, or was it in a Latin poem on the same favorite subject? Whatever be the answer to this question, the following considerations will be pertinent to it.

The antique Christian Sibylline Oracles prophesy concerning the end of the world, and, in the words of Bang, "die begebenheiten der zukunft (werden) so gut wie ausschliesslich von einem biblischen gesichtspunkte aus behandelt."¹ The material of these oracles bearing on the end of the world may also be indicated through Bang's analysis of a few of them:

Orac. Sib. II, 156 fg.:

1. sittlicher verfall;
2. pest, hunger, krieg;
3. nacht legt sich über die erde;
4. weltbrand;
5. auferstehung;
6. das gericht kommt;
7. die frommen in das elysische land;
8. die gottlosen in den Tartarus.

Orac. Sib. IV, 152 fg.:

1. moralische verderbniss;
2. krieg;
3. getöse und gebrüll in der luft;
4. weltbrand;
5. auferstehung; eine neue erde entsteht;
6. das gericht kommt;
7. die gottlosen werden in den Tartarus gestürzt;
8. die frommen leben ein glückliches leben auf der neuen erde.

Orac. Sib. VII, 140 fg.:

1. moralische verderbniss;
2. krieg und verwüstung;
3. weltbrand;
4. tiefe nacht;
5. ein neues glückliches geschlecht wird erschaffen.²

¹ BANG, *Völsung und die sibyllinischen Orakel*, übersetzt von POESTION (Wien, 1880), pp. 7 f.

² BANG, *ibid.*, pp. 28 f.

To those who are unfamiliar with the character of the sibylline poetry the above will be sufficient to show that the possible early existence in Germany of such a poetry, in Latin, might have given occasion for the translation of the word *oraculum*, and they will also see why such a word should crop out in poetry dealing with the subject of the end, the destruction, of the world, the world-fire.

Was there such a sibylline poetry in the Middle Ages? The answer is affirmative, but the subject no doubt needs a fuller treatment than it has yet received. There was such a literature in the vernacular in Germany in the fourteenth century,¹ but with this we need not now concern us. Dr. Bang has in his *Et sibyllinsk Orakel fra Middelalderen* (Christiania, 1882)² published a critical text of a Latin sibylline oracle composed in the last part of the eleventh or first part of the twelfth century, presumably by a Lombard. He shows that this author has, among other sources, drawn upon a *Libellus de Antichristo* written by Adso, abbot in the cloister Moutier-en-Der, at the request of Queen Gerberga, sister of Otto I., between the years 949 and 954. This Adso has, according to his own statement, taken certain material from sibylline verses, "sicut in sibyllinis versibus habemus." Says Bang:³

There has therefore, in the time of Adso been in circulation a sibylline composition in verse. . . . This poetry is, it seems, the connecting link between Adso and the old (antique, Jewish-Christian-pagan) oracles, and it reveals indisputably the influence of these in its name-method.

Bang also tries to show that the oracle published by him contains many evidences of connection with the antique sibylline oracles, and that the similarities cannot be explained by assuming as connecting links the church Fathers with their citations from, or references to, the oracles, or certain mediæval tractates concerning them.

This does not, of course, prove the existence of a Latin sibylline oracle in northwestern Germany before the composition of the

¹ See VOGT, "Ueber Sibyllen Weissagung," *Beitr.*, Vol. IV (1877), pp. 79 ff.

² In *Christiania Videnskabselskabs Forhandling*, No. 9. In the same series, No. 8, same year, is found also DR. BANG'S *Bidrag til de Sibyllinske Oraklers og den Sib. Orakeldigtning i Middelalderen*.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 14 f.

Hēliand and the *Múspilli*, but it shows that this form of literature was known in Germany at an early period. I have no doubt that more material will be brought forward on this point.

There remains to be mentioned one other matter which may have some bearing on this question. The existence of a poem of the character of *Völuspá* in the so-called *Elder Edda* suggests in this connection the thought that the type of poetry of which it is an example may have been due to foreign influence, just as the word *Múspell*, which occurs in it,¹ surely is of Low German origin. It is true that Bugge has removed the word *Múspell*, although it is found in all MSS, and in this he has been followed by most editors. Against this procedure A. Olrik enters an energetic protest,² chiefly on the ground that it is a violation of the principle that one must not seek to bring old sources into agreement with younger systematic presentations. Our understanding of the old mythological poetry must not always be determined by Snorre Sturluson's views, for he is clearly not a safe guide.³ From the point of view that has been gained with respect to the un-Germanic origin of the word *Múspell* we shall feel little inclined to insist upon the removal of the word. Through it we have gained some insight into the character of Norse mythology; it is a composite structure built up of widely different elements. The study of the *Völuspá* has had an unfortunate history. Scholars seem to have been intimidated to a certain extent by Müllenhoff's violent criticism of Bang and Bugge in his *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, Vol.

¹ *Vsp.*, 35 (B. 51):

Kjöll ferr austan,
koma mono Múspells
of lög lýðer,
en Loke stýrer.

(JÓNSSON's text with substitution of MS readings *austan* and *Múspells* for BUGGE's emendations *norþan* and *Heljar*).

Cf. also *Lokasenna*, 42, 4: en es Múspells syner
rípa Myrkvið yfer,
veizta þá, vesall, hvé vegr.

The conception of *Múspell* which is the basis for the expressions *Múspells lýðer*, *syner*, may, as OLRÍK, *loc. cit.*, pp. 224 f., suggests, be due to a sentence like O. S. *Múspelles megin obar man ferid*; cf. SNORRE's *Múspells megir*.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 222, footnote; see also SCHÖNING, *Dødsrigger i nordisk Hedentro* (Kjøbenhavn, 1903), p. 47. KAUFFMANN, *Zeitschrift f. d. Philologie*, Vol. XXXV (1903), p. 405, is not inclined to follow Olrik on this point. Cf. on this matter also DETTER, *Die Völuspa* (Wien, 1899), p. 34.

³ To SNORRE *Múspell*, *Múspellsheimr* is a fire-world, not a world-fire.

V, and the theory which the former advanced with regard to the *Völuspá* has never received the attention it deserves. It matters little that Bang's guess that the author of *Völuspá* came into touch with the antique Sibylline Oracles in Ireland, either in the original or in an Irish translation,¹ has turned out to be improbable. I notice that Bugge still expresses his faith in the connection of the *Völuspá* with mediæval sibylline poetry:

Germanic heathendom was familiar with seeresses of supernatural powers, who were treated with respect. But the giant-fostered seeress in *Völuspá*, who turns her gaze toward the whole human race and meditates upon the fate of the world from its first beginning to its destruction and resurrection, has unquestionably Christian prototypes, and shows particular kinship with the sibyls of the Middle Ages.²

This will in time surely be universally recognized, even if it will not be insisted on, with Bugge (and Müllenhoff), that the "first germ of the poem is to be found there, where the word *Múspell* has its origin,"³ on account of the fact that "the prophecy of the *völva* is inseparable from the belief in the destruction of the world by fire, for which the particular term was *Múspell*." The origin of the word *Múspell* from the Latin word *oraculum* does not prove for the *Völuspá* direct connection with an *oraculum Sibyllæ*. There may have been many connecting links, which it may be impossible for us to recognize. But the appearance of a word like *Múspell-oraculum* in the *Völuspá* (and in the *Lokasenna*, both of the tenth century) is surely significant for the question of foreign influence, and should, it seems to me, open the subject for renewed investigation and discussion.

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¹ *Völuspá*, pp. 42 f.

² *Home of the Eddic Poems*, tr. by SCHOFIELD (London, 1899), *Introd.*, p. xxix; cf. also p. 11; see also GOLTHER, *Germanische Mythologie*, p. 653: "Zwar soll nicht behauptet werden, dass wort und begriff *Völva* aus der Sibylle abzuleiten sei, wol aber, dass eine nordische *Völva*, ein fahrendes zauberweib, als seherin und prophetin in so erhabenem stile nicht denkbar ist ohne das vorbild der Sibylle."

³ *Studier*, p. 421. I do not, of course, intend to impugn the essential correctness of the statement quoted, but rather to call attention to the need of a somewhat different formulation, and to take account of the possibly kaleidoscopic character of the poem with respect to prototypes and materials.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF LOCRINE.¹

TWO DRAMATISTS, Peele and Greene, have been seriously considered by modern critics in connection with the authorship of *Locrine*. The internal evidence furnished by this play and by the acknowledged writings, on the one hand, of Peele and, on the other, of Greene is, in my opinion, sufficient to establish the claims of the former. To present this evidence is the object of this paper.

Locrine was entered on the Stationers' Register by Thomas Creede, July 20, 1594.² No mention is there made of the author of the play. Under the supervision of an editor, "W. S.,"³ it was published in November or December of 1595.

The date of composition can be fixed as not earlier than 1590. Charles Crawford, in an article on "Edmund Spenser, 'Locrine,' and 'Selimus,'"⁴ showed undoubted borrowings in *Locrine* from Spenser's "The Ruines of Rome," "Visions of the World's Vanitie," "The Teares of the Muses," and "The Ruines of Time." Although two of these poems had probably been long known in manuscript copies, one, "The Teares of the Muses," was of more recent composition, and "The Ruines of Time" was certainly not written before 1589;⁵ and, if the statement in the article on "Spenser" in the *Dictionary of National Biography*,⁶ signed by J. W. Hales and Sidney Lee, be correct, namely, that the death of Walsingham is lamented in the poem, then *Locrine* was not written earlier than 1590, the year of Walsingham's death. In fact, none of these poems was published before 1591, when they appeared in the *Complaints*, and it is extremely doubtful if the author of *Locrine* saw all of them before their appear-

¹ HAZLITT, *Doubtful Plays of Shakespeare* (London, 1887). All references to *Locrine* are to this edition.

² ARBER'S *Transcript of the Registers*, etc. (London, October 1, 1875), Vol. II, p. 656.

³ The discussion of the identity of the initials "W. S." will not enter into this paper. There is no satisfactory reason for regarding him as the author of the play.

⁴ *Notes and Queries*, Series 9, Vol. VII (1901), pp. 61, 101, 142, 203, 261, 324, 384.

⁵ *Edmund Spenser*, Globe edition, 1890, pp. xlv, 489.

⁶ Vol. LIII, p. 391.

ance in that volume. Moreover, my study of the play and the discovery of undoubted dependence between it and Peele's *Battle of Alcazar* lead me to the conviction that the two plays were written, not only by the same author, but at about the same time and under the same influence—that of Marlowe—and that *Locrine* is the later of the two.

Of the two dramatists under consideration, Robert Greene was born about 1560 and died in 1592.¹ George Peele was born about 1552. He is known to have been alive in 1596, but was dead in 1598.²

GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE.

On reading *Locrine* and the plays of Peele and Greene, I was at once struck by the marked resemblance in diction and manner of expression between *Locrine* and Peele's plays, and the equally marked difference in diction and manner of expression between *Locrine* and the plays of Greene. One of the most striking peculiarities of Greene's plays is the padding of his lines with redundant prepositions, conjunctions, and adverbs, and the use of expressions fast becoming obsolete in his own time:

"That though that they be clapped up in clay."—*Alphonsus*.

"To like so of the English monarch's son."—*F. B. and F. B.*

"To cease of this quarrel."—*F. B. and F. B.*

"But leaving these such glories as they be."—*Orlando Furioso*.

Turning to *Locrine* and Peele, one sees a change to much greater compactness of expression. Comparatively few redundant words are used. Many of the expressions noted in Greene are not found in Peele or in *Locrine*, and the others are used sparingly. "If that," equivalent to "if," is found in the four of Greene's plays 23 times; it does not occur at all in *Locrine* or in the four plays of Peele (omitting the prose play *Old Wives' Tale*). "As that," equivalent to "that," occurs in Greene 15 times; I did

¹The date of the composition of none of GREENE's plays is known. *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, *Orlando Furioso*, *James IV.*, and *Alphonsus, King of Arragon* form the principal basis of my study of Greene for this discussion. All references to these plays are to DYCE's *The Dramatic and Poetical Works of Robert Greene and George Peele* (London, 1861).

²PEELE's *Arraignment of Paris* was published in 1584. *David and Bethsabe*, published in 1599, was probably written next. *Edward I.* was published in 1593. *The Battle of Alcazar*, published in 1594, is first mentioned in HENSLOWE's *Diary*, February 29, 1591-92. All references to Peele's works are to BULLEN's *The Works of George Peele*, 2 vols. (London, 1888).

not find it in *Locrine*, or Peele. "As," meaning "that," and used as a relative after "so," is found 18 times in Greene, not at all in *Locrine*, and only twice in Peele. The accompanying table of these expressions (p. 4 below) does not represent by any means all such uses in Greene.

The totals are striking. Of the expressions noted, 11 instances of their use are found in Peele, 6 in *Locrine*, and 160 in Greene.

The use of "for to" with an infinitive illustrates the same difference between Greene on the one side, and *Locrine* and Peele on the other. Peele is as sparing of his use of "for to" as of the expressions noted above. In all his plays and poems I counted 12 instances. In *Locrine* it is used only 4 times. In the four plays of Greene it occurs 93 times.¹

I find some expressions of frequent use in *Locrine* common also to Peele, but not used by Greene. "Latest," "fell," "coal-black," "ugly," and "grim" are favorite adjectives in *Locrine*. These all occur in Peele. I found none of them in Greene, nor does Grosart give any of them in his glossary of Greene,² except "coal-black," which occurs in *Selimus*, wrongly, I think, ascribed to Greene.³ The expressions "grim Minos" and "grim Jupiter" occur both in *Locrine* and Peele's *Battle of Alcazar*. "Bowels" and "entrails," used often of inanimate nature as well as of parts of the body, are common. In *Locrine* "bowels" occurs 10 times; in Peele 11 times.⁴ In Greene it occurs only once—in *Orlando*

1 PEELE				Locrine-4				GREENE			
<i>The A. of P.</i>	-	-	4	Total	-	4	<i>O. F.</i>	-	-	4	
<i>D. & B.</i>	-	..	<i>James IV.</i>				-	-	12		
<i>The B. of A.</i>	-	..	<i>F. B. & F. B.</i>				-	-	12		
<i>Ed. I.</i>	-	6	<i>Alphonse</i>				-	-	65		
<i>O. W. Tale</i>	-	1	Total				-	-	93		
<i>Poems</i>	-	1									
Total	-	-	12								

Note that in the table two apparent exceptions occur, PEELE's *Edward I.* and GREENE's *Orlando Furioso*. These may perhaps be accounted for by the fortunes of the manuscripts of these two plays. *Edward I.* has descended in a mutilated form and "the text throughout is vile," says BULLEN (*Peele's Works*, Vol. I, p. xxxii). *Orlando Furioso*, says DYCE, was printed from a very imperfect copy and much of the text has been supplied by other hands (*Works of Greene and Peele*, p. 31).

It is true that in *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clomides*, included by Dyce among Peele's plays, I found 76 "for to's." But this fact alone, aside from evidences of diction, style, and theme, and characterization, is conclusive against Peele's authorship of that play.

² *Life and Complete Works in Prose and Verse of Robert Greene*, 1881-86, Vol. XV.

³ "Fell" and "latest" are also used in *Selimus*.

⁴ *Edward I.*, once; *Poems*, twice; *D. & B.*, 8 times.

Furioso. "Entrails" occurs in *Locrine* 3 times; in *Peele* 4 times;¹ not at all in *Greene*. Neither of these words is in *Grosart's* glossary.

FIGURES OF SPEECH.

The abundance of imagery in *Locrine* suggested a comparison with *Peele's* use of imagery. Taking Professor Carpenter's

	PEELE					<i>Locrine</i>	GREENE				
	<i>A. of P.</i>	<i>D. & B.</i>	<i>B. of A.</i>	<i>Ed. I.</i>	Total		<i>O. F.</i>	<i>F. B. & F. B.</i>	<i>J. IV.</i>	<i>Alph.</i>	Total
"As" ² =that.....	1	1	2	..	8	1	4	5	18
"As that"=that.....	2	..	..	13	15
"As if that"=as if.....	3
"An"=if.....	2	2	..	2	..	7	..	11
"An if"=and if.....	1	1	..	..	3	2	1	6
"And why"=why.....	1	6	..	7
"After that"=after.....	1	..	..	1
"For that"=because.....	1	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	2	..	4
"For why"=because.....	1	2	3	..	3	2	3	..	8
"For because"=because.....	1	..	..	..	9	9
"For yet"=yet.....	1	..	..	1
"How that"=how.....	1	..	..	1
"How that"=that.....	3	..	5	8
"If that"=if.....	3	2	18	23
"If so"=if.....	2	..	..	5	..	5
"Since that"=since.....	1	..	..	1	13	14
"So that"=if.....	1	1	2
"Such" (redundant).....	5	..	..	..	5
"Then as"=as.....	1	..	..	..	1
"Up" (redundant).....	1	3	..	..	4
"When so"=when.....	2	..	2
"Whereas"=where.....	1	1	2	2	..	..	3	6	9
"That"=because.....	1	..	..	..	1
"How"=as.....	2	..	..	..	2
Total	1	..	3	7	11	6	25	26	38	71	160

*Metaphor and Simile in the Minor Elizabethan Drama*³ as a basis for my study of *Peele's* imagery and comparing the result with the imagery of *Locrine*, I found all that is there given concerning *Peele* practically true also of *Locrine*. Carpenter says:

Peele was in fact a poet rather than a dramatist, and it is by his poetical gifts alone that he attains his slender measure of success. His imagery is seldom condensed and emphatic, and is seen at its best in his two most

¹ *The A. of P.*, once; *D. & B.*, once; *The B. of A.*, twice.

² "As"="that," and used as a relative after "so." The instances of "as" after "such" were not counted because that is the modern use.

³ Chicago, 1895.

poetical pieces, *The Arraignment of Paris* and *David and Bethsabe*. When he attempts to be dramatic, as in *The Battle of Alcazar* and *Edward I*, he becomes strained and turgid.¹

This is certainly true of *Locrine*. The author is by all means a poet rather than a dramatist, and whatever may be said for its qualities as a drama, the imagery of *Locrine* is worthy of praise; not the praise, however, bestowed on that of *David and Bethsabe*; *Locrine* partakes too much of the character of Peele's later dramatic work to merit that; but it does combine somewhat of the poetical qualities of *The Arraignment of Paris* and *David and Bethsabe* with the strained and stilted style of *Edward I*. and *The Battle of Alcazar*.

Taking up the imagery more in detail, I find the following seven characteristics of Peele's imagery cited by Carpenter true also of that of *Locrine*:

1. It is "seldom condensed and emphatic."²

2. It is generally "extrinsic and ornamental."³

3. Peele is "fond of simile and his imagery runs to extended passages rather than to short and burning figures."⁴ In *Locrine* there are as many as 47 formal similes, including 18 of the prolonged or Homeric type.⁵

4. The statement that "nature, and especially inanimate nature, affords by far the larger proportion of Peele's metaphors and similes,"⁶ is true also of *Locrine*. Of a total of 47 formal similes, 34 are nature similes and 21 of these are of inanimate nature in whole or in part. Of 21 metaphors 16 are nature metaphors, and 9 of the 16 are of inanimate nature.

5. Peele's "range is not great. Stars, sky, sun, and flowers play the largest part."⁷ Aspects of the sea also enter into the imagery of Peele.⁸ These elements enter largely into the imagery of *Locrine*.⁹

6. The body and its parts are often used in Peele's imagery.¹⁰ Bowels and entrails, especially in connection with inanimate

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 23.

² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁵ Prolonged similes: pp. 59-60, 60, 64-5, 65, 68, 69, 69, 70, 75, 75, 78, 86, 87, 94, 96, 100, 103.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 26.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁹ Stars: pp. 64, 82; sky: pp. 60, 64, 73, 81, 97, 97, 99, 99; sun: pp. 61, 61, 69, 70, 75, 80, 88, 97, 101; flowers: 69, 76, 88, 97; sea and rivers: pp. 65, 69, 69, 72, 75, 80, 87, 88, 88, 88.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

nature, occur often. This is likewise true of *Locrine*: pp. 61, 63, 63, 87.

7. An especially frequent and characteristic tag of Peele's style, says Carpenter,¹ is the image of "piercing." Examples of this in *Locrine* are found on pp. 61, 67, 92.

Lack of space forbids my quoting in full the above citations. Reference to them, however, by the reader will convince him of the very close similarity between the character and sources of the imagery of *Locrine* and the character and sources of that of Peele.

Let us now look for a moment at the imagery of Greene's plays. In contrast to the richness and abundance of imagery in *Locrine* and Peele, Carpenter's conclusions regarding Greene are striking:

The inferiority of Greene as a dramatic poet appears in the general poverty and commonplaceness of his imagery. Hallam thinks that he is "a little redundant in images," but this criticism can apply only to the *Orlando Furioso*, where Greene's peculiar pseudo-classical imagery is heaped up in superabundant measure. Otherwise his imagery is somewhat scanty. He uses few striking and original metaphors.²

In marked contrast also to the comparatively well-defined and often-used sources of imagery in *Locrine* and Peele, Carpenter says this of Greene: "Greene's range is narrow and is emphasized in no particular direction."³ Again, in contrast to the fact that by far the larger proportion of the similes and metaphors of *Locrine* and Peele are afforded by nature, we find that "nature is only slightly represented in his [Greene's] plays."⁴ Very few examples are given of the aspects of the sky, of the stars, sun, or flowers;⁵ none are given of the sea or of rivers (compare the striking examples in *Locrine* and Peele). In contrast with the frequent figurative use in *Locrine* and Peele of "bowels" and "entrails," I find only one instance in Greene—that of "bowels" in *Orlando Furioso* (p. 89). This instance also is the only one cited by Carpenter.⁶ Of the image of "piercing," so often found in *Locrine* and Peele, Carpenter gives no examples from Greene. I myself found none.

In grammatical structure, the use of certain adjectives and nouns, and in imagery, therefore, we have seen not only a marked

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 30. ² *Ibid.*, p. 57. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 59. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 59. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 59. ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

difference between Greene, on the one side, and *Locrine* and Peele, on the other, but also unusual similarity between *Locrine* and Peele. In the following discussion of versification I shall confine myself to showing further resemblances between *Locrine* and the plays of Peele. Greene I shall refer to again.

VERSIFICATION.

My count of feminine endings, run-on lines, incomplete lines,¹ broken lines,² and rhyming lines shows the same similarity between *Locrine* and the plays of Peele. But, while the preceding tests are positive, this is somewhat negative in its application. Its chief result is that it furnishes no disproof of Peele's authorship. Owing to the fact that the text of *Edward I.* has come down to us in a greatly mutilated condition, I made no study of the versification of that play. Moreover, the figures that follow are only for the blank-verse passages of these plays.³

	Feminine Endings	Run-on Lines	Incomplete Lines	Broken Lines	Rhyming Lines
<i>Arraignment of Paris</i> ..	2.65%	1 in 8.54	0.00%	0	1.59%
<i>David and Bethsabe</i>	4.27	1 in 8.20	0.42	1	3.42
<i>Battle of Alcazar</i>	3.23	1 in 6.79	1.51	0	1.92
<i>Locrine</i>	1.10	1 in 8.07	0.52	1	4.92

TREATMENT OF THEME.

In the treatment of the theme, or the attitude of the author to his plot, *Locrine* and the plays of Peele are distinguished from those of Greene. In both *Locrine* and all the tragedies of Peele the story is told with moral earnestness and insistence on moral laws of retribution. There is no hint in either *Locrine* or Peele of the weak and sentimental temporizing and condoning of vice or crime, and the easy and sudden repentance of the sinner, found, for instance, in Greene's *James IV.* and the *Looking-Glass for London and England*. Greene, in his plays at least, takes

¹ Lines shorter than the regular ten-syllabled lines.

² Instances where one line is divided among two or more speakers.

³ Therefore the figures for the *Arraignment of Paris* apply only to the four blank verse passages: the Prologus, pp. 5, 6; the speech of Paris, pp. 58-59; the speech of Diana, pp. 68, 69; and from the speech of Clotho to the end of Diana's, pp. 71, 72. In *David and Bethsabe* and in *Locrine* I have omitted the lyrics.

the moral world lightly. His characters sin and repent with equal facility, and weaknesses of character or crimes against others are just as quickly forgiven and as soon forgotten. James in *James IV.*, Prince Edward and Lacy in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, are examples. Indeed, in the latter play, so gracefully is the fact covered up, we almost forget that the gentle and attractive Margaret is wooed and won by the man who at first tried to procure her for the lust of his prince; and the magnanimous prince is so magnanimous that his deliberate and well-laid plans against the honor of the fair maid of Fressingfield, and his threats against Lacy's life when thwarted in his purpose, are as pleasantly passed by in silence. Peele, on the contrary, never allows his readers to lose sight of "the old tragic principle of the consequences of sin." Nowhere is this more clearly exemplified than in *Lochrine*.

NATURE OF THEME, OR PLOT.

If any contrast between Greene and *Lochrine* and Peele were needed, it would be furnished by a study of the two sets of dramas. Mr. Courthope has said of Greene that

He was meant by nature for a novelist rather than for a playwright. His fancy, graceful, pastoral, and tender, is most at home when it is dwelling amid sheepfolds, and on the downs of Arcadia. . . . His softer nature appears in the construction of his plots, which abound in tragic incidents, but invariably end happily. . . . He kills his "dramatis personæ" plentifully, but casually. . . . What is best and most characteristic in the plays of Greene is the poetry of his pastoral landscape and his representation of the characters of women.¹

And I should add to this his representation of such pastoral and idyllic scenes as are found in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* and *James IV.* The pretty and graceful love stories in these two plays, represented respectively by Margaret and Lacy and by Ida and Eustace, are very characteristic of the genius of Greene. Ulrici calls *James IV.* a romance, and *Alphonsus* a romantic and fantastic structure; of *Orlando Furioso* he says, "the reader is met by a refreshing breath of native air;" *George-a-Greene* is "pervaded by a tone of homely cheerfulness;" and *Friar Bacon*

¹ COURTHOPE, *A History of English Poetry* (London, 1897), Vol. II, pp. 394, 395.

and *Friar Bungay* by "a breath of pure, fresh air, a bright harmonious colouring."¹

To such work as this, *Locrine*, *Edward I.*, and the *Battle of Alcazar* form a strong contrast. There is only here and there the merest touch of tenderness—the fate of Joan perhaps in *Edward I.*, or Sabren in *Locrine*, touches our sympathy—but no real impression is made. There is little play of the fancy; little, if anything, that is graceful or pastoral in the three plays. Even the would-be Robin Hood scenes in *Edward I.* have an unpleasant grimness about them—an evident unreality—that leaves them unconvincing and unattractive. No "refreshing breath of native air" blows over them. Whether because of the Marlowesque influence, or because of a deepening sense of the tragedy of the life he and his fellow-dramatists were leading, or because of misfortunes in his own life, or because of all these reasons, Peele's genius seems to have lost much of the sweetness and grace of his earlier *Arraignement of Paris* and his *David and Bethsabe*, although even in the latter indications of a change are discernible. In the three plays mentioned there is no uncertainty in the tragic development and outcome. Most especially in *Locrine*—and I think of this as the last of the three—is this feeling of the tragic outcome of events apparent. Throughout the play there is a consistent reiteration of the idea: "That all our life is but a tragedy" (pp. 70, 101). The deeply pathetic lines in "The Honour of the Garter" (II, 321), which Peele wrote in 1593—

I laid me down, laden with many cares,
(My bed-fellows almost those twenty years),

inevitably suggest to my mind such lines as these from *Locrine*:

Caves were my beds, and stones my pillowberes,
Fear was my sleep, and horror was my dream.

—P. 93.

No human strength, no work can work my weal,
Care in my heart so tyrant-like doth deal.

—P. 103.

O life, the harbour of calamities!
O death, the haven of all miseries!

—P. 87.

¹ULRICI, *Shakespeare's Dramatic Art*, trans. by SCHMITZ, Vol. I, p. 144.

CHARACTERIZATION.

"Peele," says Carpenter, to repeat something we have quoted before,¹ "was in fact a poet rather than a dramatist, and it is by his poetical gifts alone that he attained his slender measure of success." Says Professor Courthope:

In wealth of poetic diction, warmth of fancy, and richness of invention, he perhaps excelled all his contemporaries whose names are usually coupled with his own. But in the higher creative powers he was deficient. His plays contain no character that rouses the affection; no imaginative situation that awakens the interest; no universal sentiment that touches the heart.²

After much reading and study of Peele's plays and *Locrine* I cannot but subscribe to the above statements in respect to both. No well-defined impression of any one character in *Locrine* or in any of Peele's known plays is fixed on my mind, no definite and positive appeal has been made by any character to my interest. The beginnings or intimations of such an awakening of interest are there, but they are shadowy and indistinct. No one character emerges from this shadowy background of indistinctness and stands out as a real and living personality with an appeal to our sympathy or to our dislike. Aside from their historical significance, the interest in the plays for the reader consists entirely, as has been said, in their poetical qualities. On the Elizabethan stage the appeal must have been largely through the action and the bloodthirsty rant so acceptable to the audience at that period of the development of the drama. I can see no difference in dramatic characterization between *Locrine* and the undoubted plays of Peele. The treatment is the same: in both it is marked by lack of discrimination, by lack of appeal. When the situation demands the expression of greatness or sublimity, of power, or of strong emotion, the author generally falls into bombast. There are touches of dignity, and now and then a suggestion of tenderness, but only a suggestion. In the representation of Oenone (*A. of P.*), Bethsabe (*D. & B.*), Joan (*Ed. I.*), and Sabren (*Locrine*), the softer appeal of Peele is felt, but only for a moment, not in a lasting or well-defined impression. The char-

¹ P. 8.² *History of English Poetry*, Vol. II, p. 401.

acters in *Locrine*, it is now needless to say, are certainly the kind Peele would create. They are marked by all his faults, they have no virtues of dramatic characterization his do not possess.

In this connection a last word concerning Greene. His characters are not unusual, but in distinctness and definiteness of impression he is undeniably Peele's superior. Saintsbury calls Margaret (*F. B. & F. B.*) "by far the most human heroine produced by any of Greene's own group."¹ One of the greatest charms of Greene's dramas is his representation of women, loving, virtuous, constant. They are very far from creations in the sense that Shakspeare's women are, but yet the definite and positive impression is made, and the graceful and attractive image remains in our memory. Dorothea, the unfortunate queen of James IV., Ida, the countess' daughter, and Margaret, the fair maid of Fressingfield, are examples of Greene's power to draw attractive female characters. Other characters having distinctness of form and possessing interest in themselves beyond any in *Locrine* or Peele are Friar Bacon, Nano, the dwarf, Eustace, the lover of Ida, and perhaps Ateukin, the parasite of James. In the nature of its character-drawing alone, *Locrine* is impossible as the work of Robert Greene.

RESEMBLANCES OF THOUGHT AND PHRASING.

In various points of style, in versification, in the nature and treatment of theme, and in characterization, we have found a constant similarity between *Locrine* and the undoubted plays of Peele. Usually, with an agreement established in all these tests, the case is good. I purpose to make it stronger by the citation of some of the more striking of the many parallel passages in *Locrine* and Peele's undoubted plays and poems. Indeed, the fact that striking parallels exist between *Locrine* and practically all Peele's plays and poems, showing repetitions of thought and language throughout his entire career, is in itself almost enough—even if the other tests were not convincing—to prove that this mutual dependence is due to the fact of Peele's authorship. But, however important or unimportant parallel passages may be when

¹ *History of Elizabethan Literature* (London, and New York, 1887), pp. 73, 74.

My sinews shrink, my numbed senses fail,
A chilling cold possesseth all my bones.

—*Locrine*, 60.

- 7 Why, how now, princeox ! prat'st thou to a king ?

—*Edward I.*, I, 181.

What, prat'st thou, peasant, to thy sovereign ?

—*Locrine*, 95.

A resemblance principally of thought, but with many words repeated:

- 8 Great Jove, defender of this ancient town,
Descended of the Trojan Brutus line,

* * * * *

Whose pure renown hath pierced the world's large ears,
In golden scrolls rolling about the heavens.

—*Descensus Ast.*, I, 361.

The Trojans' glory flies with golden wings,

* * * * *

The fame of Brutus and his followers
Pierceth the skies, and, with the skies, the throne
Of mighty Jove, commander of the world.

—*Locrine*, 61.

Cf.:

Yet chivalry will mount with golden wings,
Spite all, and nestle near the seat of kings.

—*Eclogue Grat.*, II, 275.

- 9 The combat will I crave upon thy ghost,
And drag thee through the loathsome pools
Of Lethes, Styx, and fiery Phlegethon.

—*Battle of A.*, I, 289.

I'll drag thy cursed ghost
Through all the rivers of foul Erebus.

—*Locrine*, 86.

- 10 Mounted upon his jennet white as snow.

—*Battle of A.*, I, 291.

Mounted upon his courser white as snow.

—*Locrine*, 73.

- 11 Where shall I find some unfrequented place,
Some uncouth walk, where I may curse my fill,
My stars, my dam, my planets, and my nurse,
The fire, the air, the water, and the earth.

—*Battle of A.*, I, 287, 288.

Where may I find some desert wilderness,
 Where I may breathe out curses as I would,
 * * * * *
 Where may I find some hollow uncouth rock,
 Where I may damn, condemn, and ban my fill,
 The heavens, the hell, the earth, the air, the fire.

— *Locrine*, 85.

- 12 Pisano, take a cornet of our horse,
 As many argolets and armed pikes.

— *Battle of A.*, I, 233.

Hubba, go take a coronet of our horse,
 As many lancers, and light-armed knights.

— *Locrine*, 74.

Here are parallelisms between *Locrine* and four of Peele's plays and three of his poems. We know that he often borrowed from, or repeated, himself. It would be unreasonable to suppose that any other poet could copy so extensively from all these poems and plays. It is reasonable to conclude, and, in view of the other evidence already given, it is almost the inevitable conclusion, that Peele here as elsewhere is simply repeating himself in his own play *Locrine*.

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THE MORAL ELEMENT IN GOTTFRIED'S *TRISTAN UND ISOLDE*.

FEW poems of German literature have given rise to so various and contradictory opinions as has Gottfried's *Tristan und Isolde*. Virtually all critics agree as to the beauty of the descriptions and the mastery of the niceties of style. The melodious flow of the verse, the limpid beauty of the language, and his surprising power of psychological analysis have earned for Gottfried the title of a master of his art and a high rank among German poets of any age. Few writers have excelled him in the ability to paint the conflicting emotions of the heart under the stress of an overpowering passion. Many of the older critics, however, rendered their tribute of praise almost in spite of themselves, for all this manifold beauty was in their minds only the attractive cloak for gross immorality and excited only aversion and disgust. The severe condemnation which the legend received at the hands of the poet Southey, for example, is too well known to need more than a passing mention.¹ His attitude is pardonable when one remembers that he was acquainted with the tale only in the crude, unpolished English version of *Sir Tristrem*. One is, however, surprised at the harsh criticism passed on Gottfried's poem by so able and, as a rule, so just a critic as Karl Lachmann, who said of it: "anderes als üppigkeit oder gotteslästerung boten die hauptteile seiner weichlichen, unsittlichen erzählung nicht dar."² Massmann likewise, in his edition of Gottfried, expressed himself in terms hardly less severe.³ Groote,⁴ who was one of the first to protest against the severe criticism of the poem, tried to condone the sin of the lovers by declaring that Isolde was married to Marke only in appearance and that Tristan was her real husband. In this he was followed by Simrock in his translation of Gott-

¹ Introduction to *The Byrth, Lyf and Actes of Kyng Arthur*, etc. (London, 1817), Vol. I, p. xv.

² LACHMANN, *Auswahl aus den mhd. Dichtern des 13. Jh.*, p. vi.

³ Cf. p. xi.

⁴ Cf. the introduction to his edition of GOTTFRIED'S *Tristan* (Berlin, 1821), p. xvi.

fried.¹ That this view, however, is untenable, everyone who has read the poem attentively is well aware. Later critics, therefore, have contented themselves in the main with emphasizing the fact that Gottfried has taken a story of crime and low intrigue and transformed it into a poem of surpassing beauty. This is true enough, although much of the credit for doing this belongs in all probability to Gottfried's source, the French poet Thomas. This evidence is, however, largely æsthetic in character, and is not valid in the sphere of morality. The proofs must be sought rather in the motive which inspired the author, and in the difference of attitude on questions of morality and custom existing between mediæval and modern times. It is, therefore, the purpose of this study to consider the subject from these two points of view, to institute an inquiry into Gottfried's motive in writing the poem, to investigate his method of depicting the love scenes and his attitude toward the legend, and lastly to bring as much light to bear upon his conceptions of honor and virtue as may be gleaned from what he himself tells us in the poem.

Taking up first the question of motive, it will be generally admitted, I think, that in the realm of literature this is a prime factor in deciding questions of morality. It is not so much the incidents narrated, but the way in which they are told and the purpose animating the author, which form the final court of appeal. The historian or the literary artist may deal with the most delicate subjects, if his purpose be to instruct or admonish. To select only one of the many examples which suggest themselves to the mind: the so-called problem plays of modern literature may be disagreeable, they may depict a side of life whose existence we would gladly deny, but only a complete misconception of their purpose can lead us to call them immoral. When, however, a writer becomes purposely suggestive, when the motive is no longer to point a moral, but to appeal to depraved tastes, to excite the senses by veiled allusions or by detailed descriptions of erotic scenes, then we are forced to admit that he has been guilty of immorality which no art, however skilful, will excuse.

When we consider Gottfried's poem from this point of view,

¹ P. 395.

we find that it belongs to the first category. It is the narrative of an overpowering passion from which it is impossible for the victims to escape, which overthrows the barriers of honor and virtue, renders the lovers miserable despite their love, and finally leads to their tragic death. That Tristan was predestined for such a life of sinful love is clearly pointed out by Gottfried. Had the poet lived in the nineteenth century, he would have talked a great deal about environment and inherited predispositions. Having had the misfortune of being born over six hundred years before Darwin and the modern scientific school, he did what was virtually the same thing—he gave the detailed history of Tristan's parents to show that he was predestined for such a life by being a child of love. Furthermore, when the name Tristan is given to the hero, Gottfried comments upon its appropriateness, deriving it from the French *triste*. "Behold," he exclaims, "what a sad life was given to him to live!"¹ Unfortunately, the poet did not live to complete his work, but we know from the English *Sir Tristrem* and the Norse saga how Thomas finished the story, and there is not the slightest doubt but that Gottfried would have ended the poem in a way which would have made it perfectly clear that the tragic death of the lovers was the necessary consequence of their sin, and the atonement for it. In fact, he indicates this in ll. 2011–15, where he remarks:

Sehet an den trûreclichen tût,
der alle sine herzenôt
mit einem ende beslôz,
daz alles tôdes übergênôz
und aller triuwe ein galle was;

"a death which surpassed all other deaths and which contained more bitterness than any other sorrow." This passage occurs near the beginning in the description of Tristan's christening and strikes at once the keynote of the whole poem.

Gottfried's purpose is, therefore, to depict the course and the tragic consequences of a sinful love. In no case does he endeavor to present this love in an attractive or alluring light—quite the contrary. Toward the end of the poem his comments upon honor

¹ "Sehen wie trûreclich ein leben
Ime ze lebene wart gegeben" (l. 2009).

and virtue in women become more and more frequent. It is as if he felt his end approaching and did not wish to leave the world in doubt as to his attitude toward the story. Thus, after Tristan is banished from Marke's court, the poet remarks that no good woman would give up her honor to save her life.¹ A few lines farther he adds: "There is no more beautiful thing in the world than a woman who is devoted to *mâze* [i. e., moderation]. The man who is loved by such a woman is the possessor of every earthly joy and carries a living paradise in his heart. He has no cause for anxiety and need not desire to exchange his life for that of Tristan, for a faithful wife does more for her husband than ever Isolde did for Tristan."² Surely no words could express more clearly the critical, nay condemnatory, attitude of the poet toward the legend. Again, in another passage, just after the lovers have yielded to their fatal passion, he moralizes at some length upon infidelity in love. "We have a false conception of love," he tells us. "We sow weeds and expect roses and lilies to spring up, and this cannot be; we must reap what we sow. We sow love with falseness and dishonesty, and so it bears only evil and pain. Real love has been banished and we have naught but the name."³

Let us now turn to the consideration of the second point, that of method, and inquire how Gottfried has treated the love scenes in the poem. This, as has already been brought out, is of the greatest importance in judging of the morality of a piece of literature, for it gives us additional and important evidence as to the motive of the author. The question in Gottfried's case is doubly important, since the character of the story is such that a poet who delights in depicting scenes of passion has ample opportunity in the course of the narrative to indulge his bent to the full.⁴ A study of Gottfried's poem from this point of view reveals at once the fact that the poet observes the utmost delicacy in dealing with erotic situations. He introduces love scenes only where he cannot avoid them without departing from the story, and when he does introduce them, it is done so simply, so charmingly, that we

¹ L. 18000.² Ll. 18101-12.³ Ll. 12230-12361.⁴ Cf., for example, SWINBURNE's treatment of the legend in his *Tristram of Lyonesse*.

cannot take offense.¹ Take, for example, the love scene between Tristan's Rivalin and Blanche flour. It was necessary for the poet to describe this scene in some detail in order to show that Tristan was a child of love. Here was a chance to indulge in description of the most erotic character. But what do we find? A scene so artless and so touching in its simplicity and delicacy that one must search far to find its equal. Overcome by her grief at Rivalin's supposedly fatal wound, Blanche flour falls in a swoon upon the edge of his couch. Her sweet presence revives in the dying hero the almost extinct spark of life. Their lips meet in kisses and then the poet adds simply:

dâ nach so was vil harte unlanc,
unz daz ir beider wille ergie,
und daz vil süeze wîp enpfie
ein kint von sinem libe.

—Ll. 1320-23.

So much was necessary, as stated, to show the character of Tristan's conception; the rest is left to the imagination of the reader. Here there is certainly no attempt at passionate, or even suggestive, description, and yet this is the most detailed of all the love scenes of the poem. What would not a Wieland or a Byron or a d'Annunzio have made of this episode?

Further, when after drinking the fatal potion Tristan and Isolde have confessed their mutual love and Brangaene consents to provide them with an opportunity to meet rather than see her mistress pine away, and Tristan steals softly to Isolde's darkened cabin, we should expect of a mediæval poet a most detailed description of the scene. Gottfried, however, merely relates how the physician Love took the lovesick Tristan by the hand and led him to the bedside of Isolde and gave him to her and her to him as medicine. Love bound their hearts so firmly, he tells us, that they could never be severed.² Then, instead of describing

¹ For some of the following examples I am indebted in the first instance to R. HEINZEL, "Über Gottfried von Strassburg" (*Zeitschr. f. d. Österreich. Gym.*, 1868), pp. 548, 549, who collected a number of instances. J. FIRMERY, in an essay, "Notes critiques sur quelques traductions allemandes de poèmes français au moyen âge," *Annales de l'université de Lyon*, nouvelle série, II, 8, has also emphasized the delicacy with which Gottfried treats the love scenes in his poem. Not having access to this series, I am unable to say how fully Firmery has treated of this point.

² Ll. 12161-86.

the scene further, he begins a long rambling discussion of two hundred lines on the character and the effects of love, in the course of which he condemns a passion based upon treachery and deceit, and sings the praises of a love coupled with fidelity. When he finally returns to the lovers, it is only to remark that they succeeded in curing one another of their sorrow and pain.¹

Again, no incident in the poem has given more offense than the substitution of Brangaene for Isolde. This is not the place to justify its introduction, as we are concerned here only with Gottfried's method of treatment. Suffice it to say that he found the incident in the original, and that it seemed to offer the only way by which Brangaene might save the reputation of her mistress and make good her negligence which had brought upon the lovers their fatal passion. Now how does Gottfried treat so difficult a scene? Brangaene at first refuses thus to debase herself and consents only after repeated urging, and because she feels that she must pay the penalty of her carelessness and at any cost save the honor of Isolde, for whose happiness the queen had made her responsible. There is no detailed description of the scene. The poet hastens to assure us that Brangaene's thoughts were "lâter unde guot," and that she slipped away as soon as the object of the substitution had been accomplished.²

In the other recorded instances of meetings between the lovers Gottfried contents himself, as a rule, with the mere mention of the fact, as, for example, in the series of rendezvous in the orchard during Marke's absence. Here we read merely that they met without detection eight times in as many days.³ In the beautiful idyl of the *Minnegrotte* we find lengthy descriptions of nature, of the arrangement of the grotto, of the manner in which the lovers passed their days, but not even the mention of a love scene, although the opportunity to introduce such a passage could not

¹ Ll. 12362 ff.

² In no case does Gottfried indulge in ribald jokes upon delicate situations, as do the later French versions of the legend. The attitude of the latter has been well shown by Heinzel with reference to the scene where Tristan, disguised as a pilgrim, stumbles and falls when carrying Isolde ashore. A comparison with the corresponding passages in the saga and the English poem also shows that the humor in Thomas must have been much broader, and furnishes additional evidence in proof of Gottfried's desire to avoid coarse and indelicate expressions.

³ Cf. ll. 14506-10.

have been more favorable. Had Gottfried been fond of indulging in erotic descriptions, he would not have allowed so favorable a chance to pass unused.¹

Judged, therefore, from the standpoints of motive and method, Gottfried must be exonerated from much of the blame attached to him. There are still some objections, however, which remain to be answered. Chief among these is the fact that the poet does not directly pose as a moralist and that he does not censure the lovers more severely. It has been pointed out that Marke, the deluded husband, plays the part of a stupid fool who deserves to be deceived for his credulity, and that those who act as spies upon the lovers are not represented as champions of morality, but are accused of a lack of courtly breeding (*unhövescheit*). This is to some extent true, but it does not prove Gottfried's frivolity as conclusively as has been claimed. Those who make this criticism quite forget that a piece of literature must be judged from the viewpoint of the time and place in which it was written. Not only customs, but also the conceptions of honor and virtue, vary from age to age and may be different in different parts of the world, or in different classes of society.²

The people of the Middle Ages, and especially those classes among whom chivalry took its rise had a more naïve way of looking at things than we today. Their ideals were often totally different from ours and resembled more those of the ancient world. The moral value of absolute truthfulness does not seem to have been appreciated by them any more than by the Greeks, who admired above all things craftiness and cunning. Tristan of our poem is just such a character as Ulysses or Pylades. With a quiet smile on his lips and with an ingenuity which astonishes us, he invents again and again the most plausible stories to account for the condition in which he found himself at a given moment.

¹ In one case, it must be admitted, Gottfried does seem to depart from his usual practice, when he describes the position in which Marke discovers the lovers asleep in the garden, ll. 18199-18218. This admits, however, of an easy explanation. Just as an unusual amount of detail was given in the love scene between Rivalin and Blancheffleur to show the nature of Tristan's conception, so here too Gottfried probably felt it necessary to describe the scene in such a way that Marke should have at last unequivocal proof of the character of the intercourse existing between his wife and his nephew.

² A strong presentation of these facts in dramatic form is to be found in SUDERMANN'S *Ehre*.

Thus, when he had been carried off by Norwegian traders and landed on an unknown coast, he tells the pilgrims whom he meets that he had lost his way while hunting in the neighborhood. Not only does he invent the story, but he describes the circumstances with such minutiae that he is at once believed. That we are expected to admire him for his ready invention is evident from the words with which the episode is introduced.¹ Again, on his second trip to Ireland Tristan goes boldly on shore, although he knows that the Irish have sworn to kill all men from Kurneval, trusting to his skill in deceiving to preserve him from harm. He makes no pretense of concealing his purpose from his fellow-travelers, but says frankly: "I must lie to them today to the extent of my ability."² Such examples occur frequently, and might be largely multiplied if space would permit.³

That not only Gottfried, but also his contemporaries, justified such deceit is shown by the fact that Tristan was universally considered as a model of courtly breeding. As strict a moralist as Thomasin von Zirclære holds him up as a pattern for the young to follow.⁴ Similar characters are found in the *Iwein* of Hartman von Aue, whom Gottfried took as his model. Thus the waiting maid Lunette and the young squire, who successfully deceived their mistress and induced her to marry the hero, are highly extolled.⁵ Further, the maid who cured Iwein of his madness is called wise because she tells a falsehood (*lügenmaere*) to account for the disappearance of the salve used in the cure.⁶

Another feature in which the age of chivalry differed from modern times, and which has a still closer bearing upon the question of Gottfried's morality, was the stress laid upon the strict observance of a formal courtly etiquette (*hövescheit*). Provided a man followed its dictates to the letter, other qualities were of little importance. This was, after all, only natural, for it was courtly breeding which had gradually transformed the semi-barbarous western lands into a semblance of culture and civiliza-

¹ Cf. ll. 2690 f.

² Ll. 8709, 8710.

³ Other examples are found: ll. 3079 ff.; 7905-14; 8185-8212; 8800 ff. In one case the poet goes out of his way to show the advantages of such forethought, as he calls it.

⁴ *Der welsche Gast*, l. 1051: "an gevnuoc folgt ir Tristande."

⁵ Ll. 2181-84 and 2218.

⁶ Ll. 3657 ff.

tion. It alone distinguished often the knight from the *vilein* or boor, the noble of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from his warlike but uncouth ancestors. The courtly poets are, therefore, continually using the phrase *durch hövescheit* in commenting upon the fine breeding of their heroes.¹ Even more popular epics, such as the *Nibelungenlied*, make similar use of it.² Now, one of the worst infringements of this formal etiquette is tale-bearing. No matter what happened, courtly etiquette demanded that a knight should be able to hold his tongue. The poems of the minnesingers are full of severe condemnation of the envious *merkaere*, who disturbed the peace of lovers. Gottfried, we find, takes the same view. He accuses the knight Marjodo and the dwarf Melot, who betray Tristan to Marke, of *unhövescheit* and scores them in no measured terms. He begins chap. 24 with a long homily on the despicableness of false friendship in general and that of Marjodo in particular, and even goes so far as to call the knight a dog and the dwarf a serpent, although he usually avoids such expressions as being uncourtly. We find Eilhart taking exactly the same view in his version. In fact, he waxes still more indignant at the "boorishness" of the knight, whom he calls a coward (*zage*), and whom he wishes the devil would drown in the Rhine for his false friendship toward Tristan. His statements are called *nidesch lügenmære*, although they are only too true.³

Still another conception which we must thoroughly understand in order to avoid misjudging Gottfried's poem is the courtly use of the word *ere*, which seldom meant "honor" in the modern acceptation, but generally signified "reputation," the respect in which a person was held. Honor with us is mainly subjective;

¹ Cf. *Flore*, 3924; *Parzival*, III, 1611; *Iwein*, 788, 3387.

² *Nibelungenlied* (Lachmann), 131.

³ LICHTENSTEIN's edition of EILHART, I, 3171. A most striking instance of the extent to which this etiquette was carried is furnished by the episode in which Isolde wins her case when subjected to the trial by hot iron by appealing to the *hövescheit* of God (ll. 15554 ff.). Gottfried has been accused of blasphemy because of this remark, but has been well defended by BECHSTEIN, in his Introduction, p. xxx, and by KURTZ, *Germania*, Vol. XV, pp. 207 ff. and 322 ff. Before Gottfried HARTMANN had already spoken of God's *hövescheit* (*Erec*, 3460), and the expression is also used by ULRICH VON LICHTENSTEIN (*Frauendienst*, 180, 8) and by ABRAHAM A SANTA CLARA (*Judas*, III, 27). Cf. SPRENGER, *Zeitschr. f. d. Phil.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 284, and HERTZ, *Tristan und Isolde*³, p. 544.

in the poems of chivalry it is principally objective.¹ It was synonymous with outward appearances, and so long as these were kept, *êre* was untarnished. This is clearly brought out in Gottfried's poem. When, for example, Isolde succeeds in triumphantly standing the test of the hot iron, the poet remarks that her *êre* was restored,² whereas from a modern point of view the deceit to which she had recourse dishonored her more than ever. Again, when the lovers are banished from the court, they do not grieve on account of their guilt toward Marke, but solely because the discovery of their sinful love had brought upon them the loss of their reputation at the court.³ And when Marke concludes to take them back into favor, they rejoice especially over their restoration to *êre*.⁴

Most characteristic for the courtly conception of honor is the attitude of the lovers after drinking the love potion. The thought that it would be more honorable to accept the consequences of their love does not seem to have occurred to them. In their minds it was decidedly less dishonorable to deceive Marke than to cause a public scandal. Tristan had promised to obtain the hand of Isolde for his uncle, and this promise must be kept or he would be dishonored, i. e., would lose his *êre*. The poet does not leave us in the slightest doubt as to which was the correct course for Tristan to pursue. Line 12511 he remarks:

swie sanfte uns mit der liebe si,
so müezen wir doch ie dâ bi
gedenken der êren.

Again, a few lines farther down (12517-22) he continues:

swie wol Tristande tæte
daz leben, daz er hæte,
sîn êre zôch in doch dervan.

¹ Of sixty-eight occurrences in *Iwein* only one cannot be construed in an objective sense (l. 3046), and in scarcely more than a half-dozen cases is it used as we now employ the word.

² "Daz si an ir êren genas" (l. 15754).

³ "Sine haeten umbe ein bezzer leben
niht eine bône gegeben,
wan eine umbe ir êre" (ll. 16879-81).

⁴ "Die fröude heten s'aber dō
vil harter unde mēre
dur got und durch ir êre" (ll. 17700-17702).

sin triuwe lag im allez an,
 daz er ir wol gedæhte
 und Marke sin wip bræhte.¹

Love and honor are in conflict, and although the former had conquered before, now honor is triumphant and love is forced to give way for the time being. A modern poet would have treated the subject in the very opposite manner. He would have shown that true honor demanded above all absolute truthfulness, and would have made Tristan confess to Marke the secret of his love, and either allowed him to suffer the consequences of betraying the king's confidence, or, if the story was to end happily, would have made Marke magnanimous enough to pardon Tristan's fault and renounce all claims to Isolde.² Gottfried, however, is a child of his time, and we cannot expect him to exhibit feelings and hold ideals different from those of his contemporaries. It is, therefore, unjust to call him immoral because he places *êre*, i. e., reputation, above absolute truthfulness.

Another characteristic difference existing between modern times and the age of chivalry which must be borne in mind in judging of Gottfried's poem is to be found in the attitude toward the passion of love. Civilization was cruder, men were more naïve in those days, and their passions were not held in check by considerations of propriety and of society as in our time. Love was supreme, and few ties, however sacred, could stand before it. The many *tagelieder* of the Middle High German and the *albas* of Provençal literature are not creations of a depraved morality, but expressions of the belief that love carried with it its own justification under all circumstances. The prevailing custom of marrying young girls, often against their will, for family or state reasons to men whom they often had never seen had resulted in the

¹ This whole chapter throws most interesting light on the conceptions of *êre* and *triuwe*.

² IMMERMANN attempted to modernize the legend in this way by having the lovers prepare to commit suicide before landing. He, however, shrank from the complete change in the story which this would involve, so that his attempt remained half-hearted and ineffectual. JOSEPH WELEN is the only one, so far as I know, who has consistently modernized the poem by having the lovers struggle successfully against their passion until Tristan can leave the court. Weilen, however, spoils his drama by the unnecessarily tragic character of the close. The difficulties attending the remodeling of the legend for modern dramatic purposes have been interestingly discussed by BECHSTEIN, *Tristan und Isolt in den deutschen Dichtungen der Neuzeit* (Leipzig, 1876).

gradual degradation of marriage. The question as to whether love could exist between husband and wife we find being discussed and gravely decided in the negative.¹ The frequent lack of congeniality led husband and wife to bestow their affections elsewhere. Such secret love naturally attracted the adventurous spirit of the knights, and the prudence and cunning necessary to escape detection possessed a similar charm for the woman of leisure.² The result was that violations of the marriage tie were not considered so heinous nor were they so severely punished as in a stricter age.

An interesting example of this is to be found in MS R of Raimbaut de Vaqueiras's poem *Carros*, where the marquis finds his wife asleep in the arms of the troubadour, much as Marke discovers Tristan and Isolde. Instead of avenging his honor on the spot, the marquis merely substitutes his cloak for that of Raimbaut, as Marke does with the swords in the grotto scene, and leaves the lovers undisturbed. When the troubadour awakes and sees that he has been detected, he proceeds at once to the injured husband and begs his pardon. This the latter grants, with the remark that he forgave the theft this time, but that it must not occur again. Such indifference on the part of the marquis seems incredible to us. It offers, however, a most striking parallel to our poem, and at the same time a commentary on the lack of spirit which Marke exhibits.

The susceptibility of woman to love is the favorite theme of the troubadours. Arnaut Daniel once declared that there was no woman who did not wish to yield and who would not, if rightly wooed.³ It was considered wrong, however, to yield lightly to the solicitations of the lover. Eilhart expresses this view clearly when he makes one of Isolde's ladies-in-waiting indignantly spurn the advances of Kehenis.⁴ Gottfried likewise is far from being an apostle of indiscriminate love. If, however, love already exists between a man and a woman, if it has proved too strong

¹ "Utrum inter conjugales amor possit habere locum?" MS de la Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 8758, fol. 56. Cf. MARY LAFON, *Histoire littéraire du Midi de la France* (Paris, 1882), p. 110.

² Cf. JUSTIN H. SMITH, *The Troubadours at Home*, p. 59.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

⁴ LICHTENSTEIN's edition, ll. 6742 ff.

for them, if they have been forced to surrender to their passion, then it is foolish to have further scruples in the matter. This is the feeling of the age of chivalry, and Gottfried makes this clear when he remarks, that those who have gone so far that all strangeness between them has ceased to exist are thieves of their own happiness if they do not give themselves over to the enjoyment of their love.¹ This is such a matter of course for Gottfried that he wastes no further words upon it. The intrigues and deceit necessary to procure the enjoyment of this love he considers deplorable, but nevertheless justifiable. If, then, love be thought to be an overpowering passion to which everyone must yield whom it makes its prey;² if, moreover, it be so supreme that no obligation, however binding, can stand before it, then the actions of Tristan and Isolde are certainly less reprehensible from this point of view than when judged by our moral standard. From the standpoint of courtly chivalry, Gottfried's Tristan is in many respects the ideal lover, devoted to his mistress and faithful to the end.³ He is no gay, wanton butterfly fluttering from one flower to another, but a man whose whole life is filled with this one passion—his love for Isolde.

Whatever, therefore, may be the general opinion of the immorality of the legend in its cruder forms, it must be evident from the arguments adduced that no blame attaches to Gottfried, unless indeed we go so far as to censure him for choosing such a subject for poetic treatment. Granted, however, the right to select such a theme—and no less a man than Goethe was a strong champion of the freedom of the poet in this respect—then we must concede that Gottfried has sought throughout to lift the tale out of the realm of the commonplace into the sphere of the ideal, that under his pen the story of a guilty passion becomes a grand picture of two souls struggling against an overpowering love, which draws them slowly but surely together and from which

¹ Ll. 12380-90.

² This is made clear by Gottfried in ll. 12180-86. In BEROL and EILHART the love ceases when the effect of the philter ceases; in GOTTFRIED it lasts till death.

³ In EILHART Tristan's marriage with Isolde of Brittany finally becomes one in reality as well as in name. In the courtly version, however, he remains faithful to his first love. This trait of fidelity has been exquisitely portrayed by WILLIAM MORRIS in his treatment of this episode.

there is no possibility of escape—a love which renders its possessors, not happy, but miserable, and which finally ends in their tragic death. We have seen that the poet does not hold the lovers up as examples for us to imitate; on the contrary, he pauses again and again to sing the praises of virtue and moderation (*māze*) in woman. His views on honor and love, which differ so radically from ours, find their explanation in the attitude of the age of chivalry touching these points. His motive has been shown to be pure, and the evident intention to refrain from all mention of unpleasant or gross thoughts, and the delicacy with which scenes of the most intimate character are depicted, suffice finally to clear him of the least suspicion of immorality. With an unsurpassed beauty and melody of verse, with a marvelous knowledge of the human heart, and a searching analysis of motives and emotions, Gottfried has succeeded in giving us a poem which will stand for all time as one of the few great tragedies of love, and which must disarm criticism except on the part of those who fix their eyes obstinately on one point and thus fail to see the grandeur of the struggle and the beauty of the description which have placed the poem in the front rank of the literature of the world.

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LES "DISCOURS" DE RONSARD.¹

LA renommée de Ronsard, si glorieuse au temps de la Pléiade, s'écroula sous la critique aussi fameuse qu'injuste de Boileau.² Pendant deux siècles, elle ne s'en releva point. Au XIX^e seulement, après l'heureuse initiative de Sainte-Beuve,³ elle a repris quelque chose de son éclat d'antan. Les lettrés délicats l'ont relu. Mais qu'ont-ils admiré de son œuvre? Je crois bien que ce sont les folâtreries. Longtemps il éveilla l'idée d'un poète trop ambitieux—et c'est un souvenir de Boileau—puis d'un poète aimable, galant, épicurien. Il le fut sans doute, et c'est un titre de gloire, si l'on veut. Mais il en a un autre plus important à mes yeux: les *Discours*. Là, pour la première fois peut-être, il s'est montré grand poète, je veux dire inspiré par de belles et nobles idées, emporté par le souffle d'une poésie large, chaude, éloquente. Ce n'est pas une découverte que je fais. Après Sainte-Beuve, MM. Lenient, Bizos, Vianey, Pinvert⁴ ont consacré aux *Discours* quelques pages judicieuses. M. Faguet⁵ les a analysés de façon rapide et substantielle. Sous ce titre "Un épisode de la vie de Ronsard,"⁶ M. Brunetière apprécie les opinions de Ronsard, en homme peut-être trop préoccupé des luttes contemporaines. Enfin, M. Perdrizet vient d'écrire sur *Ronsard et la Réforme* une étude intéressante sinon définitive.⁷ Aux uns, Ronsard apparaît un champion convaincu du trône et de l'autel; aux autres un égoïste plus soucieux de bénéfices que de religion; à quelques-uns, plus modérés, un humaniste conservateur. Parmi ces critiques, MM. Brunetière et Perdrizet me paraissent avoir résumé les opinions diverses. Je voudrais ici exposer leurs raisons, les discuter, et, s'il y a lieu, proposer une opinion personnelle. La question a son importance. Non seulement les *Discours*

¹ Cette étude servira de préface à une édition critique des *Discours* que l'auteur prépare.

² *Art poétique*, chant i, vss. 123-30.

³ *Tableau de la poésie au XVI^e siècle* (Charpentier).

⁴ *Satire en France au XVI^e siècle*, tome I; *Ronsard* dans les *Classiques populaires*; Thèse française sur *Mathurin Régnier*; Thèse française sur *Jacques Grévin*.

⁵ *XVI^e siècle: Études littéraires*, pp. 251-55.

⁶ *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 15 mai 1900.

⁷ *Ronsard et la Réforme* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1902).

nous font connaître un Ronsard penseur, orateur, polémiste, patriote, c'est-à-dire un Ronsard nouveau, ou tout au moins différent du poète des *Amours*; mais ils nous renseignent sur l'état d'esprit des auteurs de la Pléiade. A ne lire que les historiens de la littérature, on pourrait s'imaginer une réunion de purs artistes, un peu païens, détachés de tout ce qui n'est pas l'art. On serait loin du compte. Ils aimaient vraiment leur patrie—Joachim du Bellay passe même pour avoir introduit ce mot;¹ à l'occasion, ils ne dédaignaient pas de quitter les régions sereines de la poésie pour se mêler aux réalités de leur temps. En quoi ils se montraient vraiment humanistes, si l'humanisme signifie avant tout l'intelligence et l'amour de la vie. De plus, dans la lutte contre les Protestants, Ronsard, de l'aveu même de M. Perdrizet,² représente l'opinion de ses contemporains. Alors les *Discours* se parent encore d'un intérêt historique. Ils nous apprennent ce que pensaient à ce moment de crise la majorité des Français, ce qui les éloignait de la religion nouvelle. N'est-ce pas de quoi leur mériter une place à part et dans l'étude même des œuvres de Ronsard, et dans l'histoire générale des idées aux XVI^e siècle ?

Les *Discours*, parus d'abord en plaquettes, réimprimés de 1562 à 1564, furent publiés durant la première guerre civile. En suivant l'ordre de ces poèmes dans l'édition Blanchemain, voici leurs dates respectives:³ Le *Discours des misères de ce temps*, dès novembre 1562; la *Continuation*, également en novembre 1562; l'*Institution pour l'adolescence du Roy*, en 1562, peut-être avant les deux *Discours*; l'*Élégie à Guillaume des Autels*, écrite probablement avant les troubles d'Amboise, réimprimée en 1562; le *Discours à Louis des Masures*, de 1560 comme la précédente élégie; la *Remonstrance au peuple de France*, en décembre 1562;⁴ *Response aux injures et calomnies*, en avril 1563. Quant aux

¹ Il n'a que le mérite de l'avoir vulgarisé. Avant lui, on le trouve dans C. Gruget (1537), Étienne Dolet (1544), et Hugues Salet (1545). Quelques-uns en ont fait honneur à Alain Chartier; mais il n'est de ce poète que dans une édition de 1661 où le texte de ses œuvres a été rajeuni (A. DEBBOULLE, *Revue d'hist. litt. de la France*, 1901, pp. 688, 689).

² *Ronsard et la Réforme*, p. 4.

³ Elles s'écartent des indications de Blanchemain dans son édition; elles concordent davantage avec celles de M. PERDRIZET, pp. 16-20, 105, 130, mais pas absolument; enfin elles sont conformes aux vues de M. LAUMONNIER, *Revue universitaire*, 15 février 1903, pp. 152-57, notes 2, 5, 7, 9, 4, 1. On y trouvera une discussion précise, dont nous n'avons gardé que les résultats.

⁴ En 1563, d'après M. PERDRIZET, p. 28.

événements qui inspirèrent ces poèmes, les voici de façon sommaire:¹ conjuration d'Amboise (1560), colloque de Poissy (1562), massacre de Vassy (1562), massacres de Languedoc et de Guyenne par Bl. de Montluc, massacres de Provence et du Dauphiné par le protestant des Adrets, siège de Rouen par Guise et les catholiques, siège de Paris par Condé et les protestants, bataille de Dreux où Guise fait prisonnier Condé (19 décembre 1562), assassinat de Guise à Orléans (18 février 1563), paix d'Amboise (12 mars 1563).

L'écho de ces divers épisodes retentit dans les *Discours*, et les vers qui jaillirent à leur contact, Ronsard les recueillit dans le 6^e volume de l'édition collective de 1567, imprimée un peu avant la seconde guerre civile (le 4 avril). Le caractère de ces pièces est relativement modéré. En 1571, après la troisième guerre civile, Ronsard donne une autre édition collective, accrue de plusieurs poèmes parus en 1569 ou 1570, dont les principaux sont: un "Chant triomphal pour jouer sur la lyre," "Prière à Dieu pour la Victoire," "L'Hydre défait," "Les Éléments ennemis de l'Hydre." Un catholicisme farouche y palpite.² En 1572-73, en 1578, en 1584, d'autres éditions se succédèrent du vivant même de Ronsard. On y remarque des corrections d'ordre moral et d'ordre littéraire. Malgré leur intérêt, tant qu'elles ne constituent que de simples variantes, je les néglige ici, parce qu'elles ne changent pas le ton général de l'œuvre, ni l'ensemble des idées, ni la couleur des sentiments. Quant aux autres, susceptibles de modifier nos impressions, je les signalerai en temps et lieu. Du reste le lecteur en trouvera le détail dans les notes critiques de M. Laumonnier, amères pour Ronsard, mais utiles à l'érudition.³ Rappelons enfin une édition posthume en 1587, sous les auspices de J. Galland et de Cl. Binet, exécuteurs testamentaires de Ron-

¹ LAUMONNIER. *op. cit.*, p. 149.

² Pour mieux éclairer la pensée de Ronsard, citons encore la pièce à "Catherine de Médicis," datée de 1564, et qui fait partie du "Bocage royal" (II, 2, édit. 1584); puis, une chanson satirique sur le colloque de Poissy (éd. BLANCHEMAIN, tome VIII, p. 133); tome III, pp. 353, 375, 376; tome VI, pp. 257-64; tome VII, pp. 185-87; tome VIII, pp. 105-9.

³ J'emprunterai mes citations à l'édition BLANCHEMAIN, parce qu'elle suffit au but que je me suis proposé. Mais pour les professeurs et pour les étudiants qu'intéresserait une étude exacte du texte en lui-même, cette édition est insuffisante. Il en faut dire autant de l'édition BECQ DE FOUQUIÈRES. Je leur conseillerais de les compléter l'une et l'autre par les notes de M. LAUMONNIER.

sard. C'est l'édition *ne varietur*, expression suprême de la pensée du poète. Car le privilège nous apprend¹ que les œuvres y contenues ont été "revues, corrigées et augmentées par l'auteur peu avant son trépas, et mises en leur ordre suivant ses mémoires et ses copies." De plus, Binet, dans la *Vie de Ronsard* qu'il a placée en tête de cette édition, assure "que cette dernière main de ses œuvres comme un testament porte sa volonté gravée, ainsi qu'il la lui avait recommandée inviolable."

Les *Discours* parurent donc sous la forme légère de pamphlets. Ronsard imitait les Protestants. Ils avaient compris de bonne heure que pour gagner les masses, il fallait aller à elles. Disputer à coups d'in-folio latins, cela n'avancait guère. Ils n'étaient lus que par les savants, et parmi eux les conquêtes sont difficiles. Les Réformés adoptèrent donc un genre de propagande, suivi plus tard par les Jansénistes. Ils traduisirent en français la Bible, les Psaumes; multiplièrent les *Catéchismes*, les *Boucliers de la Foi*, les *Bâtons de la Foi*, et autres écrits de polémique. Commodés par leurs dimensions, intelligibles aux plus humbles esprits, ils se répandirent parmi le peuple avec une merveilleuse rapidité. On peut voir dans le livre de M. Perdrizet² à quel point l'audace des colporteurs était ingénieuse et hardie. Ainsi, l'attrait du mystère, le goût du fruit défendu, la verve éloquente des auteurs assurèrent à ces libelles une vogue immense au grand détriment des catholiques. De ce côté, aucune réponse alerte. La comparaison entre eux et les Réformés devenait fâcheuse à leur cause. Alors, Ronsard se leva et conçut l'idée de ses *Discours*.³ Créateur en France d'une poésie haute et nouvelle, le chef de la Pléiade ambitionna-t-il la gloire d'un défenseur de la foi? ou du moins a-t-il voulu joindre aux victoires passées un autre triomphe littéraire, et montrer au monde qu'en sa personne et dans tous les champs de culture humaine la Pléiade restait la grande rénovatrice des lettres? Peut-être; et après tout son ambition fut légitime. Mais il ne la déclare pas. Les mobiles qu'il proclame sont d'un ordre plus élevé :

¹ LAUMONNIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 151, 152.

² Chap. i, p. 5.

³ Ils suscitèrent contre lui une armée d'adversaires qui firent pleuvoir sur sa tête une grêle de pamphlets, témoignage d'ailleurs indubitable de sa force et de la crainte qu'il inspirait. Cf. PERDRIZET, chap. ii, pp. 21 sqq.

Or, quand Paris avait sa muraille assiégée,
 Et que la guerre était en ses faux-bourgs logée,
 Et que les morions et les glaives trenchants
 Reluisaient en la ville et reluisaient aux champs,
 Voyant le laboureur tout pensif et tout morne,
 L'un trainer en pleurant sa vache par la corne,
 L'autre porter au col ses enfants et son lit,
 Je m'enfermay trois jours renfrogné de despit,
 Et prenant le papier et l'encre de colère,
 De ce temps malheureux j'escrivis la misère,
 Blasmant les presdicants lesquels avaient presché
 Que par le fer mutin le peuple fust tranché;
 Blasmant les assassins, les voleurs, et l'outrage
 Des hommes reformez, cruels en brigandage¹

M. Perdrizet n'accepte pas sans étonnement cette entrée en lutte du grand poète de la Pléiade.² Il rappelle avec complaisance qu'il fut l'auteur des *Amours*, des *Gayetés*, des *Bacchanales*, des *Dithyrambes*, des *Folastries*, bref un épicurien et un voluptueux. Était-ce bien à lui de se poser en champion de la pure doctrine chrétienne? Comment les austères huguenots n'auraient-ils pas souligné avec indignation ce contraste scandaleux? Ils n'y manquèrent pas, et M. Perdrizet fait chorus. Faut-il dire que son étonnement me semble naïf? Sans doute je n'ignore pas qu'après sa valeur intrinsèque, une doctrine se recommande par le mérite de ses docteurs. Mais quoi! Luther, Henri VIII., furent-ils des saints? Marot, Rabelais, Grévin, que d'ailleurs l'on fait protestants plus que de raison, furent-ils plus chrétiens que Ronsard? Ou veut-on dire que d'aider à la diffusion du culte nouveau, cela suffisait à racheter leurs péchés, et que Ronsard, s'il eût consacré son génie à la même cause, aurait cessé d'être un damnable païen? Ne voit-on pas au contraire que son abstention lui eût été amèrement reprochée,³ que l'origi-

¹ Édit. Bl., t. VII, p. 129; cf. "Élégie à Guillaume des Autels," *ibid.*, p. 40. Si ne vois-je pourtant personne . . .

² Chap. iv, p. 51.

³ Et au fait, on la lui a reprochée. HENRI MARTIN a écrit dans son *Histoire de France* (t. IX, pp. 10 sqq.): "Tout en reconnaissant aujourd'hui la valeur littéraire de Ronsard et de quelques-uns de ses acolytes, on ne peut cependant admettre leurs images sur cette voie sacrée de la tradition nationale que bordent les monuments de nos grands écrivains et nos grands artistes. Ils n'appartiennent pas à la vraie France, à cette Gaule française, dont ils étouffent la naïveté primesautière sous leur roideur et leur emphase; exclusivement préoccupés de la forme, affectant une égoïste indifférence pour tout ce qui fait la vraie grandeur

nalité de son initiative réside surtout dans ce fait qu'il s'est arraché à la vie sensuelle ou légère pour s'enfoncer dans une âpre bataille, détourné d'un dilettantisme moral pour reprendre contact avec les réalités poignantes du temps et contribuer de sa part à la défense religieuse et sociale? C'est pourquoi, dans l'étude actuelle de ses *Discours*, je m'inquiète peu si sa conduite l'autorisait à ce rôle. J'admets seulement qu'essayer de le déshonorer ainsi par avance, c'était de bonne guerre aux protestants. Rien de plus; ou l'arme pourrait se retourner contre eux-mêmes, tout ou moins contre quelques-uns de leurs plus chers amis.

Cependant M. Perdrizet va plus loin; ou plutôt du vieil épicisme de Ronsard il conclut à un catholicisme tout de surface.¹ Ne confond-il pas deux choses assez distinctes, la croyance et la pratique? Réunies, c'est le chrétien parfait; séparées, c'est le chrétien inconséquent. Toutefois, le défaut de vie chrétienne, s'il prouve la faiblesse du caractère, n'implique pas nécessairement le défaut de conviction. Ronsard, malgré sa légèreté de conduite, a donc pu être un croyant sincère au dogme catholique. Faut-il entendre alors avec M. Perdrizet qu'il combat le protestantisme non pour ses dogmes, mais pour sa morale; que l'austérité de la religion nouvelle l'effraie; que le catholicisme était plus accommodant? De l'austérité réelle des huguenots je ne dirai rien personnellement; mais qu'elle fut la cause des répugnances de Ronsard, j'ai quelque peine à l'admettre, et ma grande raison, c'est qu'il n'y croyait pas, à tort ou à raison. Un extérieur sévère, hypocrite, des paroles fardées, c'est tout ce qu'il leur reconnaît. Leur vie intime, malgré les apparences, n'est pas plus chrétienne.²

Où si vertu il y a, elle lui semblait trop étalée pour être sincère. Elle n'avait pas l'air de France. Elle était intolérante, triste, glacée. Elle éteignait le rire, la joie, proscrivait les arts. Genève, sous la férule de Calvin, était inhabitable aux libres esprits. Et il est vrai d'affirmer avec M. Perdrizet qu'en ce sens l'austérité huguenote déplaisait à Ronsard et sans doute à la plupart de ses

de l'homme pour les problèmes qui bouleversaient leur siècle, ils manquèrent cette forme qu'ils cherchaient avec tant de passion, et ne comprirent pas que les grands sentiments font seuls les grands styles." Naïf H. Martin! dit M. BRUNETIÈRE (*op. cit.*, p. 387). Evidemment il n'avait pas lu les *Discours des misères de ce temps*.

¹ Chap. v.

² "Continuation," BL, t. VII, p. 27 et "Remonstrance," *ibid.*, p. 60.

contemporains. Rien de plus. Je ne dis pas que ce sentiment soit très-chrétien; mais il est assez français. Nous détestons les grimaces pieuses, les mômeries, l'austérité sombre et tyrannique. Au reste Calvin ni ses partisans n'ont le monopole de la vertu:

Elle a le dos ailé, elle passe la mer,
Elle s'en-vole au ciel, elle marche sur terre

et tour à tour, elle visite tous les peuples à tous les coins de l'horizon.¹ Inutile d'embrasser l'évangile nouveau. Celui de l'Église suffit. Ce n'est pas l'avis de M. Perdrizet; il assure que le catholicisme gênait moins la licence des poètes de la Pléiade. Ici, il faudrait préciser. Le catholicisme de Charles IX. et de Henri III., soit; mais je ne pense pas qu'on veuille le confondre tout à fait avec celui de l'Église elle-même. En tout cas, Ronsard, si faible qu'il fût dans ses passions, ne les autorisa jamais de sa foi. Si donc il lui resta fidèle, ce dut être pour des motifs plus graves. Notez qu'il n'est pas aveugle sur les abus de la religion romaine:

. . . . Depuis saint Gregoire,
Nul pape dont le nom soit escrit dans l'histoire
En chaire ne prescha

Des enfants de quinze ans, de jeunes muguets tiennent le gouvernement; ils vivent sans peine,

Sans prescher, sans prier, sans bon exemple d'eux,
Parfumez, découpez, courtisans, amoureux.

L'Église

. . . . fut jadis fondée en humblesse d'esprit,
En toute patience, en toute obéissance,
Sans argent, sans crédit, sans force ny puissance,
Pauvre, nue, exilée, ayant jusques aux os
Les coups de fouets sanglants imprimez sur le dos;
Et la voir aujourd'hui riche, grasse et hautaine,
Toute pleine d'escus, de rente et de domaine?
Ses ministres enflés et ses Papes encor
Pompeusement vestus de soye et de drap d'or?²

Notez encore que le protestantisme faillit le séduire:

¹ "Réponse," *ibid.*, pp. 120, 121.

² "Élégie à Guillaume des Autels," *ibid.*, p. 42; cf. "Remonstrance," *ibid.*, p. 66; *ibid.*, p. 75; "Réponse," *ibid.*, p. 110.

J'ay autrefois gousté, quand j'étais jeune d'âge,
Du miel empoisonné de vostre doux breuvage.¹

* * * * *

Si vous n'eussiez parlé que d'amender l'Église,
Que d'oster les abus de l'avare prestrise,
Je vous eusse suivi, et n'eusse pas esté
Le moindre des suivants qui vous ont escouté.²

Mais s'il hait les abus, il aime toujours l'Église.³ Il résiste donc aux séductions de la doctrine réformée, aux invitations flatteuses de ses partisans. Pourquoi ? Par des raisons que M. Brunetière appelle des raisons de théologien,⁴ et M. Perdrizet des objections de chancellerie.⁵ Examinons-les. Nous déciderons après. Ronsard s'en tient à la tradition ; il n'admet pas que tant d'hommes savants et pieux aient erré si longtemps, que Dieu ait laissé pendant quinze siècles l'humanité sans lumière sur la véritable Église :⁶

Le libre examen le révolte par son orgueil, un double orgueil. Premièrement, les Réformés se croient les interprètes assurés de la parole de Dieu.

. . . . Les Docteurs de ces sectes nouvelles,
Comme si l'Esprit saint avait usé ses ailes
À s'appuyer sur eux
Sans que honte ou vergogne en leur coeur trouve trace,
Parlent profondément des mystères de Dieu,
Ils sont ses conseillers, ils sont ses secrétaires,
Ils savent ses avis, ils savent ses affaires,
Ils ont la clef du ciel, et y entrent tout seuls,
Et qui y veut entrer, il faut parler à eux.⁷

Ensuite leur outrecuidance va jusqu'à vouloir expliquer les mystères, l'inconnaissable. Et Ronsard les en raille ; ou plutôt en vers pleins et graves, il leur rappelle que le secret de Dieu est impénétrable, et que la modestie convient à notre raison, infirme dans les choses naturelles les plus simples.⁸ Du reste voici le châtimement de cette présomption. Le sens propre entraîne les Réformés dans un abîme de variations :

¹ "Remonstrance," *ibid.*, p. 60.

² *Ibid.*, p. 69.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 380.

⁵ Chap. vi, p. 76.

⁶ "Élégie à Guillaume des Autels," Bl., t. VII, p. 41.

⁷ "Remonstrance," Bl., t. VII, p. 59.

⁸ *Ibid.*

Les apostres jadis preschaient tous d'un accord;
 Entre vous aujourd'hui ne règne que discord;
 Les uns sont Zwingliens, les autres Lutheristes,
 Les autres Puritains, Quintins, Anabaptistes
 Vous devriez pour le moins, avant que nous troubler,
 Estre ensemble d'accord sans vous désassembler;
 Car Christ n'est pas un Dieu de noise ny discorde:
 Christ n'est que charité, qu'amour et que concorde,
 Et montrez clairement par la division
 Que Dieu n'est point autheur de vostre opinion.¹

En vérité, je ne sais pourquoi M. Perdrizet dédaigne ces raisons comme surannées ou de mince valeur. Surannées, elles le sont, comme la tradition qui puise sa force dans son antiquité même. Ce n'est pas une petite gloire à un penseur de devancer Pascal et Bossuet. Je ne veux pas écraser Ronsard par le voisinage de ces grands noms. Mais je remarque avec Brunetière qu'il les rappelle; et M. Perdrizet a-t-il songé que Pascal et Bossuet ont fait, après tous les Pères de l'Église, les mêmes objections à l'hérésie, je veux dire au protestantisme, et qu'en tombant de leur plume, elles sont peut-être quelque chose de plus que des objections de chancellerie? En tout cas, il doit bien admettre qu'ici Ronsard pensait en vrai catholique, tout pénétré du pur esprit catholique, et donc qu'il fut autre chose qu'un humaniste païen. Que si l'on trouve ces raisons trop extérieures à la religion, qu'on lise les vers sur la justification par la foi, sur la présence réelle.² Ronsard s'y explique nettement sur les points essentiels. Comment, après lecture de ces passages et d'autres analogues, M. Perdrizet peut-il prétendre que le poète ne connaissait pas les dogmes nouveaux?³ Je sais bien que ce critique appelle le catholicisme un christianisme d'autorité, et la Réforme un christianisme de liberté, tout intérieur.⁴ Ronsard aurait pu répondre que celui-ci peut s'accorder avec celui-là, qu'il en fut ainsi aux premiers siècles de l'Église, et même depuis. S'il ne parle pas de ce christianisme cher à M. Perdrizet, c'est qu'il ne le trouve pas chez ses amis, c'est qu'il croit en trouver justement le contraire;

¹ "Continuation," *ibid.*, pp. 26, 27.

³ Chap. vi, pp. 71, 72.

² "Remonstrance," *ibid.*, pp. 57, 58.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

Eh quoy ! brusler maisons, piller et brigander,
 Tuer, assassiner, par force commander,
 N'obéir plus aux Rois, amasser des armées,
 Appelez-vous cela Eglises reformées ?
 Jésus que seulement vous confessez icy
 De bouche et non de cœur ne faisait pas ainsi;
 Et saint Paul en preschant n'avait pour toutes armes
 Sinon l'humilité, les jeusnes et les larmes;
 Et les pères martyrs aux plus dures saisons
 Des tyrans ne s'armaient sinon que d'oraisons.¹

Mettons qu'il se trompe sur la valeur morale de la Réforme, ainsi que je le pense; mais ne disons pas qu'il n'a rien vu, qu'il n'a connu ni le protestantisme ni les protestants. Il me semble au contraire que ce poète, nourri d'imaginations païennes, ne fut pas exclusivement préoccupé de choses d'art ou de volupté. Il pense, il raisonne, il discute non-seulement avec éloquence mais avec une intelligence très-avisée. Qu'il n'ait rien d'un Calvin ou d'un Théodore de Bèze, je le veux bien. Mais Marot non plus. Pourquoi reprocher ce malheur au seul Ronsard, dont au surplus ce n'était pas l'affaire d'écrire une "Institution chrétienne." Je conçois que M. Perdrizet ne soit pas ému de ses arguments. Où Ronsard et d'autres, après lui, voient de l'orgueil, la ruine de toute religion positive, je veux dire dans le libre examen, notre écrivain salue la source d'une religion libre et sincère. Les variations continuelles du protestantisme, signe d'erreur pour Ronsard et Bossuet, lui semblent une preuve de vitalité immortelle. Soit; je ne suis pas assez grand clerc en la matière pour discuter avec lui, même si j'en avais le goût. Seulement il a tort de refuser à Ronsard la sincérité et la conviction raisonnée de sa foi. Elles éclatent dans les *Discours*.

M. Perdrizet préfère insister sur le patriotisme et le loyalisme du chef de la Pléiade. Je ne veux pas insinuer que c'est un moyen d'affaiblir la portée de ces poèmes, que cela reviendrait à dire: les *Discours* n'ont aucune valeur religieuse; les meilleurs arguments sont d'un conservateur en politique. Donc l'œuvre est intéressée; pas le moindre soupçon des questions profondes qui agitaient les âmes. Si je force un peu les sentiments de l'auteur,

¹ "Continuation," Bl., t. VII, p. 18.

je ne calomnie pas la pensée d'autres critiques. M. Lanson a écrit dans la *Revue universitaire*,¹ à propos justement du livre de M. Perdrizet: "le patriotisme et l'intérêt me paraissent les mobiles profonds de Ronsard." Et M. Laumonnier dans la même *Revue*:²

Il serait facile de montrer combien se cachait d'intérêt personnel sous les apparentes convictions de Ronsard. A aucun moment de sa carrière, il n'a été poète plus officiel et solliciteur plus pressant. L'égoïsme a été bien plus encore que le patriotisme sa vraie muse en ces années-là: ce fut la cause principale de l'éloquence et du lyrisme de ses *Discours*.

Voilà qui est net. Il serait superflu de rechercher si l'esprit de parti n'inspire pas en sourdine quelques-uns de ces jugements. Voyons plutôt en toute indépendance si leur sévérité est justifiée.

La Réforme, odieuse à Ronsard catholique, le fut davantage peut-être à Ronsard patriote. Il aima la France pour son climat, sa richesse, sa beauté.³ *Une foy, une loy, un roy*; à l'ombre de cette devise, la France avait merveilleusement prospéré. Survient la Réforme, et le sol est jonché de ruines. Ronsard s'indigne avec éloquence:

Ha! que diront là-bas, sous leurs tombes poudreuses,
De tant de vaillants roys les âmes généreuses?
Que dira Pharamond, Clodion et Clovis?
Nos Pepins, nos Martels, nos Charles, nos Loys?
Qui de leur propre sang versé parmy la guerre
Ont acquis à nos Roys une aussi belle terre? etc.⁴

Mais, dira-t-on, les droits de la conscience? C'est entendu, ils sont sacrés, au-dessus des lois humaines. Ronsard y croyait, nous le montrerons tout à l'heure. Mais il pensait, peut-être avec raison, qu'ils n'exigent pas la révolte à main armée, le sang répandu, tous les crimes enfin des guerres civiles. Les Protestants devaient ramener les temps héroïques et saints du jeune christianisme. Ronsard a beau jeu pour souligner le contraste entre leurs prétentions et leur conduite.⁵ D'ailleurs la doctrine nouvelle, venue de l'étranger, lui est suspecte à ce titre même.

¹ 15 novembre 1902, p. 373.

² 15 février 1903, p. 149, note 4.

³ *Églogues*, "Chanson des pasteurs." Cf. "Hymne à la France," publié en 1549, retranscrit plus tard du recueil de ses *Œuvres*; cf. "Continuation," Bl., t. VII, p. 29; *Élégie à Guillaume des Autels*, pp. 43, 44.

⁴ "Discours des misères de ce temps," Bl., t. VII, p. 11.

⁵ "Continuation," *ibid.*, p. 18.

Je n'aime point ces noms qui sont finis en *ots*,
Gots, Cagots, Austrogots, Visigots, Huguenots.
Ils sont prodigieux à l'empire de France.¹

* * * * *

Ils faillent de laisser le chemin de leurs pères,
Pour ensuivre le train des sectes étrangères.²

Assurément l'Esprit souffle où il veut, la lumière est bonne à recevoir, d'où qu'elle vienne, pourvu qu'elle soit évidemment la lumière. Or, rien ne l'imposait à Ronsard, et si, en bon humaniste, il est convaincu qu'est toujours vraie la pensée du poète: *timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*, comment le lui reprocher? D'autant que les événements justifiaient ses craintes. Les Réformés, poussés par la parenté religieuse, faisaient appel à l'étranger. Et Ronsard proteste avec une tristesse éloquente.³ S'ils avaient eu, dit-il, son patriotisme, ni les restres allemands, ni "les blonds nourrissons de la froide Angleterre," n'eussent fait leur proie de la France malheureuse.⁴ Certes, je n'ignore pas qu'au milieu des discordes civiles, la fumée des combats peut obscurcir le chemin du devoir. C'est une excuse. Mais, religion mise à part, on peut admettre que le patriotisme de Ronsard était clairvoyant. Et ici, il est inutile d'opposer à ses justes plaintes les connivences de son propre parti avec l'Espagne. Nul plus que lui ne les a déplorées.⁵ C'est pourquoi, devant ses adversaires, il garde le droit de leur crier son indignation. Elle est sincère et légitime. Aussi, je ne comprends pas bien, après tant de citations que M. Laumonnier ait pu écrire "qu'en fait d'étrangers Ronsard en a voulu surtout à ceux qui obtenaient au lieu de lui les abbayes et les pensions, en particulier les avarés Italiens."⁶ Sans doute, il fut intéressé; nous le dirons tout à l'heure. Mais il a été autre chose, et c'est pour autre chose qu'il s'est jeté dans la mêlée. La ruine matérielle et politique de la France, l'invasion, avec son noir cortège de maux, Ronsard en a cru voir clairement les causes. Son patriotisme en souffre, et, avec sa foi, c'est lui surtout qui l'éloigne des protestants. S'il est farouche, parfois, s'il pousse à la vengeance, si un souffle de haine le traverse, ce n'est pas seule-

¹ "Remonstration," *ibid.*, p. 61.

² "Élégie à Guillaume des Autels," *ibid.*, p. 41.

³ "Continuation," *ibid.*, p. 29.

⁴ "Réponse," *ibid.*, p. 45.

⁵ "Discours des misères de ce temps," *ibid.*, p. 14; "Remonstration," *ibid.*, p. 69. ⁶ P. 160.

ment, comme dit M. Laumonnier,¹ parce que les protestants avaient tenté de l'assassiner physiquement et moralement. Certes, en ce cas, il lui était bien permis d'être ému plus que de raison. Toutefois les tentatives contre sa personne, les pamphlets suivirent son entrée en campagne. Que cela l'ait enfoncé plus avant dans la lutte, d'accord. Mais cela ne l'a pas inspiré. En réalité, l'amour de la France tient aux racines profondes de son cœur, et toute insulte à cette mère le soulève hors de lui.² Amour malgré tout bien pur, celui qui dicte ces vers :

De Bèze, je te prie, escoute ma parolle
 La terre qu'aujourd'hui tu remplis toute d'armes
 De Bèze, ce n'est pas une terre gothique
 Ny une région Tartare ny Scythique ;
 C'est celle où tu naquis, qui douce te receust,
 Alors qu'à Vézelay ta mère te conceust ;
 Celle qui t'a nourry et qui t'a fait apprendre
 La science et les arts dès ta jeunesse tendre,
 Pour luy faire service et pour en bien user,
 Et non, comme tu fais, à fin d'en abuser.³

Enfin, après les déchirements de ces longues guerres, touché des malheurs du pays, les ardeurs de la lutte éteintes, Ronsard fait entendre des paroles de paix. Il invoque la tolérance et la

¹ P. 150. Cf. Bl., t. VII, p. 70, derniers vers ; et *ibid.*, pp. 87-95.

² Après avoir loué Coligny, fidèle à sa foi première (Bl., t. V, pp. 42, 43, 63, 295 ; t. VI, p. 304), il fait des vœux pour sa mort, t. VII, p. 153. De même, il demande à Dieu la mort de Condé, s'il ne désarme point, t. VII, p. 80. Plus tard, la paix faite en 1563, il revient à l'éloge du prince, t. VII, pp. 128, 129. Enfin, Condé redevenant en 1665 chef des Huguenots avec Coligny, Ronsard célèbre leurs défaites, et particulièrement la mort de Condé à Jarnac, 1569 ("Chant triomphal pour jouer sur la lyre," ou "Hymne," IX Bl., t. V, p. 146). M. LAUMONNIER blâme cette conduite opposée (p. 157, n. 1). Il l'attribue à la muse courtisanesque et prostituée du poète (*Revue d'hist. littéraire de la France*, juillet-sept. 1902, p. 444). Courtisan, Ronsard le fut, et trop, je l'avoue. Toutefois cette "palinodie" à l'égard de Coligny et de Condé fut-elle seulement un effet de la courtisanerie ? Certes, elle ne devait pas déplaire à la cour. Mais Ronsard proclame des sentiments d'un ordre plus élevé, qui s'accordent avec les sentiments généraux des *Discours*. Quoiqu'il en soit de ses habitudes courtisanesques, nous devons croire à sa sincérité, quand il explique sa conduite par ces vers (t. VII, p. 75) :

" . . . l'amour du pays et de ses lois aussi
 Et de la vérité me fait parler ainsi."

Il veut dire sans doute que, dévoué à ces personnages, tant qu'eux-mêmes furent dévoués à l'Eglise et au roi, il les traita en ennemis, quand ils trahirent leurs devoirs, quand, véritables chefs de la révolte, il pouvait les considérer auteurs responsables des maux qui la suivirent. Je suis loin pourtant d'excuser ses souhaits sanglants, et encore moins ces pièces d'accent cruel : "Prière à Dieu pour la victoire," l'"Hydre défait," l'"Hymne aux estoilles," elles s'expliquent, sans se justifier, lorsqu'on tient compte de toutes les circonstances.

³ "Continuation," Bl., t. VII, p. 21.

douceur dans la répression.¹ Ce n'est pas une palinodie. Mais le patriotisme, qui l'avait jeté dans la bataille, ce même patriotisme, mieux éclairé sur les besoins de la France, lui inspirait des accents de concorde. Et cela, à l'époque de la Ligue, quand les fureurs meurtrières étaient encore déchaînées. Preuve de sa clairvoyance et de sa sincérité courageuse.

Parce qu'il aime la France, Ronsard soutient ses rois. Chez lui, patriotisme et loyalisme ne font qu'un. Et au fait, en ces temps-là, la France, c'était le roi; il la personnifiait; tous les coups qu'on lui adressait retombaient sur elle. On serait donc mal venu de reprocher à Ronsard son royalisme. Que dirait-on alors de Marot, de Calvin qui dédie l'"Institution chrétienne" à François I^{er}; de Coligny, "imbu d'idolâtrie monarchique;" d'Anne du Bourg prêt "à bailler au Prince son sang, voire jusqu'à sa chemise"?² Seulement cet amour n'empêchait pas leur révolte. Ronsard conçoit autrement son devoir. Son royalisme est ardemment sincère. Qu'on lise l'"Épithaphe pour le tombeau de Marguerite de France," où il pleure sur

le sang valesien

Qui de beautés, de grâce et de lustre, ressemble

Au lys qui naist, fleurit, et se meurt tout ensemble.³

Devant les tombes prématurément ouvertes, où descendirent à la fleur des ans Henri II., François II., Charles IX., sans compter auparavant les fils de François I^{er}, son cœur s'épanche en accents profondément émus. Aussi, lorsque de leur vivant, il s'indigne contre les Réformés, dont la sédition abreuve de soucis et de chagrins leur royauté, sa tendresse est aussi atteinte que son patriotisme. Dire que c'est "le dévouement d'un petit gentilhomme poète qui ne subsiste que par la bonté des rois, sans terre ni alliances, ni subsistance aucune hors la faveur royale;"⁴ expliquer "son fanatisme par des raisons égoïstes, reconnaissance à l'égard de ses bienfaiteurs royaux . . ."⁵ par le besoin de faire la cour aux Guise et à Catherine de Médicis, n'est-ce pas rapetisser de parti-pris un sentiment qui ne manquait pas de noble hardiesse?

¹ Cf. PERDRIZET, chap. xi, pp. 134, sqq.

² *Ibid.*, p. 104.

³ Bl., t. VII, pp. 177-91

⁴ LANSON, *Revue universitaire*, 15 nov. 1902, p. 373.

⁵ LAUMONNIER, *ibid.*, 15 fév. 1903, p. 150.

S'il obéissait à des motifs aussi bas, qu'on nous dise alors pourquoi il ne s'adresse pas aux Châtillon, aux Condé, enfin aux têtes puissantes du protestantisme? L'issue de la lutte était incertaine à l'époque des *Discours*. Catherine de Médicis hésita longtemps entre les deux partis. Jusqu'en 1564, voire même jusqu'en 1569, personne ne pouvait deviner où pencherait la balance. Un poète intéressé eût évité de se compromettre; et qui sait? il n'eût rien perdu à se mettre du côté des Réformés. Car enfin ils lui prodiguèrent avances et promesses. S'il les dédaigna, c'est qu'il chérissait davantage son pays et ses rois. Certes, il aima les bénéfiques, et trop, si l'on veut. Comme Corneille, plus tard, "il fut saoul de gloire et affamé d'argent."¹ Mais si personne n'osera imputer à l'intérêt les nobles inspirations du poète dramatique, si malgré les dédicaces à la Montorron,² il reste le grand Corneille, pourquoi Ronsard cesserait-il d'être un patriote sincère, un royaliste convaincu, parce que le soin de sa fortune s'est concilié avec son loyalisme, ou pour avoir payé un large tribut à la reconnaissance? Aimerais-on mieux qu'il eût été ingrat? M. Perdrizet voit plus juste; il note complaisamment sans doute le côté quémandeur de Ronsard, mais il rend hommage à la sincérité de "son idolâtrie monarchique."³ Et s'il est vrai qu'en cette circonstance le poète représente l'opinion de ses contemporains, sa fidélité n'en est que plus significative. Nous pouvons croire que ce n'est pas l'intérêt seul qui l'a maintenue, mais, avec un dévouement spontané, la conviction que la cause des rois était liée à la cause même de la France. Qu'il ait eu tort ou raison, la question n'est pas là. Nous en sommes à discerner ses vrais sentiments. M. Perdrizet reconnaît la pure qualité de son patriotisme. Même il explique par les idées politiques du patriote les idées religieuses du catholique.⁴ Je crois l'explication fausse. La foi me paraît indépendante de son loyalisme. Mais je trouve l'affirmation du critique bien imprudente. Si elle était vraie, cela reviendrait à dire que catholique et français ne faisaient qu'un. Quelle plus terrible condamnation du protestantisme? Telle n'est pas la pensée de M. Perdrizet ni des critiques sérieux

¹ Cité par LANSON, *Corneille*, p. 24.

³ PERDRIZET, pp. 106, 108.

² *Cinna* Dédicace.

⁴ P. 106.

que nous avons nommés. Et en effet ces deux sentiments ne sont pas à confondre. C'est pourtant à cette confusion que mènerait leur polémique.

Je la trouve encore injuste sur un autre point. M. Lanson écrit: "L'humanisme fournit les beaux lieux communs dont s'étoffaient et se pavoient ces sentiments primitifs: idée d'un état pacifique et bien ordonné, idée d'un empire bienfaisant, que décorent des poètes bien payés," etc.¹ Et M. Laumonier: "Il resta humaniste dans ses *Discours* avec une âme superficiellement catholique et un art profondément païen."² Ronsard célébra la paix, l'ordre, la soumission aux lois. Ce sont des lieux communs, j'en conviens. Mais veut-on insinuer par là que chez Ronsard, ils constituent un développement de rhéteur, qu'il imite seulement Lucrèce, Horace, Properce, Virgile? Il faudrait alors n'avoir pas lu l'"Ode sur la paix," datée de 1550, où l'on trouve ces vers émus :

Je te salue, heureuse Paix,
Je te salue et re-salue:
Toi seule, déesse, tu fais
que la vie soit mieux voulue.
Ainsi que les champs tapissez
de pampre, ou d'espics hérissiez
désirent les filles des nues
après les chaleurs survenues,
Ainsi la France t'attendait,
douce nourricière des hommes.
En lieu du fer outrageux,
des menaces et des flames,
tu nous rameines les jeux,
le bal et l'amour des dames.³

Les anciens lui ont-ils inspiré le christianisme qui remplit la première partie de l'"Exhortation pour la paix"?⁴ Il y invite les combattants à se réconcilier sur le dos des Turcs, à les chasser du saint sépulchre qu'ils déshonorent, à planter en terre sainte les étendards du Christ. J'indiquerais encore le poème des "Armes."⁵

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 373.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 160.

³ *Bl.*, t. II, p. 35.

⁴ *Bl.*, t. VI, pp. 212, 213, 210.

⁵ *Poèmes* (1560), t. VI, pp. 39 *sqq.* Si l'on veut à toute force que Ronsard ait imité quelqu'un, mieux vaut comme M. VIANEY (*Revue universitaire*, 15 mai 1903) rapprocher ces pièces du *Roland Furieux* de l'ARIOSTE, chap. xvii, sts. 75-79, pour l'"Exhortation pour la paix," à propos des Turcs; et chap. xix, sts. 28, 29, 74, 75; chap. xi, sts. 24-27, pour le poème sur les "Armes" (malédiction contre les armes à feu).

Il y a là des imprécations d'un accent trop sincère pour ressembler aux exercices littéraires d'un humaniste. Et du reste, Ronsard semble avoir répondu par avance à ce reproche, quand il nous raconte dans son premier *Discours* à quelles inspirations il obéit.¹ Pour la forme, pour le fond même, de ces poèmes, il a pu se souvenir des anciens. Et pourquoi pas? C'était son droit, dès lors qu'il versait dans ce moule antique, sinon une matière nouvelle, du moins une chaleur personnelle, et qu'il vivifiait ces lieux communs d'une conviction propre. Ce n'est pas à M. Lanson qu'il faut apprendre la véritable originalité. Nos grands classiques, et Victor Hugo en particulier, nous ont enseigné par leurs exemples où est vraiment l'invention créatrice, ce qu'on peut faire des idées générales quand on a du génie. C'est donc peine inutile de vouloir amoindrir les *Discours* en leur accolant l'épithète commode d'humanisme.

En revanche, cet humanisme se trahit ailleurs et d'autre manière, dans les plaintes que Ronsard formule contre les tumultes de la guerre, obstacles au labeur tranquille de l'étude.² Il en veut aux protestants d'interrompre ses travaux de poète, d'en compromettre les résultats. Il soupire encore après les plaisirs de cour, après les jeux des Muses, et dans une "Élégie à Catherine de Médicis,"³ qui voyage à travers la France, il supplie la reine de retourner aux Tuileries ou dans quelqu'un de ses châteaux, pour y renouveler les mascarades, les aubades, et autres divertissements. Or, si je comprends ces regrets chez un poète, dont tous les goûts d'artiste étaient flattés par l'éclat des fêtes royales, je conviens avec M. Perdrizet que ce n'était pas l'heure de les exprimer. Quand la discorde civile déchaîne ses fureurs, quand la patrie saigne, quand la religion nationale est secouée jusqu'en ses fondements, il y a d'autres plaintes à gémir. Ronsard l'a oublié. Mais ne disons pas que tel fut le fond de son âme, que l'humanisme explique son patriotisme, enfin que ces deux sentiments, omission faite ou à peu près de sa foi religieuse, inspirèrent les *Discours*. Dit M. Lanson:

Les arguments de Ronsard contre l'hérésie, sont des arguments extérieurs qui impliquent un refus d'examiner les questions théolo-

¹ V. plus haut, p. 5.

² PERDRIZET, chap. viii.

³ *Bocage royal*, II, 2, éd. 1584.

giques. Et ce refus n'est possible dans un esprit cultivé, que quand ces questions sont plus pour lui les questions vitales. Déjà pour Ronsard la religion n'est plus, à son insu, qu'une forme extérieure, une cérémonie habituelle que recommandent l'usage des ancêtres et la loi du royaume, une partie des convenances et des institutions; la vie de sa conscience n'est plus là et ne s'y alimente plus. Et ici l'humanisme reprend sa place prépondérante; la philosophie des anciens tend chez Ronsard à se substituer à la religion chrétienne comme directrice de la vie et éducatrice de la conscience. Ronsard est catholique pour les mêmes raisons que Montaigne.¹

Et à son tour M. Laumonnier:²

De convictions profondes peu ou point, comme chez Montaigne, bien qu'il se dise ainsi que lui partisan de l'ancien train contre les nouvelletés.

Nous avons essayé de montrer plus haut que les arguments de Ronsard, même au point de vue théologique, n'étaient pas aussi légers qu'on veut bien le prétendre. Mais en outre et une fois de plus, nous nous étonnons qu'on réclame de lui des controverses dogmatiques sur le fond même des questions qui divisaient les esprits. En eût-il été capable, la forme même de ses *Discours*, petits pamphlets, n'y prêtait guère. Et si elles étaient au-dessus de ses forces, nous ne saurions l'en mépriser. Car en vérité ce n'était pas son affaire. Il est entré dans la querelle, non en théologien, mais en simple catholique lettré et en bon Français. Que veut-on de plus? Il est bien facile de l'accabler quand on lui reproche de n'avoir pas fait ce qu'il ne voulait pas faire. Et conclure, comme certains critiques, qu'il n'avait pas de convictions profondes, que la question religieuse n'était pas pour lui une question vitale, c'est aller bien loin, trop loin. Encore un coup, je ne veux point rappeler les raisons traditionnelles qu'il a données de sa croyance. Mais si on les dédaigne parce que traditionnelles, qu'on veuille remarquer de quel ton chaleureux Ronsard les expose, le ton d'un homme qui croit fermement. Ajoutez la belle profession de foi grave, solide, éloquente qu'on trouve dans la "Réponse aux prédicants."³ C'est un *credo* bien catholique; ce n'est pas une vaine formule; car il est prêt à mourir pour elle. Malgré les abus,

¹ *Revue universitaire*, 15 nov. 1902, p. 373.

² *Ibid.*, 15 fév. 1903, p. 150.

³ *Bl.*, t. VII, pp. 107-10.

Je ne me veux pourtant séparer de l'Église,
Ny ne ferai jamais ! Plustost par mille efforts,
Je voudrais endurer l'horreur de mille morts.¹

Quant à la religion du prédicant qui l'a insulté,

je proteste,

s'écrie-t-il,

que si horriblement ton erreur je déteste,
Que mille et mille morts j'ayme mieux recevoir
Que laisser ma raison de ton fard décevoir.²

* * * * *

. . . . l'Évangile saint du Sauveur Jésus-Christ
m'a fermement gravée une foy dans l'esprit,
que je ne veux changer pour une foy nouvelle;
Et dussé-je endurer une mort très-cruelle,
De tant de nouveautés je ne suis curieux !³

Dira-t-on qu'il est facile de braver la mort en vers ? Soit ; j'ignore en effet si Ronsard eût, à l'occasion, accepté le martyre. Mais tout de même, estimer, voire en vers, sa foi, plus cher que sa vie, c'est montrer qu'elle n'est pas purement extérieure à l'âme, quoiqu'elle n'ait pas toujours réglé la conscience. En tout cas, je sais bien que Montaigne, à qui l'on compare volontiers Ronsard, n'a jamais parlé de mourir pour sa foi ; il s'en tient paresseusement au train de ses aïeux, sans se mêler aux polémiques irritantes, sans s'expliquer à lui-même, ou du moins sans expliquer aux autres ses raisons. L'humaniste et l'égoïste, le voilà. Ronsard est autre.

Concluons : M. Brunetière simplifie, en les ennoblissant plus que de raison, les mobiles de l'auteur des *Discours*. Trop attentif peut-être aux troubles de l'époque présente, il cherche des analogies et des arguments dans le passé. Cette préoccupation n'est guère scientifique. M. Perdrizet mieux renseigné, impartial dans une assez large manière, cherche à expliquer avec une psychologie souvent heureuse les opinions de Ronsard, surtout par des raisons politiques et littéraires. Sans parler de mes réserves, même sur ce point, j'ai montré qu'il ne rend pas justice à ses convictions catholiques. Les *Discours* ont été composés au souffle des discordes civiles. Les sentiments de Ronsard furent complexes.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

² *Ibid.*, p. 130.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

Il y entre de la reconnaissance pour ses princes, de la haine pour ses adversaires qui l'avaient outragé, du conservatisme politique, enfin de la littérature humaniste. Qu'on fasse de ces mobiles bonne mesure, j'y souscris; car il y a trace de tout cela dans ces poèmes, et je l'ai noté après d'autres. Mais quand on est convenu de ces éléments plus ou moins purs, il reste qu'une très grande part, la principale, revient à la sincérité de sa foi, une foi très raisonnée—à l'ardeur de son patriotisme, un patriotisme très noble—à sa ferveur monarchique, plus désintéressée qu'on ne l'assure, et d'ailleurs très avisée dans son loyalisme. Il reste encore que penseur, polémiste, orateur en vers il dépasse son époque. "Jamais la poésie en France n'avait eu ces accents ni ce rôle."¹ C'est pourquoi et à ce titre, les *Discours* s'élèvent audessus des *Amours*, des *Hymnes* et des *Élégies*. Pour faire bref, ils sont bien une date dans l'histoire de la littérature française.

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¹ E. FAGUET, *XVI^e siècle*, p. 254.

ZUM GOTISCHEN ALPHABET.¹

DIE beiden ansichten über das von Wulfila bei der herstellung seines alphabets eingeschlagene verfahren, die sich geltung zu verschaffen gewusst haben, sind die von Zacher verteidigte und diejenige Wimmers. Ersterer kommt zu dem schlusse, dass das von Wulfila benutzte griechische alphabet ihm mehr ideell als materiell zur grundlage gedient hat, dass er vielmehr ganz im geiste der alten heimischen schriftentwicklung verfahren ist, indem er entweder seine runen nur veränderte, um sie den griechischen buchstaben ähnlich zu machen, oder griechische formen aufnahm, wo die runen unzweckmässig erschienen, oder die runen fast unverändert beibehielt, wo sich für den betreffenden laut ein passendes griechisches zeichen nicht darbot, oder schliesslich denjenigen runen, die freigeworden waren und mit einem zeichen des griechischen alphabets der gestalt nach zusammenfielen, die geltung des griechischen zeichens gab.² Ähnlich drückt sich auch Raszmann aus,³ dass Wulfilas alphabet noch immer den allgemeinen character der runenschrift beibehielt, wenn er auch das griechische alphabet und dessen ordnung zu grunde legte und auch dem lateinischen, namentlich der current-schrift, einfluss gestattete.

Aber die gegenwärtig allgemein acceptierte ansicht von dem ursprung des gotischen alphabets beruht ganz und gar auf den von Wimmer erlangten resultaten, wie er sie im *Anhang I* seiner *Runenschrift, Das Wulfilanische alphabet*, ss. 259–74, darlegt. Er hält dafür, dass das gotische alphabet das griechische zur grundlage⁴ hat, welches letztere den grösseren teil der buchstaben

¹ Die notwendigkeit Wimmers ansicht von dem ursprung des Wulfilanischen alphabets noch einmal einer genauen prüfung zu unterziehen, pflegte schon der vor mehreren jahren verstorbene professor Hench zu betonen, und es war seine absicht, während des letzten sommers in seinem leben seine gründe für eine entgegenstehende meinung genau auszuarbeiten. Der unglücksfall, der seinen tod herbeiführte, verhinderte ihn daran. Wiederholte gespräche mit ihm über diese frage und einige schriftliche aufzeichnungen, die er schon dazu gemacht hatte, habe ich verwerten können; so gereicht es mir zur genugthuung, dass ich darauf fussend das folgende zur verteidigung seiner ansicht vorbringen kann.

² ZACHER, *Das got. alph. Vulfilas und das runenalph.*, ss. 52 f.

³ ERSCH U. GRUBER, *Allg. encyklopädie d. wiss. u. künste*, I, 75, ss. 301 ff. ⁴ Ss. 262, 270.

für das erstere abgegeben und auch mit bezug auf die reihenfolge der buchstaben als muster gedient hat. Aus dem lateinischen nahm Wulfila sechs buchstaben in das seinige auf und zwar aus verschiedenen gründen:

1. weil für gewisse gotische laute, wie got. *h* und *j*, das griechische überhaupt keine zeichen besass (s. 266);

2. weil im falle des *f* der lateinische buchstabe *f* den gotischen laut genauer wiedergab als griech. *φ*, da das gotische und lateinische einen labiodentalen, das griechische aber einen bilabialen laut hatte (ss. 263, 266);

3. weil die griechischen zeichen *P* und *C* mit den lateinischen von verschiedener bedeutung zusammenfielen (s. 266);

4. wurde aus verschiedenen complizierten gründen, die Wulfila genügend für seine wahl erschienen, *u* im werte von *q* aus dem lateinischen aufgenommen (s. 267);

5. fanden auch zwei buchstaben aus dem runischen futhark aufnahme in das neue alphabet, ohne dass Wimmer einen klaren grund dafür anzugeben weiss, wenn er auch sagt, dass sie vielleicht deswegen aus dem runenalphabet aufgenommen wurden, weil sie besonders bequem zu schreiben waren (s. 270);

Wimmer fasst seine ansicht folgendermassen zusammen:

Wulfila benutzte als grundlage für seine schrift das griechische uncialalphabet; aber wo dies nicht für seinen zweck genügend war, wandte er sich zum lateinischen, und nur für zwei buchstaben nahm er zeichen aus der runenschrift auf (s. 270).

Das heisst also anders ausgedrückt: als Wulfila mit dem gedanken umging, die griechische bibel ins gotische zu übersetzen, fand er sich der notwendigkeit ausgesetzt ein neues alphabet zu bilden, um darein die gotische sprache zu fassen. Wie das von ihm hergestellte alphabet beweist, war er bekannt mit dem griechischen, dem lateinischen und dem runischen. Von diesen dreien wählte er, wie Wimmer glaubt, das griechische zur grundlage des neu zu schaffenden und verwarf somit das runenalphabet, dessen die Goten sich bis dahin bedient hatten, wenigstens in inschriften¹ und, when wir das zeugniss des Jordanes als vollwertig ansehen, auch in der niederschrift ihrer gesetze,² denn bei Jordanes heisst

¹ Vgl. *Grd.*¹, I, s. 408, § 2.

² Vgl. *Grd.*¹, II, ss. 66 f. und anm. 2.

es dass Dicineus die Goten *physicam tradens naturaliter propriis legibus vivere fecit, quas usque nunc conscriptas belagines* (got. *bilageinōs) *nuncupant*.

Wimmer gesteht dem gotischen runenalphabet nur insofern einfluss zu, als Wulfila demselben seine zeichen für *o* und *u* entnahm und aus ihm auch die namen der buchstaben auf das von ihm gebildete alphabet übertrug. Es unterliegt nun keinem zweifel, dass Wimmers schlüsse mit bezug auf die directen quellen der einzelnen buchstaben richtig sind, "dass Wulfila sein alphabet durch aufnahme griechischer und lateinischer buchstaben gebildet hat, ohne etwas in deren form zu ändern" (s. 269). Und dass Wulfila bei der wahl derselben in der weise hätte vorgehen können, wie Wimmer annimmt, ist auch möglich, dass er aber in wirklichkeit so ans werk ging, scheint äusserst unwahrscheinlich zu sein, und auf diese unwahrscheinlichkeit sollen die im folgenden gegebenen bemerkungen über das Wulfilanische alphabet hinweisen.

Gleich zu anfang sollte erwähnt werden, dass Wulfilas eklektische methode in der bildung des neuen alphabets, indem er seine buchstaben verschiedenen quellen entnahm und die einzelnen zeichen wegen ihrer fähigkeit gewisse laute auszudrücken und aus anderen weniger wichtigen gründen auswählte, in der geschichte der alphabete ganz ohne parallele dasteht. Es ist allgemein bekannt, dass das lateinische alphabet in späterer zeit von allen andern germanischen völkern angenommen und dazu gezwungen wurde, die laute der verschiedenen dialekte zu repräsentieren, wenn auch mit mehr oder weniger ungenauigkeit. Wo sich das lateinische alphabet als gänzlich ungenügend erwies, schuf man neue buchstabenverbindungen wie *uu = w*,¹ *dh = ð*, *th = þ* oder behielt einzelne zeichen aus dem alten alphabet bei wie beim ags. *þ*.² Es könnte hier nun eingewendet werden, dass die sache anders liegt, wenn ein einzelner ein neues alphabet schafft, als wenn ein fremdes alphabet sich langsam unter einem anderen volke bahn bricht. Aber auch hierzu lässt sich eine parallele finden, die gegen das dem bischof der goten zugeschriebene verfahren spricht. Ich brauche nur auf das althulgarische alphabet hinzuweisen,

¹ Vgl. BRAUNE, *Ahd. gram.*, § 7 a 2.

² Vgl. SIEVERS, *Ags. gram.*, § 4.

welches auch das werk eines einzigen mannes ist und geschaffen wurde unter bedingungen denen ganz ähnlich, unter welchen das gotische alphabet zu stande kam, nämlich um zur übersetzung der bibel in die sprache des volkes zu dienen.

In den gerade angeführten alphabeten, dem althochdeutschen, angelsächsischen und altbulgarischen, war die zur schriftlichen wiedergabe der einzelnen laute nötige analyse derselben gegründet auf der analyse der laute des lateinischen und griechischen, wie dieselben durch die buchstaben ihrer alphabete dargestellt waren. Im allgemeinen lässt sich überhaupt sagen, dass ein alphabet nur insofern die grundlage eines andern sein kann, als die analyse der zu fixierenden laute des letzteren auf der lautanalyse des ersteren sich gründet. Das bewusstsein der lautwerte selbst und der notwendigkeit, sie im schriftlichen bilde festzuhalten, ergibt sich erst aus dem schon bestehenden alphabete. Geringere abweichungen bei den wiederzugebenden lauten von dem ursprünglichen werte der gebrauchten buchstaben werden manchmal ausser acht gelassen und deshalb mag es vorkommen, dass derselbe buchstabe zwei verschiedene laute repräsentiert. Spätere differenzierung kann durch modifikation der ursprünglichen buchstaben erzielt werden oder durch neue verbindungen. Wenn, wie im falle der germanischen sprachen, ein fremdes alphabet ein schon bestehendes verdrängt, so mögen buchstaben aus dem älteren in dem neu aufgenommenen beibehalten werden, aber nur, wie z. b. bei dem ags. ƿ, um laute zu bezeichnen, die in der andern sprache nicht vorhanden waren.

Indem wir uns nun zu Wulfilas alphabet zurückwenden, wollen wir zuerst die gründe untersuchen, durch die Wimmer zu erklären sucht, warum Wulfila von dem griechischen alphabet, welches er doch als grundlage für das gotische benutzt haben soll, abwich, was also das charakteristische merkmal seiner arbeitsweise war bei der schaffung eines neuen alphabets im unterschiede von der art und weise, wie dies gewöhnlich geschieht.

Wir finden in Wulfilas alphabet fünf buchstaben für laute, die im griechischen nicht vorkommen: Ɔ und ʝ für die halbvokale *j* und *w*, ʉ für den stimmlosen labiogutturalen explosivlaut *q*, ʀ für den stimmlosen labialisirten gutturalen spiranten *h* und ʁ

im werte eines spiritus asper und des stimmlosen gutturalen spiranten χ , für welche beiden im griechischen nicht bloss ein zeichen benutzt wird. Es gelingt Wimmer nicht, klar darzuthun, wie Wulfila zur kenntniss dieser laute gelangte, oder vielmehr, wie sich ihm die notwendigkeit einer bezeichnung dieser laute aufdrängte. Wie schon oben angedeutet wurde, gelangen wir zum bewusstsein eines lautes durch die kenntnis der laute des alphabets, welches als grundlage des neu zu schaffenden dient. Nun kommen die halbvokale j und w (auch der spirant) nicht vor in dem griechischen des vierten jahrhunderts und im lateinischen werden sie in der schrift nicht unterschieden von den vokalen i und u (lat. u und w werden im griechischen wiedergegeben durch ov , resp. β). Diese alphabete hätten Wulfila deshalb nicht die notwendigkeit nahe legen können, zwischen den halbvokalen und vokalen zu unterscheiden, nach dem lateinischen würden wir erwarten u und $w = u$, etc. In übereinstimmung mit seiner theorie über die art und weise, wie Wulfila bei der schaffung seines alphabets vorging, scheint nun Wimmer zu glauben, dass Wulfila diese notwendigkeit ganz unabhängig von äusseren anstössen erkannte. Aber abgesehen davon, dass sich eine derartige schaffung eines alphabets nur mit den phonetischen systemen der neuzeit vergleichen liesse, wird die ansicht schon dadurch als unhaltbar erwiesen, dass diese unterscheidung schon im runenalphabet bestand \mathfrak{A} , \mathfrak{B} , mit dem der gotenbischof wohl ebenso gut bekannt war als mit dem griechischen, und wahrscheinlich bekannter als mit dem lateinischen. Es lässt sich deshalb der schluss ziehen, dass Wulfila in der unterscheidung der halbvokale von den vokalen dem runenalphabet folgte.

Die labialisierten gutturale, $\mathfrak{U} = q$ und $\mathfrak{O} = v$, kommen im griechischen nicht vor, noch gelangte Wulfila zu einer kenntnis derselben mittelst des lateinischen. Wenn auch der erste dieser beiden laute im lateinischen des 3. oder 4. jahrh. zu finden ist, so wird er doch regelmässig durch qu vertreten. Wenn nun Wulfila seine kenntnis des lautes durch das lateinische erlangt hätte, so wäre, wie mir scheint, kein grund vorhanden gewesen, warum er den gotischen laut nicht durch qu oder wenigstens q hätte wiedergeben können. Es ist nur ein notbehelf, wenn

Wimmer sagt,¹ dass Wulfila das lateinische *u* und nicht *q* zur wiedergabe des lautes deshalb wählte, weil das ihm entsprechende zeichen im griechischen schon als zahlzeichen im gebrauch war.

Die durch **u** und **o** bezeichneten gotischen laute waren in wirklichkeit einfache laute.² Wimmer hält diese buchstaben für neugebildete zeichen;³ das soll wohl heissen, dass Wulfila sie neu erfunden hat. Diese laute müssen aber schon im gotischen runenalphabet eine bezeichnung gehabt haben. Wenn jeder derselben durch zwei runen wiedergegeben wurde, d. h. durch **< þ** und **h þ**, wie Wimmer unausgesprochen anzunehmen scheint, so ist es schwer zu erklären, wie Wulfila zu den einfachen zeichen **u** und **o** kam, da **u y** und **h y** seinem zweck ebenso gut würden entsprochen haben. Er vermied nicht die doppelzeichen für einfache laute, was bewiesen wird durch den gebrauch von **ai** und **an** für *ě* und *ö*, und der unterschied zwischen labialisiertem *h* oder stimmlosem *w*, d. h. *hw*, und *h + w*, oder zwischen dem labialisierten *k*, d. h. *q*, und *k + w* ist so gering, dass man Wulfila schon für einen fachmännisch gebildeten phonetiker halten muss, um die annahme zu rechtfertigen, dass er diesen unterschied wahrgenommen habe. Wulfila gelangte wohl nicht zum bewusstsein dieser laute durch das griechische oder lateinische; er muss diese kenntnis vielmehr durch das runenalphabet gewonnen haben, und hier waren *hw* und *q* durch einfache buchstaben bezeichnet, worauf ich an anderer stelle zurückzukommen gedenke.

Es sind jetzt noch die beiden laute, ursprünglich einer, übrig, die durch den einen buchstaben **h** bezeichnet sind. Dieselben konnten nicht einmal annähernd wiedergegeben werden durch einen griechischen buchstaben, denn das zeichen **χ**, welches im späteren altbulgarischen alphabet diese werte besass, stellte zur zeit Wulfilas noch einen aspirierten laut dar, was aus der wiedergabe desselben durch das got. *k* erhellt.⁴ Die laute kommen im lateinischen des 4. jahrh. vor, bezeichnet durch das unziale **h**, welches Wulfila benutzte, aber es liegt viel näher die

¹ S. 268.

² Vgl. BRAUNE, *Got. gram.*, §§ 59, 63.

³ Ss. 261 f., 273 oben.

⁴ Vgl. BRAUNE, *Got. gram.*, §§ 57.

erkenntnis des lautes im gotischen gerade wie bei den halbvokalen aus dem runenalphabet herzuleiten, das die rune N enthält.

Das bis jetzt gesagte lässt sich also dahin zusammenfassen, dass das runenalphabet Wulfila den wert der laute *j* und *w*, *lv* und vielleicht auch *q* und *h* zum bewusstsein brachte.

Warum entlieh nun Wulfila dem lateinischen alphabet die buchstaben **h g f r s u** für sein neues alphabet? Dies führt uns zur betrachtung der von Wimmer angegebenen gründe, wie sie oben angeführt sind. Es sollen nach ihm **h g** aus dem lateinischen ins gotische alphabet aufgenommen sein, weil das griechische keine zeichen für *h* und *j* darbot, keine diesen lauten entsprechenden buchstaben besass. Im falle des erstgenannten lautes bot das lateinische den verlangten buchstaben **h**, aber wie wir oben gesehen haben, ist es wahrscheinlich, dass Wulfila durch die rune N zur erkenntnis des gotischen lautes kam, und dieses runenzeichen ist fast identisch mit lat. kapitälem H, welches im 4. jahrh. ebenso gut bekannt war wie sein abkömmling, das unziale *h*. Der grund dafür, dass Wulfila das unziale *h* dem kapitalen vorzog, war der umstand, dass er ein unziales alphabet herstellte. Es ist somit auch hier kein weiter sprung zur annahme, dass Wulfila sich in seiner wahl des buchstabens beeinflusst fühlte durch die ähnlichkeit des lateinischen buchstabens mit der entsprechenden rune.

Was den zweiten gotischen laut, den halbvokal *j*, anbetrifft, so bot das lateinische den buchstaben *i* mit entsprechendem werte, aber Wulfila verwarf denselben, weil er, wie schon gesagt, einen unterschied machen wollte zwischen vokal und halbvokal, wie dieser im runenalphabet existierte. Es scheint ziemlich unsicher zu sein, ob im 4. jahrh. *g* vor hellen vokalen palatalisiert oder vielmehr spirantisiert war oder nicht. Ob es nun, wie Lindsay¹ annimmt, in dieser stellung noch verschlusslaut war, oder ob es, wie Seelmann² anzugeben scheint durch seine bezeichnung desselben als praepalatal und gingival, sich *dj* näherte, so war es doch in keinem falle eine genaue darstellung des gotischen lautes.³

¹ LINDSAY, *The Latin Language*, s. 85.

² SEELMANN, *Die aussprache des latein.*, etc., s. 336.

³ Vgl. BRAUNE, *Got. gram.*, § 43

Diese erwägungen lassen es als höchst wahrscheinlich erscheinen, dass Wulfila den lateinischen buchstaben **G** deshalb in sein alphabet aufnahm, weil er der rune **ġ** so ähnlich war.

Nach Wimmer nahm Wulfila lat. *f* auf, weil der lateinische buchstabe den gotischen laut genauer wiedergab als griech. *φ*: "das lateinische *f* stand dem gotischen laut viel näher als das griechische *φ*" (s. 266), "die aussprache des griechischen *φ* und des gotischen *f* war wesentlich verschieden" (s. 263). Wimmer lässt sich nicht näher darüber aus, worin diese grössere abweichung des griechischen *φ* vom gotischen laute bestand, und es will fast scheinen, als ob die äussere übereinstimmung des Wulfilanischen mit dem lateinischen buchstaben der hauptgrund für seine ansicht sei. Got. *f* war höchstwahrscheinlich ein bilabialer spirant.¹ Jellineks theorie, dass es labiodental gewesen,² beruht einzig auf Wimmers oben citierter annahme und ist schon durch formen wie *fimf*, *hamfs*, widerlegt. Lat. *f* war schon im 4. jahrh. labiodental;³ griech. *φ* war zu dieser zeit unzweifelhaft bilabial und wahrscheinlich ein spirant, was z. b. auch durch Wulfilas wiedergabe desselben in eigennamen vermitteltst *f* bewiesen wird. Wenn auch wegen unzureichender beweise die möglichkeit zugegeben werden müsste, dass es noch aspiriert war, so beweist doch Wulfilas vorgehen, indem er griech. *φ* durch got. *f* wiedergiebt, dass er den unterschied nicht für bedeutend hielt, während Wimmers theorie das bemerken eines solchen unterschiedes voraussetzt. Wenn Wulfila die aspirata *φ* vermied und den spiranten *f* anwendete, warum folgte er dann nicht dem lateinischen brauch und gab griech. *προφήτης* durch *prauphetes*, *prauphetus* wieder und nicht durch *praufetes*, *praufetus*, wie er es gethan hat? Die griechische bilabiale aspirata stand dem bilabialen spiranten jedenfalls ebenso nahe wie der labiodentale spirant. Der umstand, der Wulfila in der wahl des lateinischen buchstabens *f* zur wiedergabe des gotischen lautes leitete, war augenscheinlich etwas anderes und zwar die ausserordentliche ähnlichkeit des lateinischen **F** mit der rune **ƿ**.

¹ BRAUNE, *Got. gram.*, § 52; WREDE, *Die sprache der Ostgoten*, s. 169.

² *Zeitschr. f. d. Alt.*, Bd. XXXVI, ss. 275 f.

³ Vgl. SEELMANN, *Ausspr. d. Lat.*, s. 295; LINDSAY, *The Lat. Lang.*, s. 98.

Lat. R und S wurden nach Wimmers ansicht aufgenommen "weil mit griech. P und C zwei lateinische buchstaben mit einer ganz verschiedenen bedeutung formell zusammenfielen. Indem er die lateinischen formen für r und s aufnahm, erreichte Wulfila somit, dass sein alphabet kein zeichen bekam, das im griechischen und lateinischen verschiedene bedeutung hatte."¹ Aber Wulfila stellte sein alphabet nicht für die Römer her, sondern für die Goten. Auch ist hier zu beachten, dass Wulfila griech. θ und ψ und lat. u mit ganz anderem lautwert in sein alphabet aufnahm als der es war, den sie in ihren eigenen alphabeten besaßen, von griech. $\epsilon = \bar{e}$ ganz zu schweigen. Der grund für Wulfilas wahl ist unzweifelhaft der von Kirchhoff² angegebene, dem auch Wimmer einigen wert zugesteht, dass nämlich latein. r und s den entsprechenden runenzeichen weit näher lagen als die griechischen buchstaben.

Als resultat ergibt sich somit bis dahin wenigstens die wahrscheinlichkeit, dass von den sechs lateinischen buchstaben, die Wulfila für sein alphabet auswählte, fünf aufgenommen wurden wegen ihrer grossen ähnlichkeit mit den entsprechenden runen.

Es erübrigt noch den einen lateinischen buchstaben u im werte von q zu behandeln; jedenfalls hat Wulfila ihn dem lateinischen nicht entliehen, weil er den gotischen laut genau repräsentierte. Auch hier ist, wie ich später zu zeigen gedenke, die wahl des buchstabens der ähnlichkeit desselben mit der entsprechenden rune zuzuschreiben. Wo also Wulfila vom griechischen alphabet abwich, entweder in der bezeichnung von lauten, die im griechischen nicht vorkamen, oder in der entlehnung von buchstaben aus einem anderen alphabet, dem lateinischen, wurde er in dieser wahl geleitet durch rücksichten auf das runenalphabet.

Wulfilas bezeichnung der gotischen vokale ist hauptsächlich ausschlaggebend gegen Wimmers ansicht. Wenn Wulfilas alphabet auf dem griechischen beruht, so ist es äusserst schwierig zu verstehen, warum die runen \mathfrak{H} und \mathfrak{X} gewählt wurden, da das griechische alphabet genaue bezeichnungen dieser laute in ou und ω besass. Was u betrifft, so lässt sich nicht einwenden, dass Wulfila den digraph für einen einzellaut zu vermeiden wünschte,

¹ Ss. 236 f.

² Kirchhoff, *Das got. runenalphabet*, ss. 55 f.

denn er braucht auch sonst zwei buchstaben zur bezeichnung eines solchen lautes, $ei = \bar{i}$, $ai = \bar{e}$, $au = \bar{o}$. Wimmer scheint das gewicht solcher einwendungen zu fühlen, denn er giebt keine genügenden gründe an für den gebrauch von **ñ** und **œ**:

Ich bin nicht im zweifel darüber, dass Wulfila beim *o*- wie beim *u*-zeichen das griechische (und lateinische) alphabet verlassen und die alte heimische schrift benutzt hat, die gerade betreffs dieser beiden zeichen insofern vorzüglich zu seiner eigenen passte, als sie besonders bequem zu schreiben waren. Diese letztere rücksicht, glaube ich, ist auch die einzige ausschlaggebende für Wulfila gewesen (s. 270).

Über Wulfilas bezeichnung der gotischen *e*- und *o*-laute lässt er sich anderswo, s. 262, auch so aus:

Einen dem griechischen entsprechenden unterschied zwischen ϵ und η , o und ω hielt Wulfila für überflüssig; sein *e* (d. i. \bar{e}) setzte er an die stelle des griechischen ϵ , sein *o* (d. i. \bar{o}) umgekehrt an die des griechischen ω , und bekam somit platz für *h* und *u*, wo das griechische η und o hatte. Aber im zweitnächsten satze konstatiert Wimmer im widerspruch mit dem gerade citierten grund:

Dagegen hat er in ein paar anderen fällen gerade mit dem griechischen als vorbild einzellaute durch zusammenstellung von zwei zeichen ausgedrückt, indem er \bar{i} durch *ei* und \bar{e} durch *ai* bezeichnete.¹

Ob Wulfila nun an den unterschied in der quantität dachte oder an den in der qualität, wie Sievers vorschlägt,² gewiss ist es, dass er in der schrift unterschied zwischen den langen geschlossenen lauten \bar{e} , \bar{o} , \bar{i} und den kurzen offenen \bar{e} , \bar{o} , \bar{i} , und dieser unterschied bildet einen der hauptvorteile, den das Wulfilanische alphabet vor dem später von den andern germanischen völkern angenommenen lateinischen hatte.

Weiter beabsichtigt Wimmer wohl kaum in der oben citierten ansicht anzudeuten, dass griech. ϵ und η , o und ω zu Wulfilas zeit keinen unterschied zwischen den kurzen offenen und langen geschlossenen lauten bezeichneten. Unser verlässlichster beweis für den wert griechischer buchstaben, womit Wulfila bekannt war, ist seine transcription griechischer eigennamen. Hier wird regelmässig griech. η durch got. *e*, d. h. langes geschlossenes \bar{e} ,³ wie-

¹ Vgl. auch s. 271 oben.

² Grd.¹ I, s. 410, § 4.

³ Vgl. BRAUNE, *Got. gram.*, § 6, a 1. Got. *i*, *ei*, für η , Br. Gr. § 7, a 1-4; § 16, a 1, sind ostgotischen schreibern zuzuschreiben; WREDE, *Über die Sprache der Ostgoten in Italien*, s. 161. *ai = \eta*; Br., Gr. § 23, a 1, ist herbeigeführt durch substitution eines kurzen lautes für einen langen, gerade wie got. *e* dann und wann anstatt des griech. ϵ erscheint, Br. Gr., § 6, a 1.

dergegeben, griech. ϵ durch got. ai , d. h. kurzes offenes \ddot{e} ,¹ griech. ω durch got. \bar{o} , d. h. langes geschlossenes \bar{o} ,² und griech. o durch got. au , d. h. kurzes offenes \ddot{o} ,³ oder u in unbetonten silben. Blass⁴ kommt aus anderen beweisgründen zu demselben schluss mit bezug auf den wert von griech. ϵ und η im 4. jahrh.

Da es wohl kaum zu bezweifeln ist, dass die gotischen e -, o -laute den griechischen e -, o -lauten entsprachen, sehen wir uns vor die frage gestellt: warum machte Wulfila keinen gebrauch von den buchstaben ϵ und η , o und ω in der bezeichnung der gotischen laute? Was ϵ und H betrifft, liesse sich darauf antworten, dass Wulfila schon den dem H entsprechenden lateinischen buchstaben gebraucht hatte, um stimmlose gutturale spirans zu bezeichnen, was die frage nach der priorität in der behandlung von \bar{e} und h aufwerfen würde. Zugegeben aber, dass Wulfila sich entschloss, got. h durch lat. unziales h wiederzugeben, das würde ihn kaum daran gehindert haben, auch gebrauch zu machen von der form H , die im 4. jahrh. gang und gäbe war, und der unterschied zwischen h und H wäre immer noch grösser gewesen als der zwischen R und \mathfrak{R} oder zwischen \mathfrak{A} und \mathfrak{A} . Was nun weiter langes und kurzes o betrifft, so ist vom standpunkte des griechischen alphabets aus absolut kein grund vorhanden, warum Wulfila sich nicht hätte der buchstaben ω und o bedienen sollen anstatt der rune \mathfrak{A} und der buchstabenverbindung au , welch letztere im griechischen nicht im werte von \ddot{o} im gebrauch war und entweder nach der analogie von $ai=\ddot{e}$ gebildet oder dem lateinischen entnommen sein muss.

Der grund für diese lage der dinge ist im runenalphabet und in der entwicklung des gotischen zu suchen. Die rune \mathfrak{M} repräsentierte ursprünglich langes und kurzes e ; als aber kurzes e in der vorwulfilanischen periode zu i wurde, behielt \mathfrak{M} nur den wert von langem \bar{e} . Wie nun später i zu kurzem offenem e gebrochen wurde, fand dieser laut erst spezielle bezeichnung durch Wulfila, der den griechischen digraph ai dazu benutzte. Es war also in dem Wulfila bekannten runenalphabet nur ein zeichen für den e -laut vorhanden und dies bezeichnete den langen geschlossenen

¹ Vgl. BRAUNE, *Gr.* § 23.

² *Ibid.*, § 11, a 1.

³ *Ibid.*, § 24, a 5; § 13, a 1.

⁴ *Ausprache des griech.*,³ § 11.

laut. Zur darstellung desselben wählt nun Wulfila nicht das runenzeichen, welches mit griech. \mathbf{M} zusammengefallen wäre, sondern verkehrterweise griech. ϵ , welches aber im lateinischen mit dem doppelten werte im gebrauch war. Der umstand, dass griech. \mathbf{H} mit der rune \mathbf{N} hätte verwechselt werden können, mag ihn auch beeinflusst haben. Ähnlicherweise besass \mathfrak{X} einzig den wert eines langen \bar{o} und das gotische gebrochene $o < u$ wurde in der runenschrift wahrscheinlich nicht unterschieden von kurzem offenem u , und Wulfila gebraucht auch hier eine buchstabenverbindung, auf deren ursprung schon oben hingewiesen ist.

Diese beobachtungen, zu denen andere hinzutreten sollen, über die Wulfila von Wimmer zugeschriebene eklektische methode in der schaffung seines alphabets; über die art und weise, wie er zum bewusstsein des lautwertes kam, den die schriftlich wiederzugebenden laute hatten; einerseits über die gründe, die ihn nach Wimmer dazu gebracht haben sollen, vom griechischen alphabet abzuweichen, und andererseits über die ähnlichkeit der dem lateinischen entlehnten buchstaben mit den entsprechenden runen; über seine bezeichnung der vokale sollen darauf hinweisen, dass Wimmer's satz, s. 262, "dass das griechische alphabet somit die grundlage bildet für das Wulfilanische, ist über jeden zweifel erhaben," doch vielleicht anfechtbar ist und möchten dazu dienen, die frage nach der grundlage des gotischen alphabets noch einmal anzuregen.

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THE USE OF *ELLA*, *LEI*, AND *LA* AS POLITE FORMS OF ADDRESS IN ITALIAN.

I. DATE OF THE INTRODUCTION OF *ELLA*, *LEI*, AND *LA* AS POLITE FORMS OF ADDRESS.

THE latest treatment of this question is that of Meyer-Lübke, who says:

La Troisième Personne employée par politesse au lieu de la Deuxième, au Singulier comme au Pluriel, se rencontre en Italie, en Espagne et en Portugal. En italien, le nom de la personne à qui l'on s'adresse est remplacé à l'origine par Vossignoria, qui peut naturellement à son tour être suppléé par le pronom correspondant: *ella* ou *lei*, forme qui apparaît au XVI^e siècle et qui s'étend rapidement, au point qu'elle est la seule usitée aujourd'hui dans les classes élevées de la société.¹

Abstract substantives were already used as forms of address in late Latin. Schmalz says that *sanctitas tua*² was used in addressing bishops from the end of the fourth century. In the early Italian monuments *vostra Signoria*³ was used regularly in formal address, but was never repeated by *ella*. The first occurrence of this pronoun used in address in the texts consulted is found in Giovanni Fiorentino,⁴ who wrote in 1378. In this text *le*, the dative of *ella*, refers directly to *santità* and is translated "to you." The use of *ella* for *voi* began in constructions like this, where the noun to which it referred stood immediately before it.⁵ Later,

¹ *Grammaire des Langues Romanes* (Paris, 1900), Vol. III, ¶ 95; compare also BLANC, *Grammatik der italienischen Sprache* (Halle, 1844), p. 273.

² Cf. MÜLLER's *Handbuch* (München, 1890), Vol. II, p. 535d.

³ Cf. BLANC, *op. cit.*, p. 274 n. 1.

⁴ Cf. *Il Pecorone*, 10, 1: "Avenne che passeggiando loro per Roma, furono dalla donna conosciuti, l'uno per fratello (perchè il padre fra queste mezzo era morto) e l'altro per marito; ed ella presentandosi davanti al papa, gli disse: Beatissimo padre, vostra santità sa che io mai non le ho voluto manifestare di chi sieno nati questi figliuoli, ne ch'io mi sia."

⁵ For a similar construction in French, compare LA FONTAINE, *Fables*, I, 10:

Sire, répond l'agneau, que votre majesté
Ne se mette pas en colère;
Mais plutôt qu'elle considère
Que je me vas désaltérant
Dans le courant
Plus de vingt pas au-dessous d'elle.

Compare also *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, II, 9: "Monseigneur, nous la remercions très humblement de ses libéralités."

however, the noun was omitted and *ella* came to be looked upon as the regular form of polite address.

The use of *lei* and *la* as subject forms in polite address dates from the sixteenth century. Giovanni della Casa¹ uses *la* for *ella* in address frequently, while Benvenuto Cellini² uses *lei* for *ella* once in his letters.

II. AGREEMENT OF PAST PARTICIPLES AND ADJECTIVES MODIFYING *ELLA*, *LEI*, AND *LA* USED AS POLITE FORMS OF ADDRESS.

1. Blanc,³ reviewing the statements of the older grammarians on this point, says:

Manche grammatiker⁴ sind auch dieser meinung, dass man sagen müsse: voi oder ella (uomo) siete oder è troppo timido; oder voi, ella (donna) siete oder è troppo timida, und ebenso im plural, wenn mehrere männer oder frauen angeredet werden. Andere⁵ verlangen dagegen, dass das adjectiv oder participium sich nach dem ella richten solle: ella si è degnata, auch wenn man mit einem manne spricht. Wieder andere⁶ behaupten: wenn die hülfsverba *essere* and *avere* allein im satze ständen. dann müsse sich das adjectiv oder pronomen nach dem ella richten, z. b. Ella (signore) era molto afflitta, io l'ho ringraziata più volte. Wenn man sich aber eines anderen verbums bediene, dann richte sich das adjectiv oder participium nach dem wirklichen geschlecht des angeredeten: Ella si mostra sempre disinvolto e spassionato. Noch andere⁷ geben die regel: wenn das verbum *essere* als hülfswort stehe, so müsse das participium sich nach ella richten, die folgenden adjectiv aber nach dem wirklichen geschlecht der angeredeten person, also Ella (Signore) si è mostrata non meno savio che benigno; und wenn man

¹ Cf. p. 46: "E tanto più me le sento obbligato, quanto io mi rendo sicuro, che quella parte della grazia, che il Sig. Duca ha fatta per reverenza di N. Sig. sarà più stabile in ogni caso per il rispetto, e per gli obblighi, che S. Ecc. ha a V. Sig. Illustriss. come io veggo per la copia della Lettera, che *La* si è degnata di farmi mandare;" p. 50: "Solo le dico, ch'io mi sforzerò d'esser tale, che *La* non abbia mai cagione di pentirsi dell' onorato giudizio, che *La* si è degnata fare di me."

² Cf. VIII: "Non d'altro genuflesso la supplico, se non che mi facci degno di risposta, avendomene più e più volte fatto degno papi, lo imperatore e uno così gran re; *Lei* degna e santa, a loro eguale, mi faccia degno della sua grazia: quale Iddio lunghissima e felicissima conservi.

³ Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 275, 276.

⁴ FERNOW, *Italiänische Sprachlehre für Deutsche* (Tübingen, 1804), p. 546: MINNER, *Wissenschaftliche Sprachlehre* (Frankfurt a/M, 1890), p. 120.

⁵ FRANCESCO SOAVE, *Grammatica Ragionata della Lingua Italiana* (Milano, 1816), p. 185.

⁶ VALENTINI, *Italiänischer Lehrer* (Leipzig, 1827), Vol. II, p. 21.

⁷ GALIGNANI, *Grammar and Exercises in 24 Lectures on the Italian Language* (London, 1794), p. 61.

im plural sich der worte Le Signorie loro bediene, so müssen die adjective sich nach diesen worten richten: Le Signorie loro son molto dotte.

Aus allen diesen, zum theil sich widersprechenden regeln lässt sich das resultat ziehen, dass, wenn in sehr förmlicher, oder auch sehr unterwürfiger rede jemand sich der titulaturen *Vostra Signoria*, oder *Ecceellenza*, *Paternità* und ähnlicher bedient, er dann auch die adjective auf diese titel beziehen müsse; während man im gemeinen leben, im gespräch, in briefen, etc., ohne rücksicht auf das vorangehende ella, die adjective und participien mit dem wirklichen geschlecht der angesprochenen Person übereinstimmen lässt.

2. Of the grammarians of today Grandgent says:

The usual form of address in Italy is *Ella* (or *ella*), objective *Lei* (or *lei*); in conversation *Ella* is replaced by *Lei* (or *lei*). This word really means "it," and takes the verb in the third person; but an adjective or past participle modifying it agrees in gender with the person it represents.¹

On the other hand, Sauer says:

The polite mode *Ella* (*Lei*) being always considered feminine, all *adjectives* and *participles*, even when belonging to masculine nouns, should agree with it. This rule is often neglected.²

Throughout his grammar Sauer³ writes the feminine forms of adjectives and participles relating to *ella* or *lei*.

The résumé given below will show how this construction is represented in the texts examined for this study:

1. Past participle modifying *ella*, *lei*, or *la* is feminine when the person addressed is masculine:⁴ D⁵ rule, E⁶ rule, F⁷ rule, G⁸ rule, H⁹ rule, I¹⁰ rule, K¹¹ rule, N¹² rule, Q.¹³

¹ *Italian Grammar* (Boston, 1891), p. 52.

² *Italian Conversation-Grammar* (New York, 1899), p. 60 n. 1.

³ Cf. SAUER, *op. cit.*, p. 60: "E Lei (uomo), quando è nata?"

⁴ Cf. E (*Lettere*), p. 24: "Io ringrazio V. Ecc. Illustriss. quanto posso, ch'ella si sia *degnata* di ricevere il Sig. Annibale con tanta benignità;" H, p. 2: "Io dunque, come sue, quali elle si siano (poi che non mi è permesso di farle dono di cose mie, e moggiori) gli ele offero, et appresento, pregrandola a restar *compiacciuta* di gradirle con così lieta fronte, e così giocondo viso, come io divotamente gli ele dedico."

⁵ Cf. p. 305.

⁶ Cf. E, pp. 15, 20, 24, 30, 31, 42, 43, 48, 50, 52, 57 (*Lettere*); 135 (*Orazione*).

⁷ Cf. p. 151.

⁸ Cf. XXV.

⁹ Cf. p. 2.

¹⁰ Cf. p. 3.

¹¹ Cf. p. 2.

¹² Cf. *La Locandiera*, I, 5; II, 6, 13; III, 4. Compare also *Le Smanie per la Villeggiatura*, I, 1, 2, 4; III, 2, 3, 8.

¹³ Cf. chap. 5, p. 68.

2. Adjective modifying *ella*, *lei*, or *la* is feminine when the person addressed is masculine:¹ D² rule, E³ rule, G⁴ rule.

3. Past participle modifying *ella*, *lei*, *la* is masculine when the person addressed is masculine:⁵ Q⁶ rule, R rule, S⁷ rule, U⁸ rule.

4. Adjective modifying *ella*, *lei*, *la* is masculine when the person addressed is masculine:⁹ N¹⁰ rule, Q¹¹ rule, R¹² rule, S¹³ rule.

The grammarians who have discussed the agreement of adjectives and past participles modifying *ella*, *lei*, and *la* used as polite forms of address have not treated the question historically. They have merely attempted to state the usage at the time at which they write. From the résumé given above we are able to determine to some extent the historical development of this construction. From this table it will be seen that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries both the adjective and past participle were feminine when modifying *ella*, *lei*, or *la* used in address. In the eighteenth century the participle still retains its feminine form in such constructions, while the adjective is masculine or feminine according to the gender of the person addressed. Goldoni, writing about the middle of the century, uses the feminine participle and the masculine adjective when the person addressed is masculine. In *I Promessi Sposi*,¹⁴ which was

¹ E (*Lettere*), p. 28: "La qual grazia io riporrò con gli altri favori ricevuti da lei; alla quale bacio la mano, pregrando N. Sig. Dio, che felicissima la conservi;" G, IX: "Molto mio divinissimo patrone, io la prego che sia contenta di farmi pagare la gabella del potere."

² Cf. p. 306.

³ Cf. *Lettere*, pp. 15, 27, 28, 30, 34.

⁴ Cf. VIII, IX, XIV, XVII, XVIII.

⁵ Cf. U, p. 45: "Bisogna addirittura che lei, professore, faccia di tutto perchè la mia Albertina non vada quest' anno a villeggiare dalla baronessa . . . non c' è che lei che possa persuaderla . . . e forse lei ci riuscirà, . . . è stato suo maestro; S (*Il Maestro di Mio Padre*);" p. 113: "Lei il primo anno, e stato per un pezzo nel primo banco a sinistra vicino alla finestra."

⁶ Cf. chap. 5, p. 88.

⁷ Cf. *Il Maestro di Mio Padre*, p. 113.

⁸ Cf. p. 45.

⁹ Cf. R (*Il Maestro di Calligrafia*), p. 76: "Per carità, professore, non si dia pena per noi,—disse la signora.—Lei è così buono, che siamo venuti a chiederle un favore; S (*La Mia Padrona di Casa*);" p. 101: "Lei se ne torna colla sua famiglia; io, povera vecchia, rimango sola. Si ricordi qualche volta di me che le volevo bene come a un figliuolo. Abbia giudizio; continui a studiare e sarà contento."

¹⁰ Cf. *Le Smanie per la Villeggiatura*, I, 12; III, 6. Compare also *La Locandiera*, III, 17, 18.

¹¹ Cf. chap. 1, p. 19.

¹² Cf. *Il Maestro di Calligrafia*, p. 76.

¹³ Cf. *Il Maestro di Mio Padre*, p. 113.

¹⁴ Cf. chap. v, p. 68: "Sappiam bene che lei non è venuta al mondo col cappuccio in capo, e che il mondo l' ha conosciuto."

completed in 1822, Manzoni uses a masculine and feminine participle in the same sentence, modifying *lei* and *la* respectively. On the other hand, he writes the masculine form of adjectives when the person addressed is masculine. Since Manzoni I have found only the masculine form of both adjectives and past participles modifying *ella*, *lei*, or *la* used in addressing male beings.¹

The construction in which the adjective and the past participle take the gender of the person addressed, and not that of the grammatical subject (*ella*, etc.), is doubtless by analogy to the same construction of *voi*. It will be observed that, in the polite form of address, the adjectives and past participle took the gender of the grammatical subject as long as the noun to which *ella*, *lei*, and *la* referred stood immediately before them. For example, in the letters of Bembo, Giovanni della Casa,² Annibale Caro, and Benvenuto Cellini,³ the pronoun of address is always placed near, and associated with, some such ceremonious term as *Sua Eccellenza*. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, when *Sua Eccellenza*, etc., ceased to be expressed (except in rare cases), and the pronouns *ella*, *lei*, and *la* were looked upon as referring directly to the person addressed and not to *Vossignoria*, etc., the adjective began to agree logically, taking the gender of the person addressed. On the other hand, the past participle probably continued to agree with the grammatical subject throughout the eighteenth century, and sporadic examples of such a construction are found at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

A further step toward sense-agreement in the construction in question is the substitution of *egli*⁴ for *ella* or *lei*. The only

¹ Cf. S (*Il Maestro di Mio Padre*), p. 113: "(Lei) e stato buono tanto a ricordarsi del suo povero maestro."

² Cf. p. 57: "Ma certo V. Sig. mi fa vergognare, lodandomi tanto di soverchio; perciò io la prego, che la moderi il corso dell' amore verso di me, dal quale Ella è stata trasportata troppo oltre termine."

³ Cf. XVIII: "Onde io molto mi raccomando a V. S. e la prego."

⁴ Cf. BOWEN, *First Italian Readings* (Boston, 1897), p. 72: "Il Preside, esternando il suo rammarico per la risoluzione del professore Antonino, gli aveva detto con una gentilezza insolita:—Senza complimenti, professore, se *egli* non ha voglia di stare in classe tutt' oggi, incarico un altro. Lei ha lavorato pe' suoi giorni abbastanza."

example that I have noted of *egli* used in this sense occurs in Enrico Castelnuevo's *Il Maestro di Calligrafia*.¹

The tendency for adjectives and past participles to agree logically is also seen in the use of *bestia* and *persona*² in early Italian texts. Adjectives modifying *bestia* and *persona*³ used in the sense of *uomo* were sometimes masculine in Old Italian. One finds the reverse of this construction in the case of French *on* < Latin *homo*. Although *on* is masculine in its origin, a feminine adjective may relate to it, when the sense is clearly feminine.⁴

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¹ For the use of the masculine third person singular as a pronoun of address in French compare VICTOR SCHLIEBITZ, *Die Person der Anrede in der französischen Sprache* (Breslau, 1886), p. 47: "Die andere redeweise, welche statt der 2. p. die 3. p. sing. setzt (wie früher auch im deutschen), soll etwa den umgekehrten sinn ausdrücken, wie die vorige; z. b. Rabelais, IV, 19: Bruder Jean fordert Panurge auf, während des sturmes auf dem schiffe zu helfen:

Vien, pendu au diable, icy nous ayder, de par trente
 legions de diables, vien: viendra-il? = wirst du kommen?

ebenso IV, 20.

Andere beispiele sind mir nicht bekannt."

² Cf. BLANC, *op. cit.*, p. 197: "Erträglicher, doch auch nur bei älteren vorkommend, ist es, wenn das adjectiv sich nicht auf das geschlecht seines hauptwortes, sondern auf die bedeutung desselben bezieht, wie Bocc. 7, 4: Quella bestia (womit ein mann bezeichnet wird) era pur disposto a volere, etc. In Fra Giord. Pred. findet sich die starke licenz: La persona (der mensch) quando e tribolato e ha molta fatica, etc. Erträglicher ist es, wenn es bei Boccaccio heisst: Par persona molto da bene e costumato, für uom da bene."

³ For the same usage in French compare MOLIÈRE, *Don Juan*, I, 2: "Jamais je n'ai vu deux personnes si contents l'un de l'autre;" *Malade imaginaire*, II, 6: "Deux personnes qui disent les choses d'eux-mêmes." Compare also LITTRÉ, *Dictionnaire de la langue française*, under *personne*.

⁴ "On est plus jolie à présent."

⁵ Dedicatory Letter (cf. I, J, K).

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THE ORIGINS OF MODERN CRITICISM.

I.

THE second volume of Professor Saintsbury's *History of Criticism*¹ is an important contribution to modern scholarship in the field of critical history, but in at least two respects—in its lack of philosophic unity and co-ordination, and in its neglect of recent research in the same field—it misses the touch of finality.

The historian of criticism is distracted from singleness of effort, not only by that diversity *de gustibus* which from of old it has been forbidden him to dispute, but, more deeply still, by the ever-varying conceptions of the exact nature and scope of his subject. The historian of literature has a body of concrete and determinate works of the imagination to indicate the limits of his field. Criticism is in a sense as definite an imaginative process as that of creation; its primary purpose is the interpretation of works of literature by the aid of intellectual processes vitally akin to those which first produced the works themselves; but in arriving at this result it is guided or molded by predetermined conceptions of its own functions or of the functions of the body of literature with which it is primarily concerned. The historian

¹ *A History of Criticism and Literary Taste in Europe from the Earliest Texts to the Present Day*. By GEORGE SAINTSBURY. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1900-1902. Of the two volumes which have already appeared, this article is concerned solely with the second, "From the Renaissance to the Decline of Eighteenth Century Orthodoxy." I have used this volume largely as a point of departure for critical discussion, since I have already considered it at closer range, both as to its general design and as to its chief details, in the *Nation* of January 15, 1903.

of criticism is therefore brought face to face with three distinct elements: first, criticism proper, or the body of concrete critical production; secondly, critical theory, or the body of doctrine regarding the method and purpose of the critical process; and, thirdly, the theory of literature, or poetics, including the infinite hypotheses regarding the nature and end of literature itself.

Out of all these tangled threads the philosophic historian may, if he will, establish some vital unity, by investigating how, from age to age, the twinship of life and letters has by criticism been justified to men. But since he is not likely to be this philosophic paragon, his dangers are many, chief of which—as an Italian master of this craft has succinctly stated them—are that his work may degenerate “(1) into a mere history of abstract æsthetic ideas, (2) into a bibliographical catalogue, (3) into a collection of anecdotes regarding the variety of tastes, or (4) into an inorganic aggregate of all these disparate strains.”¹ It has seemed to me, though I hesitate to urge my own convictions in regard to a work of such learning and skill, that Mr. Saintsbury has not wholly avoided these several pitfalls in his *History of Criticism*. That all his roads do not lead to Rome—that, in other words, he does not attempt to bring unity out of all the chaos of conflicting tastes and theories—may perhaps be pardoned him; the search for the absolute is alien to his purpose; the goal of the theoretician is not that which his own impressionistic method and his keen personal prepossessions have striven to attain. Yet some such internal unity a great work may be expected to have—unity of conception, unity of design, a logical delimitation of the field of inquiry—or else how shall the mere collection of facts be marshaled and transformed into philosophic history?

Mr. Saintsbury's scorn for the *a-priorist* is equaled by his scorn for the patient monographist. Yet in this, too, there is danger, as may be easily seen in the most general consideration of his second volume. He can find but two predecessors who like him have covered the whole field of criticism—Théry's *Histoire des opinions littéraires*, and Mazzarella's *Della Critica*

¹ B. CROCE, *Per la storia della critica e storiografia letteraria* (Naples, 1903), p. 5; reprinted from the *Atti dell' Accademia pontaniana*, Vol. XXXIII.

libri tre.¹ In a sense, this is perhaps true,² but it must not be forgotten that in every country of western Europe specialists have been devoting their attention to more or less extensive periods, to more or less important problems, of critical history. Thus the period treated in this second volume (to mention but a very few names, and only those wholly ignored by Mr. Saintsbury) is covered, for French criticism, by Rosenbauer,³ Faguet,⁴ Pellissier,⁵ Clément,⁶ Arnaud,⁷ Robert,⁸ Fabre,⁹ Doncieux,¹⁰ Dupont,¹¹ Texte;¹² for Italian criticism, by Sabbadini,¹³ Vossler,¹⁴ Croce,¹⁵ Ebner,¹⁶ Foffano,¹⁷ Belloni,¹⁸ Galletti,¹⁹ for German criticism, by Borinski,²⁰

¹ MR. SAINTSBURY (Vol. I, p. vi) calls this work a torso, apparently on the authority of GAYLEY AND SCOTT (*Introd. to Lit. Crit.*, p. 69). The first volume, containing the history of criticism, was published at Genoa in 1866, but was followed in 1868 by a second on the theory of criticism. The complete work was reprinted at Rome, 1878-79. Cf. G. GENTILE, "La Filosofia in Italia dopo il 1850," in *La Critica* (Naples, 1903), Vol. I, pp. 352 ff.

² An exception might perhaps be made for M. BRUNETTIÈRE's general sketch of critical history in the *Grande Encyclopédie*, art. "Critique littéraire," though the treatment of modern criticism is there largely limited to that of France. The *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España* of MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO is in reality a history of European theories of literature and art from the earliest times. MR. SAINTSBURY (Vol. II, p. 331, note) has consulted it only for Spanish criticism in the seventeenth century, but its first two volumes admirably fill the lacunæ in Mr. Saintsbury's own discussion of the treatment of literature by the writers of the Christian Church in post-classic and mediæval times. FRANCESCO DE SANCTIS also wrote a *Storia della critica da Aristotile ad Hegel*, which has just been recovered in manuscript in the library of the Museo di S. Martino of Naples (cf. *Rassegna critica della letteratura italiana*, 1903, Vol. VIII, p. 91, note).

³ *Die poetischen Theorien der Plejade* (Erlangen, 1895).

⁴ *La tragédie française au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1894).

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¹⁵ *I trattatisti italiani del concettismo e B. Gracian* (Naples, 1899); *Giambattista Vico, primo scopritore della scienza estetica* (Naples, 1901). The latter has been included in the more recent *Estetica* (Palermo: Sandron, 1902).

¹⁶ *Beitrag zu einer Geschichte der dramatischen Einheiten in Italien* (Erlangen, 1898).

¹⁷ "Saggio su la critica letteraria nel secolo XVII," in his *Ricerche letterarie* (Leghorn, 1897).

¹⁸ *Il Seicento* (Milan: Vallardi, n. d.); chap. xi, on "La critica letteraria e scientifica."

¹⁹ *Le teorie drammatiche e la tragedia nel secolo XVIII* (Cremona, 1901).

²⁰ *Die Poetik der Renaissance und die Anfänge der litterarischen Kritik in Deutschland* (Berlin, 1886); *Baltasar Gracian und die Hofliteratur in Deutschland* (Halle, 1894).

Braitmaier,¹ and Grucker.² A dead list of names like this can mean little except to indicate the extent of the modern interest in the history of criticism and poetics; but to say that all these works have not been consulted by Mr. Saintsbury, or perhaps have failed to interest him, is to say that he has not profited by the results of modern research. In the introductory chapter of his first volume he insists that he intends to confine himself mainly to the actual texts. "Not what Plato says, but what the latest commentator says about Plato—not what Chaucer says, but what the latest thesis-writer thinks about Chaucer—is supposed to be the qualifying study of the scholar; I am not able to share this conception of scholarship." In this, I confess, he seems to me to be on the side of the angels, and all the more so since he has attempted, not a work of specialization, but a general history; for the general historian, if he is to be a specialist at all, must be—as someone has aptly put it—a specialist in *general history*.

Yet how dangerous it is to ignore one's *Mitstrebenen*—to mass with indiscriminate neglect the philosophic historian of an extended period, the serious investigator of a profound problem of critical history, and the parasitic thesis or program writer—may be shown by indicating those elements of progress in critical studies achieved by modern scholarship which Mr. Saintsbury has overlooked or consciously neglected. Over two centuries and a quarter ago, Rapin, in the introduction to his *Réflexions sur l'art poétique* (1674), summed up the history of criticism as follows:

All who have writ of this art have followed no other idea but that of Aristotle. Horace was the first who proposed this great model to the Romans. And by this all the great wits in the Court of Augustus formed their wits, who applied themselves to make verse. Petronius (whom no man of modesty dares name, unless on account of those directions he gave for writing) amongst the orders of his *Satire*, gives certain precepts of poetry that are admirable. He is disgusted with the style of Seneca and Lucan, which to him seemed affected, and contrary to the principles of Aristotle. . . . Nothing more judicious was writ in those days. . . . To say the truth, what is good on this subject is all taken from Aristotle,

¹ *Geschichte der poetischen Theorie und Kritik von den Discursen der Maler bis auf Lessing* (Frauenfeld, 1888-89).

² *Histoire des doctrines littéraires et esthétiques en Allemagne* (Paris, 1883).

who is the only source whence good sense is to be drawn when one goes about to write.

We have had no books of Poesy till this last age, when that of Aristotle, with his other works, were brought from Constantinople to Italy, where immediately appeared a great number of commentators who writ upon this book of Poesy, the chief whereof were Victorius [Vettori], Robortellus, Madius [Maggi], who literally enough interpreted the text of this philosopher, without diving much into his meaning. These were followed by Castelvetro, Piccolomini, Beni, Riccobon, Majoragius, Minturnus, Vida, Patricius, Andre Gili, Vossius, and many others. But Vossius has commented on him merely as a scholiast, Gili as a rhetorician, Patricius as an historian, Vida as a poet, who endeavours more to please than to instruct, Minturnus as an orator, Majoragius and Riccobon as logicians, Beni as a doctor who has a sound judgment when the honour of his country is not concerned, for he compares Ariosto with Homer, and Tasso with Virgil, in a treatise made expressly on that subject. Castelvetro and Piccolomini have acquitted themselves as able critics, and much better than the rest; Piccolomini deals with Aristotle more fairly than Castelvetro, who is naturally of a morose wit, and out of a cross humour makes it always his business to contradict Aristotle, and for the most part confounds the text instead of explaining it. Notwithstanding all this, he is the most subtle of all the commentators and the man from whom most may be learned.

In fine, Lope de Vega was the only person that undertook, on the good fortune of his old reputation, to hazard a new method of Poesy, which he calls *El Arte Nuevo*, wholly different from that of Aristotle, to justify the fabric of his comedies, which the wits of his country incessantly criticized upon; which treatise succeeded so ill, that it was not judged worthy of a place among the rest, in the collection of his Works, because he followed not Aristotle.¹

Rymer, in the preface of his translation of Rapin, completes the latter's sketch by bringing the history of criticism up to their own generation:

For this sort of learning our neighbour nations have got far the start of us; in the last century, Italy swarmed with critics, where amongst many of less note, Castelvetro opposed all comers, and the famous Academy, *La Crusca*, was always impeaching some or other of the best authors. Spain, in those days, bred great wits, but, I think, was never so crowded that they needed to fall out, and quarrel amongst themselves. But from Italy, France took up the cudgels; and tho' some light strokes passed in the days of Marot, Baif, etc., yet they fell not to it in earnest, nor was any noble contest amongst them, till the Royal Academy was

¹ RYMER's translation (1674), in KENNET's *Whole Critical Works of Monsieur Rapin*, 3d ed. (London, 1731), Vol. II, pp. 131 ff.

founded, and Cardinal Richelieu encouraged and rallied all the scattered wits under his banner. Then Malherbe reformed their ancient licentious poetry, and Corneille's *Cid* raised many factions amongst them. At this time with us many great wits flourished, but Ben Jonson, I think, had all the critical learning to himself; and till of late years, England was as free from critics as it is from wolves, that a harmless well-meaning book might pass without any danger. But now this privilege, whatever extraordinary talent it requires, is usurped by the most ignorant.¹

For these men the history of modern criticism is a simple matter; it is merely the history of the Aristotelian tradition. And yet observe that, though Mr. Saintsbury is, as it were, on the other side—his sympathies are aggressively romantic—his conception of the historical development of criticism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is identical with theirs. The passages I have cited seem a perverted abstract of his second volume, which carries on, as Rapin and Rymer might have done, the same spirit through its evolution in the eighteenth century. He has, in a sense, viewed the eighteenth century largely in the light of seventeenth-century opinion. He has, to sum up in a word, largely failed to profit by the historical studies of two centuries (but especially of our own) in the field of literary criticism. Many of the problems which have been clearly defined by modern scholarship, and still await solution, are not only unsolved here, but are for the most part wholly ignored. Whence and how, for example, arose the twinship of fancy and imagination, of wit and humor, of genius and taste, which still to a certain extent dominates the expression of our critical judgment? How did the modern conception of a relative æsthetic, varying from age to age, from country to country, arise in a period which, according to Mr. Saintsbury, was one simply of "eighteenth-century orthodoxy"? How came it that submission to external rules was gradually displaced, as a basis for critical judgment, by internal or psychological tests, and criticism rightly conceived its true function in the attempt of the interpretative to be at one with the creative mind? By what steps did the crude literary exercise of the Renaissance in praise of this or that ancient poet become the *éloge* of a later age, and how was the age of the *éloge* linked with that of the

¹ RYMER, *op. cit.*, pp. 110 f.

"appreciation"? These are a few of the many problems which one might expect to find discussed, and perhaps solved, in a history of criticism from the end of the fifteenth to the end of the eighteenth century; these are some of the problems that alone make a history of this period vital, for without them it is an age of outgrown theories, of narrow, dogmatic, and unphilosophic impressions, the mere husks and dry bones of criticism. In ignoring his *Mitstrebenen*, Mr. Saintsbury has thus ignored the new problems they have raised, the new light they have shed on the evolution of criticism—in a word the new *History of Criticism* upon which they have been collaborating for these many years.

I trust I shall not be considered presumptuous if, in the remainder of this paper, I attempt a brief sketch of the origins of modern criticism radically different from those of Père Rapin and Professor Saintsbury. I trust that my modest summary will not seem a mere *tour de force* when I say that it will include no single point of importance made by the latter in his second volume. But I should be especially disturbed if the proposal is interpreted as implying other than the highest respect for the positive merits of his monumental work. While I am carving my cherry-pip, he is rearing a vast cathedral to heaven.

II.

It has been established, I think, that by the middle of the sixteenth century a unified body of poetic rules and theories had been developed in Italy, and then passed into France, England, Spain, Germany, Portugal, and Holland, and through Holland into Scandinavia.¹ This critical system was first developed by the formal treatises on poetics during the Cinquecento, but it is a mistake to consider them as merely isolated monuments, or as furnishing the only ways in which poets, critics, and scholars approached the study of literature. They represent, in fact, but one of several critical heirlooms which Italy passed on to its foster-child France.

The humanists, as Professor Vossler has shown,² conceived of

¹For the influence of Heinsius and other Dutch critics in Sweden cf. E. WRANGEL, *Sveriges litterära förbindelser med Holland, särdeles under 1600-talet* (Lund, 1897).

²*Poet. Theorien in der ital. Frühren.*, p. 88.

the nature of poetry in terms, first of theology, then of oratory, and finally of rhetoric and philology. This development, while apparently in the direction of an æsthetic interest in literature, was really tending toward an exclusive attention to external details, and, as an inevitable result of the growth of erudition, toward a loss of interest in poetry for itself as a creative art. The impassioned defenses of poetry by Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Coluccio Salutati, in which its vital impulse was conceived to be at one with that of God himself, were succeeded by calmer studies in which poetry was given a place side by side with the other humanistic disciplines. "When I say letters (*litteras*)," says Ermolao Barbaro, "I mean philosophy which is conjoined with eloquence."¹ "The poet differs in no way from the orator," says Tiphernas, "except that he is permitted to roam about more freely, is somewhat more restricted in his numbers, and approaches more closely to music."² So that, while Humanism might during its progress emphasize this or that side of humanistic culture, it tended more and more to concern itself with the whole body of classical studies, and to consider them as forming a unity in themselves. The *studia sapientiae* and the *studia eloquentiae*, at first carefully distinguished from each other, tended more and more to merge in the single category of *studia literarum*.³ "The moderns," Vives justly complained, in his *De causis corruptarum artium*, "confound the arts by reason of their resemblance, and of two that are very much opposed to each other make a single art. They call rhetoric grammar, and grammar rhetoric, because both treat of language. The poet they call orator, and the orator poet, because both put eloquence and harmony into their discourses."⁴

To this body of secular learning—massed under the general head of *literae*, or *studia humanitatis*, or *eloquentia*, or *philologia*, according to the predominating interest of the period or the individual taste of the writer—the chief opposition was represented by the two great mediæval survivals, the tradition of

¹ *Angeli Politiani Opera* (Lugduni, 1539), p. 457.

² K. MÜLLNER, *Reden und Briefe italienischer Humanisten* (Vienna, 1899), p. 187.

³ Cf. V. ROSSI, *Il Quattrocento* (Milan: Vallardi, n. d.), pp. 407 f. (note on pp. 2, 3).

⁴ *Opera*, ed. MAYANS (Valencia, 1785), Vol. VI, p. 64.

scholastic training and the tradition of chivalry. The defense of letters against the first was undertaken by the pedagogic treatises of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. All the writers on humanistic education—the Italians, Leonardi Bruni, Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, Maffeo Vegio, Battista Guarino, Jacopo di Porcia, the Frenchman Budaeus, the Dutchman Erasmus, the German Sturm, the Spaniard Vives, the Englishmen Elyot and Ascham—not only explain, but also defend, the position of classical literature, and especially classical poetry, in the new scheme of teaching. It is the charges of paganism and immorality which chiefly confront them; and though they advance few, if any, original arguments in answering these charges, they emphasize the educative and refining influence of literary study, and indicate its value as nourishment for the young mind.

Similarly, the tradition of chivalry—the tradition of the active life *par excellence*, which found little place for culture—raised the question whether or not the study of letters is practically useless to the gentleman, whether it conduces to effeminacy, whether it unfits him for the martial or courtly life. The question was so often debated that Castiglione, in the *Cortegiano* (1528), could say that “as this controversy has already been long waged by very wise men, there is no need to renew it.” But few Cinquecento treatises on the courtier, on the gentleman, on honor, on manners and courtesy, fail to discuss the relative merits of letters and arms as accomplishments for perfect manhood; and not a few separate tractates, such as Nifo’s *De armorum litterarumque comparatione* and Giacomini Tebalducci Malespini’s *Della nobiltà delle lettere e delle armi*, are devoted to the same theme. The controversy between Muzio, who espoused the cause of letters in his *Il gentilhuomo*, and Mora, who espoused that of arms in his *Il cavaliere*, is well known. But the consensus of opinion tended wholly in one direction. Castiglione and Guazzo might differ as to whether pre-eminence should be accorded to letters or arms, but they agreed fundamentally that both are essential to a complete man. The argument centered for the most part on the question of glory: did letters or arms bring the greater fame? So, in earlier days, when chivalry had

been confronted by the conflict between arms and love, between the reward of chivalrous deeds (*ol pretz d'armas e de cavallairia*), on the one hand, and the delights of gallantry (*lo joy de dompnas e d'amia*), on the other,¹ it was the same question of honor, of glory, which was at stake; it was the same doubt as to the effeminizing effect of love on valor that agitated the chivalric mind. But humanism justified culture beyond all dispute as a gentle accomplishment. Loys le Roy, in his *Vicissitude*, showed the concurrence of letters and arms among all civilized nations; and William Segar, in his *Honor Military and Civil*, summed up the whole discussion by asserting that "the endeavor of a gentleman ought to be either in arms or learning, or in them both; and in my own poor conceit, hardly deserveth he any title of honor that doth not take pleasure in the one or the other."²

The poetics of the Cinquecento thus inherited, in theoretical form, a defense of classical poetry against the charges of paganism and immorality, a defense of the study of letters against the charges of effeminacy and practical uselessness, a defense of classical literature as an educative and refining force, a defense of literary study in general, not as mere humanistic erudition, but as an accomplishment of gentlemen and courtiers, as an element in general culture. Moreover, the defense of the vernacular, tentatively begun in Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, was carried on to final victory by Bembo and his school, and the discussion was continued by a host of ardent advocates, such as Varchi and Muzio in Italy, Du Bellay and Henri Estienne in France, Juan de Valdés in Spain, and Cheke, Ascham, and Mulcaster in England.

Poetic theory had thus far been chiefly nourished upon the rhetorical and oratorical treatises of Cicero, the moral treatises of Plutarch (especially those upon the reading of poets and the education of youth), the *Institutiones Oratoriae* of Quintilian,

¹ Cf. the *tenzone* between Sordello and Bertran d'Alamanon, in C. DE LOLLIS, *Vita e poesie di Sordello* (Halle, 1896), p. 174. The formal treatises on love during the Cinquecento are also not without interest for the history of criticism and poetic theory. Thus, for example, EQUICOLA, in his *Libro di natura d'amore*, discusses at some length the treatment of love in classical, Tuscan, French, Provençal, and Spanish poetry—an early example of comparative criticism.

² Cf. EINSTEIN, *Italian Renaissance in England* (New York, 1902), p. 93.

and the *De Legendis Gentilium Libris*¹ of Basil the Great. To these a vast body of classical criticism was added by the sixteenth century. Aldus, in 1503, published the works of the chief Greek rhetoricians. Giulio Cammillo elucidated Hermogenes; Robortelli, Longinus; and commentaries on the *Ars Poetica* of Horace appeared in great number. But the diffusion of Aristotle's *Poetics* was central in developing poetic theory and in furnishing a standard of judgment in criticism; and the outgrowth of the older humanistic heritage and of these new Aristotelian studies was that unified body of doctrine which may be summed up in the phrase "Renaissance poetics." The outworn criteria of *doctrina* and *eloquentia*, by which the humanists had tested all literary endeavor, were superseded by a thousand new ones—probability, verisimilitude, unity, the fixed norm for each literary *genre*, and the like. Viewed from the standpoint of European criticism as a whole—for the same transformation was effected, not only in Italy, but in all the transalpine countries as well—the development may be summed up by saying that the ideal of classical imitation was merged into that of neo-classical rules. Imitation had been followed by theory, and theory by law.

The immediate problem of criticism was the application of this body of poetic theory to the body of creative literature, past and present. This was largely assisted by the literary controversies of the sixteenth century, such as those concerned with the *Orlando Furioso*, the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, the *Orbecche*, the *Divina Commedia*, the *Pastor Fido*. Even the personal polemics of the time—such as those of Caro and Castelvetro, Sigonio and Robortelli, Giralaldi Cintio and Pigna, Aretino and Franco, Dolce and Ruscelli, Domenichi and Doni—were not wholly unfruitful in this respect. Poetic theory even entered the field of linguistic controversy, and so, for example, Varchi's distinction between the versifier and the poet in the *Ercolano*² is combated

¹ This work, though strangely ignored by MR. SAINTSBURY in his first volume, was very popular among the humanists. It was translated into Latin by LEONARDI BRUNI about 1405 (cf. COLUCCIO SALUTATI, *Epistola*, in *Scelta di Curiosità letterarie*, 1867, Vol. LXXX, p. 221), and is cited, e. g., by TOSCA-NELLA (MÜLLNER, *op. cit.*, p. 194) and ÆNEAS SYLVIVS (*Opera*, Basileæ, 1571, p. 983). VIVES, as late as 1531, seems to rate it higher than ARISTOTLE'S *Poetics* (*Opera*, Vol. VI, p. 342).

² B. VARCHI, *Opere* (Trieste, 1859), Vol. II, p. 150.

by Castelvetro in his answer to Varchi's dialogue.¹ No field of intellectual interest was untouched by it; it enriched the philosophic systems of Telesio, Campanella, and Bacon, among many others, and these show the century's advance in comparison with the paucity or confusion of ideas in regard to poetry in the earlier work of a Savonarola or a Vives.

The Italian academies swarmed with lecturers who elucidated verses of Petrarch, Bembo, Dante, Ariosto, Tasso, and the like; and though these academic discourses were for the most part trivial and futile, and chiefly concerned with the interpretation of external details, yet they could not fail to assist, in some measure, the assimilation of poetic theory, and, more important still, to foster (let us hope) that criticism which has its eyes directly on the poet's page. Of these the most characteristic are the *lezioni* (delivered before the Florentine and Paduan academies) and the minor treatises of Benedetto Varchi, who is in some respects the representative critic of the mid-Cinquecento. A master of poetic theory, he has also ideas of his own on the method and scope of criticism itself. In writing of critical prolegomena, "not only for works of philosophers, but of all other writers, both in prose and in verse," he discusses seventeen points, some absolutely necessary, others merely useful, which should be considered in the preliminary interpretation of any book: the name and the life of the author, the title of the book, whether it is legitimate or not, its aim, its subject, its instrument, its office, its utility, its divisions, the order of the parts, under what form of philosophy it falls, its method of teaching, its proportion, its mode of language, and the like.² These are all concerned with externals; all, or nearly all, avoid or ignore the consideration of literature on its purely æsthetic side. Yet these, after all, are mere preliminaries; with what shall we concern ourselves, when we come to the work itself? Varchi tells us, in a brief but important fragment, *Qualità che si ricercano negli scrittori e negli scritti*,³ and these qualities are four: ethical quality (*bontà*) and philosophic soundness (*dottrina*), with regard to the content of literature; eloquence (*eloquenza*) and art (*arte*), with regard to its treatment. Of

¹ B. VARCHI, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

² *Ibid.*, p. 806.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 813.

these, says Varchi, the two first are nobler than the two last, since they deal with things as the latter do with words; the former give literature its instructive value, the latter its pleasure. But *bontà* and *dottrina* alone do not suffice, for the reason that all things are composed of form, which is the nobler part, and of matter, the less noble (!); and this form is given to literature by art, which in a sense also includes eloquence, and which alone tests the genius and judgment of a writer. Here, obviously, we are listening once more to the old humanistic catchwords, *dottrina* and *eloquentia*, matter and form, words and things, profit and pleasure—remnants of classical phrase or mediæval jargon; we still feel the humanistic pedantry and formalism of the Quattrocento, the older scholastic interest in the subtleties of definition.

This may perhaps appear more clearly when we consider how Varchi has put his ideas into practice. It is a favorite practice of his to use a few verses as the text of a philosophic discourse; a sonnet of Della Casa, for example, furnishes the pretext for a lecture on jealousy.¹ But his critical method may best be illustrated by the eight lectures on the *canzoni degli occhi* of Petrarch, read privately at the University of Florence during the spring of 1545.² In the first of these he follows in general the method he himself had laid down for all preliminary discussion. He concerns himself with six points: first, the genus to which the three *canzoni* belong, which, as he decides, is that species of rhetoric called “demonstrative or laudative;” secondly, the style of the poems, which is neither high nor low, but in the first *bassamente mezzano*, in the second *mediocrementemente mezzano*, in the third *altamente mezzano*; thirdly, the species or sort of poetry to which they belong, which is “lyrical,” so called because originally intended to be sung to the lyre, “exegetic or narrative,” because the poet speaks in his own person, and “mixed,” because the versification is in part regulated and in part free; fourthly, their subject and aim, the subject being “natural,” or concerned with the things of nature, and the poet’s aim is to give praise and fame

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 570. This *lezione* was translated into English in 1615 by ROBERT TOFTE, under the title of *The Blazon of Jealousie*, with interesting marginal illustrations from contemporary English poetry.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 439.

to Madonna Laura; fifthly, their similarities and dissimilarities; and, lastly, their structural dependence on one another.

All this scarcely touches the problem of true criticism, but in the succeeding lectures Varchi treats of the *canzoni* at closer range. His method is to consider one stanza after another, and to discuss its parts minutely. Thus, on the opening lines—

Perchè la vita è breve,
E l'ingegno paventa all' alta impresa, etc.—

after pointing out that the poet here states his theme, he proceeds to make such comments as these:

La vita, i. e., the space of human existence; *è breve*, i. e., short; *e l'ingegno*, i. e., my own; *paventa*, fears and trembles; *all' alta impresa*, i. e., considering the height of the subject, and how difficult it is to attempt praise of such beautiful eyes.¹

Or on the verses—

Quel che pensier non pareggia,
Non che l'agguagli altrui parlar, o mio—

he comments:

That is, the beautiful eyes of Madonna Laura; nor could a diviner circumlocution be used, nor expressed in lovelier words and more suitable terms; for *parlar*, which is a verb, corresponds with *pensier*, which is a noun, the present subjunctive *agguagli* with the present indicative *pareggia*, and *mio* with *altrui*. All this, we must believe, really indicates that things must be placed first, then conceits or thoughts in the third place words or terms and lastly, writing since things are much truer than thoughts, thoughts than words, words than writing.²

It is inconceivable that such puerile interpretation could illuminate the text of Petrarch, or advance the cause of criticism; but beyond these verbal comments and scholastic distinctions Varchi, in these Petrarchan discourses, does not attempt to go.³

Yet these lectures, it must be remembered, were delivered three or four years before the outburst of interest in Aristotle's *Poetics*

¹ B. VARCHI, *op. cit.*, p. 446.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 448.

³ The following curious comment on these *lezioni*, to be found in one of ALFONSO DE' PAZZI's sonnets against Varchi (reprinted in the *Terzo libro dell' opere burlesche*, 1771, p. 314) is not without some justification:

"Le canzoni degli occhi ha letto il Varchi,
Ed ha cavato al gran Petrarca gli occhi."

Cf. GRAF, *Attraverso il Cinquecento* (Turin, 1888), pp. 28, 64.

occasioned by the commentaries of Robortelli (1548) and Maggi (1549) and the Italian translation of Segni (1549); they antedate his own lectures on the theory of poetry by eight years. In order to comprehend clearly what the poetics of the Renaissance accomplished for criticism in a brief period of time, these lectures of 1553 have but to be compared with those of 1545; yet Mr. Saintsbury has summed up the work of Varchi in three lines and these lectures in exactly six words. In the treatment of the lyric, the Cinquecento, being without the guidance of those definite theories and fixed laws which had been elaborated for dramatic and epic poetry, lost itself in details and pedantries. The old scholastic subtleties still follow Varchi in his discourse on "Poetics in General" and in the five on "Poetry," to which I have given ample attention elsewhere;¹ but a surer touch, a new attitude toward his material, indicate that a change of some sort had come. In one of these lectures, after stating that the *Giron Cortese* of Alamanni pleases him more than the *Orlando Furioso* (and a judgment so astounding must be taken into consideration when defining his position as a critic), he says:

To few, and perhaps to none, is it permitted to affirm: This or that man has erred, this or that thing is bad. Everyone can say, many should indeed say: It seems to me that this or that man has erred, this or that thing does not seem to me good. It is conceded to everyone to say: The figures of this or that sculptor or painter do not please me; but to very few indeed is it conceded to affirm: These figures are not good.²

This, in another form, is the old concept of the diversity *de gustibus*, but it is important as showing that theory had as yet not been crystallized into dogma. The orthodox neo-classic criticism, having transformed into laws the proper pleasure to be derived from each literary *genre*, was shaken by no such doubts. But early in the eighteenth century Marivaux gave expression to a point of view very much akin to that of Varchi. The critics of his day, according to Marivaux, might assert of a work of art, "That is worthless, that is detestable;" but such reasoning is itself worthless and detestable, since a man of taste may say of a book, "It does not please me," but "he will never decide that it

¹ *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, pp. 25, 34, 41, 50.

² *Opere*, Vol. II, p. 691.

is bad until after he has compared his own ideas with those of others."¹ Here the doubt as to whether the code of poetics can afford the individual critic a fixed standard of judgment is a sign that the neo-classic structure is beginning to crumble; for it is upon the development of this very concept that criticism expended its chief effort in the century and three-quarters that separate Varchi from Marivaux.

The development in this respect is indicated in a lecture by Torquato Tasso on a sonnet of Della Casa, delivered more than a quarter of a century later before the Ferrarese Academy.² The method of Varchi's Petrarchan discourses is here followed, in first considering the style in which the sonnet is written, and then elucidating its various parts; though Varchi's jejune formulæ of the high, mediocre, and low styles are superseded by a more philosophical discussion of poetic style, based on the theories of Hermogenes, Demetrius Phalereus, and Cicero, and the puerile verbal exposition of Varchi gives place to a method that is not exclusively expository, but is based on Tasso's juster conception of the function of criticism. At the very outset he defines his position by contrasting the method of *imitation*, which judges works of art merely by their similarity or dissimilarity to some masterpiece in the same kind, and the method of *art*, whose higher function it is to investigate the reasons why this verse seems sweet, this one harsh; this one humble and plebeian, this one noble and magnificent; this one too careless, this one too highly colored; this one cold, this one bombastic, this one insipid; why here the movement and speed of the speech are praised, here the slowness and delay; here direct speech, here indirect; here the long period, here the short; and, in a word, why compositions please or displease: and having found the reasons of all these things, there form in the mind some that are universal, true, and infallible, gathered from the experience of many particulars; and it is the knowledge of these which Art more properly demands for itself.

Why works of art please or displease! the universal and infallible grounds of our pleasure and displeasure!—here are problems beyond the scope of Varchi's tentative and empirical method; here is a significant advance over Varchi's assumption of the indi-

¹ G. LARROUMET, *Marivaux, sa vie et ses œuvres* (Paris, 1894), p. 448.

² TASSO, *Opere*, ed. ROSINI (Pisa, 1823), Vol. XI, p. 42 f.

vidual basis of the pleasure or displeasure which poetry gives. Yet Tasso's own method is a compromise between the two which he defines; the method of imitation and that of art are alike necessary to the critic.

Here criticism is beginning to turn eyes upon itself, leaping from the two questions which had interested it most in the sixteenth century, "What is poetry?" and "What is the meaning of this or that poem?" to a third question, which it but vaguely apprehended: "What is criticism?" To say that this question was first neatly put and definitely discussed in the seventeenth century is to say that not until then did criticism become a self-conscious and organized art; and it is characteristic of this change of attitude that, while Horace and Vida had written "*Arts of Poetry*," it is literally an "*Essay on Criticism*" upon which Pope expended a kindred poetic skill. Writing some forty years after Boileau, he substituted a brief sketch of the history of criticism from Aristotle to Roscommon for the rapid survey of French poetry in the *Art poétique*.

This new organization of critical method and critical theory was developed on the basis of Renaissance poetics. The body of rules and theories was the same, but the attitude toward them was gradually changing; and the history of this attitude gives us the history of criticism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the intellectual ferment in Italy and Spain developed new theories of style, based on the rhetorical discussions of classical antiquity and the Renaissance. It was this ferment of thought which produced the ideal of "wit," which was derived through the French *esprit* from the Italian *ingegno*. A new terminology was being created, indicative of a change of interest from the materials of literature to the moods and faculties of the creative mind. Words like "fancy," "judgment," "wit," "humor," "taste," "the sublime," were acquiring new meaning and a higher vogue. But the rationalism of the classic spirit throttled this initial outburst, and it was not till the middle of the eighteenth century that the human mind, rather than literature itself, was systematically studied for the development of principles of criticism. Tasso, as we have

seen, propounded the vital problem why poetry is pleasing to the human mind, but he attempts to find the answer in poetry itself.

With the growth of the rationalistic spirit the main interest of criticism was in fixing a reasonable standard of critical judgment. "Criticism, as it was first instituted by Aristotle," says Dryden, "was meant a standard of judging well; the chiefest part of which is to observe those excellences which should delight a reasonable reader."¹ This is no longer Tasso's problem why certain excellences please; there are in poetry excellences which ought to please the reasonable reader. La Bruyère goes still farther in asserting that for every reader there is one absolute standard of taste:

There is a point of perfection in art, as of excellence or maturity in nature. He who is sensible of it and loves it has perfect taste; he who is not sensible of it and loves this or that else on either side of it has a faulty taste. There is then a good and bad taste, and men dispute of tastes not without reason.²

Dryden's standard of judgment and La Bruyère's standard of taste are both the result of the application of reason to æsthetic pleasure. Yet the development of the ideal of taste³ was dangerous to the rigid spirit of classicism. The recognition of the subjective basis of taste soon led to a contrast with those neo-classic rules which constituted the external element in art. Pope recognized that taste might give a grace beyond the reach of art; the concept of the *je ne sais quoi*⁴ was formulated, to comprehend these elements of æsthetic pleasure not explicable by the rules of

¹ *Works*, ed. SCOTT-SAINTSBURY, Vol. V, p. 112.

² *Caractères*, "Des ouvrages de l'esprit." Cf. SHAFTESBURY, *Characteristicks* (London, 1711), Vol. III, pp. 154, 155.

³ On the early history of the term "taste" cf. CROCE, *Estetica*, pp. 194 f.; BORINSKI, *Poetik der Renaissance*, pp. 308 f., *Baltasar Gracian und die Hoflitteratur*, pp. 39 f.; and FARNELLI's valuable review of the last in the *Revista crítica de historia y literatura españolas*, Vol. II, 1896. Cf., however, ADDISON, *Spectator*, No. 409, June 19, 1712, where Gracián's priority in the use of the term is accepted.

⁴ This phrase had been employed as early as the sixteenth century both in Italy and in France. TASSO uses it, and M^{LE}. DE GOURNAY, the *filie d'alliance* of Montaigne, speaks of "l'amour, qui est je ne sçai quoy, doit sourdre aussi de je ne sçai quoy" (*DONCIEUX, Bouhours*, pp. 264, 265). BOUHOURS established its use in criticism in the seventeenth century, and was followed in the eighteenth by MARIVAUX, MONTESQUIEU, FELJÓO, and a host of others (cf. CROCE, *Estetica*, pp. 205 f.; LARBOUMET, *Marivaux*, pp. 498 f.). From the time of SHAFTESBURY (*Characteristicks*, Vol. I, p. 137, etc.) it was also naturalized in England.

Renaissance poetics; and finally, Montesquieu, in his *Essai sur le goût*, says that

art gives the rules, and taste the exceptions; taste discovers on what occasions art should submit to it, and on what occasions it should submit to art.¹

It is natural to find, side by side with this evolution, a kindred development of interest in the subjective processes of art.² Montesquieu himself complains that the ancients regarded as positive qualities all the relative qualities of the soul; the Platonic dialogues are absurd, since they deal with the good, the beautiful, the agreeable, and the like, as positive realities:

The sources of the beautiful, the good, the agreeable, etc., are in ourselves, and to seek for their reasons is merely to seek for the causes of the pleasures of our soul. Let us examine then our soul, let us study it in its actions and its passions. Poetry, painting, sculpture, architecture, music, the dance, in fine, the works of nature and of art, can give pleasure to the soul; let us see why, how, and when they do so.³

The new science of æsthetics was to attempt, and in a sense to solve, this new problem; the romantic movement was to apply the fruits of those labors to literature and to literary criticism.

The attitude toward the body of Renaissance poetics had thus, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, undergone a complete transformation. In the Renaissance itself, the humanistic period, with its ideal of classical imitation, was followed by a period of theorizing along the lines of the Aristotelian *Poetics*, and the results were before long hardened into fixed rules and dogmas of criticism. The neo-classical period regarded these rules, first from the attitude of "wit," then of reason, and finally of taste. When Hobbes, in the address prefixed to his translation of the *Iliad* (1675), says that "there be many men called *critics*, and *wits*, and *virtuosi*, that are accustomed to censure the poets,"⁴ he

¹ *Œuvres complètes* (Paris, 1834), p. 596.

² JOHN MORLEY (*Burke*, p. 19) gives to BURKE's essay *On the Sublime and Beautiful* the credit of having first established the principle "that critics of art seek its principles in the wrong place, so long as they limit their search to poems, pictures, engravings, statues, and buildings, instead of first arranging the sentiments and faculties in man to which art makes its appeal;" but this contention, it is scarcely necessary to say, ignores a long line of antecedent speculations on the continent and even in England.

³ *Œuvres complètes*, p. 587 (and note).

⁴ HOBBS, *English Works*, ed. MOLESWORTH (London, 1844), Vol. X, p. iii.

has indicated the three classes of *littérateurs* who were to carry on these three phases of critical activity.

Imitation, theory, law; wit, reason, taste—each in its turn became a guiding principle of criticism, until with the romantic movement all were superseded by the concept of the creative imagination. But this development of æsthetic criticism carries us beyond the confines of the period covered in Professor Saintsbury's second volume.

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AN ITALIAN FABLE, ITS SOURCES AND ITS HISTORY.

IN the Biblioteca Nazionale and the Biblioteca Riccardiana at Florence are a number of fifteenth-century manuscripts containing unpublished fables in Italian verse. During two visits in Florence, I have made a copy of these fables, which I intend to publish soon. My object in the present paper¹ is to give a list of the fables, followed by a somewhat full discussion of the first one in the list, which offers special problems.

The majority of these fables are in the Codice Magliabecchiano, VII, ix, 375; in the first place, these five in *terza rima*, on ff. 92b-102a:

1. "The Lion and the Man."
2. "The Fox and the Wolf."
3. "The Fox, the Lion, the Wolf, and the Sheep."
4. "The Lion and the Mouse."
5. "The City Mouse and the Country Mouse" (unfinished).

So much was stated in 1866 by Ghivizzani.² It was repeated in 1883 by Hervieux,³ and in 1899 by M. P. Brush,⁴ neither of whom knew that the second fable had meantime been printed, *per nozze*, in 1870.⁵ The same writers state⁶ that the Cod. Riccardiano 2971 contains three fables in *terza rima*, including Nos. 2 and 5 in the list above. It does contain No. 5, fortunately in complete form; but its "Fox and Wolf" is an entirely different fable from the other one with the same title; and, moreover, it is not *terza rima* at all, but a *sonetto caudato* of seventeen lines.

¹ Read, in abstract, at the annual meeting of the American Folk-Lore Society, in Cambridge, December 29, 1903.

² G. GHIVIZZANI, *Il Volgarizzamento delle Favole di Galfredo* (Bologna, 1866), p. clxxi.

³ L. HERVIEUX, *Les fabulistes latins* (Paris, 1883), Vol. I, p. 563; 2d ed. (1898), Vol. I, p. 641.

⁴ M. P. BRUSH, *The Isopo Laurenziano* (Columbus, 1899), pp. 15, 39.

⁵ *Una Favola Esopiana in versi del secolo xv* (Livorno: Vigo, 1870). Prefatory note signed "O. T. T."

⁶ GHIVIZZANI, *op. cit.*, p. clxvi; HERVIEUX, *op. cit.*, 2d ed., Vol. I, p. 638; BRUSH, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 39.

The third fable is in *terza rima*, but only the beginning of it is given. Thus we add to the list:

5. "The City Mouse and the Country Mouse" (complete).

6. "The Ant" (unfinished).

Cod. Riccard. 2873 contains No. 4 above,¹ and Cod. Riccard. 1939 adds one more to the list of fables in *terza rima*:²

7. "The Tortoise."

Dr. Brush made a copy of these texts, which he was so kind as to place at my disposal while I was making my own copy.

It was not noticed by any of the writers mentioned that the Cod. Magl. has ten more fables, in sonnets of seventeen lines each. They are on ff. 66b-73a, partly interspersed among other sonnets, and are as follows: (1) "Lion's Share;" (2) "Pet Dog and Ass;" (3) "Lion Sick;" (4) "Lion's Breath;" (5) Cat's One Trick;" (6) "Lion and Ass;" (7) "Fly and Bald Man;" (8) "Fox, Wolf, and Ass" (two sonnets); (9) "Grasshopper and Ant;" (10) "Ant and Skull." Three of these occur in other manuscripts also, while Cod. Riccard. 2971, as mentioned above, has one more fable in sonnet form: (11) "Fox and Wolf."

The fable of "The Lion and the Man" has 220 lines, and runs as follows: A lion comes upon a tree partly split by a wedge. Playfully pulling out the wedge, he gets his paw caught in the cleft. At his urgent request, a man, who happens to pass, pries open the cleft, so that the paw can be withdrawn. The lion thanks the man, and, being very hungry, says that he would like to eat him. Since the man regards this proposal, under the circumstances, as very unfair, they decide to leave the question to the arbitration of three animals. Meeting a dog, they explain the case to him. He replies: "You see how thin I am. I served this man faithfully when I was strong, and now that I am old and useless, he has driven me away. I decide that he ought to be eaten." A horse makes a similar complaint against his master. Finally they meet a fox. She cannot decide the question without seeing just how the lion was caught. When the lion's paw is

¹ As is stated in *Una Favola Esopiana*, ecc., p. 15.

² As is stated by GHIVIZZANI, *op. cit.*, p. clxvi; cf. BRUSH, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

again firmly fixed in the tree, the wily fox says: "Now you may stay there; and well you deserve it, since you wished to eat the man who befriended you." And so the deceiver was deceived. The man now gives the fox a promise, in writing, that he will never set the dogs on her when she comes to his hen-yard. Not long after, the fox comes to the hen-yard with her sons, and the hens give the alarm. One of the little foxes says: "Now is the time to show that paper!" But she replies: "There may be no one here who is able to read it; the safest thing for us is to run away." The author, who seems to sympathize with the lion, concludes that this disappointment served the fox right, for she had no good motive in her action. The world's ingratitude to benefactors is an obvious moral of the whole story.

A familiar fable on the subject of ingratitude is the one, ascribed to Æsop, of the man who finds a frozen snake, warms it back to life, and is bitten. From the Latin version of Phædrus,¹ as well as from the Greek,² descend innumerable versions in all languages, including one by La Fontaine.³ But another of La Fontaine's fables, and one of his best, is about a man and a serpent:⁴ The man catches the serpent in a bag, and is about to kill it as a symbol of ingratitude, when the serpent surprises him by denying the justice of the accusation. Three witnesses—a cow, an ox, and a tree—declare that men are more ungrateful than serpents. The man ends the discussion, however, by dashing the bag on the ground. This fable, like many others in his second collection (Books VII–XI, 1678), La Fontaine derived from a little book published at Paris in 1644: *Livre des lumières, ou la conduite des roys, composé par le sage Pilpay Indien, traduit en françois par David Sahid d'Ispahan*.⁵ This was translated from a Persian work of the fifteenth century: *Anvar-i Suhaili*; or, *The Lights of Canopus*,⁶ a version of the fables of Bidpai (also called *Kalila and Dimna*), which came from India through

¹ Book IV, Fable 19; in ROMULUS, No. 10 (ed. OESTERLEY, Berlin, 1870).

² HALM, *Fabulae Æsopicae Collectae*, Nos. 97, 97b.

³ VI, 13: "Le villageois et le serpent."

⁴ X, 1: "L'homme et la couleuvre."

⁵ See *Œuvres de J. de La Fontaine*, ed. H. REGNIER, Vol. II, p. 81; Vol. III, p. 1. There is a copy of the *Livre des Lumières* in the Harvard Library.

⁶ English versions by E. B. EASTWICK (Hertford, 1854), and A. N. WOLLASTON (London, 1877).

intermediate versions in Pehlevi and Arabic.¹ The *Anvar-i Suhaili* was translated into Turkish in the sixteenth century, and thence into French again by Galland and Cardonne.² In this group of versions we find the following fable:³ A serpent, surrounded by a fire of brushwood, appeals to a passing camel-rider, who holds out a bag on the end of his spear, and so rescues the serpent. The latter proposes to bite both man and camel, alleging that men regularly requite good with evil. The man agrees to die if this proposition can be proved. A buffalo, and then a tree, testify to the ingratitude of man; a fox, however, doubts the possibility of the story, until the serpent voluntarily gets back into the bag. The man then kills the serpent by dashing the bag on the ground. The reasons for La Fontaine's changes in the story are obvious. He had already composed a fable illustrating the ingratitude of serpents, and he now wished to show the injustice of powerful persons; he therefore omitted the fox, and kept the original number of witnesses by expanding the oriental buffalo into a cow and an ox.

Thus we find our fable in the Orient. The *Anvar-i Suhaili* is, to be sure, probably later than the Italian manuscript; it is, furthermore, the earliest book in the Bidpai family that has this particular fable,⁴ which is one of several introduced by the fifteenth-century Persian writer. Nevertheless, like the remainder of the book, this fable came to Persia from India. The five books of the Indian *Panchatantra*, a work of considerable but uncertain age, correspond in general to chaps. 1 and 3-6 of the *Anvar-i Suhaili*, and the two works came ultimately from the same Indian source. Our fable is in the texts of the *Panchatantra* belonging to southern India, from which it has been translated by the Abbé Dubois. In this, probably its oldest extant version, it runs as follows:⁵ A Brahman starts on a pilgrimage. A croco-

¹ See KEITH-FALCONER, *Kalilah and Dimnah; or, the Fables of Bidpai* (Cambridge, 1885), p. lxxi; J. JACOBS, *The Fables of Bidpai* (London, 1888), Introduction.

² Cf. KEITH-FALCONER, *op. cit.*, p. lxx.

³ *Anvar-i Suhaili*, chap. iii, Story 3: EASTWICK, p. 284; *Livre des lumières*, p. 204; GALLAND, in *Cabinet des Fées* (Genève, 1787), Vol. XVII, p. 404.

⁴ Cf. T. BENFEY, *Pantschatantra* (Leipzig, 1859), Vol. I, p. 311.

⁵ *Le Pantcha-tantra*, translated by J. A. DUBOIS (Paris, 1826), p. 49. The fable is also in DUBOIS, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, edited by H. K. BEAUCHAMP (Oxford, 1897), Vol. II, p. 451. It is not in the text translated by BENFEY, but it is discussed by

dile in a small stream, which is liable to run dry, begs to be carried to the Ganges; the Brahman carries it thither in his traveling bag. Once in the Ganges, the crocodile seizes the man by the leg and tries to pull him under water. The man protests, and demands three arbitrators. The mango tree and an old cow¹ decide against him; then the fox persuades the crocodile to get into the bag again, and kills it with a stone.

The fable has become widely current in modern India as a folk-tale in a form still closer to our Italian text. In the eighteenth century it was inserted in *The Rose of Bakawali*, a Persian romance translated into "Urdu" by Nihal Chand of Lahore. In this version,² a Brahman liberates a lion which he finds tied in a cage; the lion proposes to eat the man, but consents to arbitration. The banyan tree and the road complain of man's ingratitude, but the jackal persuades the lion to get back into the cage. In a popular tale of the Punjab, reported by Mrs. Steel,³ a Brahman releases a tiger from a cage; there are four judges: pipal tree, buffalo, road, and jackal. In a story current in southern India, reported by Miss Frere,⁴ a Brahman likewise releases a tiger from a cage; in this case there are six judges: banyan tree, camel, bullock, eagle, alligator, and jackal. In each of these tales, of course, the lion or tiger is left in the cage. As in various other tales common to Europe and the East, the jackal takes the place of the fox. In similar tales in the Malay peninsula the corresponding place is taken by the so-called mouse-deer; here we find the same story⁵ of the tiger released from a trap; the judges

him, *Pantschatantra*, Vol. I, pp. 113-20. In the version of DUBOIS it does not occupy the same position in the narrative that it has in the *Anwar-i Suhaili*.

¹ Cf. BENFEY, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 235. "Wer Bäume fällt und Vieh tödtet . . . kann der ins Paradies kommen?" The tree is regularly one of the judges in oriental versions, but almost never in European.

² W. A. CLOUSTON, *A Group of Eastern Romances* (privately printed, 1889 [s. l.]), p. 254; cf. p. xxxv. Clouston's translation is made up from GARCIN DE TASSY's abridgment in *Journal asiatique*, 1835, and from an English translation printed at Calcutta in 1859. The account given of this version of our fable by LIEBRECHT in *Germania*, Vol. VII (1862), p. 508, is inaccurate.

³ STEEL AND TEMPLE, *Wide-awake Stories* (London, 1884), p. 116; STEEL AND TEMPLE, *Tales of the Punjab Told by the People* (London and New York, 1894), p. 107, cf. p. 307; JOSEPH JACOBS, *Indian Fairy Tales* (London, 1892), p. 66, cf. p. 242. Several similar versions, current in India today, are referred to in these works.

⁴ MARY FRERE, *Old Deccan Days*, 3d ed. (London, 1881), p. 181.

⁵ W. SKEAT, *Fables and Folk-Tales from an Eastern Forest* (Cambridge, 1901), p. 20, and Introduction.

being the tree, the road, and the mouse-deer. In Daghestan the story is told by the Kurins:¹ A man finds a lion chained to a stake; on being released, the lion wishes to eat him; the judges are the ox, the ass, and the fox; the fox does not believe that the lion can be bound with chains, and has to see the process carried out. The serpent reappears in an Arabic version,² with palm tree, spring, and fox as judges; and in another Indian tale,³ apparently influenced by the *Anvar-i Suhaili*, where the serpent is rescued from a fire, and the judges are pipal tree, camel-driver, and fox.

In Nubia a story⁴ is told strikingly like the version in the *Panchatantra*: A crocodile left by the receding Nile is carried to the river on the camel of a friendly Arab, and then declares that it will eat either the man or the camel. There is only one judge, the fox, which has the crocodile tied up again; and the sequel is peculiar. We shall return to this story later. A tale reported from the island of Mauritius⁵ is still closer to the *Panchatantra*: An alligator begs a man to carry it to the river in his bag. Having been brought to the river, the alligator wishes to eat the leg of the man, who appeals to three arbitrators—the hen and the cow, who decide against him, and the dog, who induces the alligator to get back into the bag. The Hottentots⁶ tell that a Dutchman lifted a stone which had fallen on a snake, and the snake wished to bite him; a hare and a hyena say, "It is right;" but the jackal has to see the stone put back on the snake, before deciding. In America we find practically the same story told by Uncle Remus:⁷ Brer Rabbit finds the wolf crushed under a heavy

¹ A. SCHIEFNER, "Bericht über Usar's kürinische Studien," *Mémoires de l'Académie impériale de St. Pétersbourg*, 7th Ser., Vol. XX, No. 2 (1873), p. 91.

² Cf. BENFEY, *Pantsch.*, Vol. I, p. 118; REGNIER, *La Fontaine*, Vol. III, p. 2.

³ Cf. CLOUSTON, *Eastern Romances*, p. 531; another tale, given by CLOUSTON, p. 231, and also by KINGSCOTE, *Tales of the Sun* (London, 1890), p. 184, begins with a Brahman rescuing a snake from a fire by means of a stick; the snake tries to bite the man but ends by giving him jewels.

⁴ L. REINISCH, *Die Nuba-Sprache* (Wien, 1879), Part I, pp. 191, 206; there are two practically identical versions in different Nubian dialects.

⁵ C. BAISSAC, *Le Folk-lore de l'Île-Maurice* (Paris, 1888), No. XXIII, p. 230.

⁶ W. H. J. BLEEK, *Reynard the Fox in South Africa* (London, 1864), No. 6; another version, No. 5. The German translation, *Reineke Fuchs in Afrika* (Weimar, 1870) gives, beside these, a third version. The snake under a stone suggests European influence; see below.

⁷ J. C. HARRIS, *Nights with Uncle Remus* (Boston, 1883), No. 46.

stone; he manages to lift the stone, and is then attacked by the wolf. He appeals to the law. The terrapin, being taken as judge, wishes to see how the stone lay on the wolf, who is thus left in his original predicament. A similar tale is told by the natives in South America:¹ The fox rescues the jaguar who is imprisoned in a cave, and, when the jaguar wishes to eat him, appeals to a man, who has the jaguar go back into the cave. The fox, having been thus saved, lays himself in the man's path several times, feigning death, but the man kicks him aside; a woman, however, puts down her jar of honey to go in search of the apparently dead foxes which she has passed; and the fox takes possession of the honey. This ending is doubtless a separate story, which has become attached to the jaguar story; it is told separately by Uncle Remus:² "Mr. Fox goes a-hunting, but Mr. Rabbit bags the game." However, it occurs as the sequel of the Nubian crocodile story, already mentioned; there the rescued man promises his hens to the fox, but repents of the bargain, and removes the hens on his camel. After seeing the fox lying in the road several times, he leaves the camel, and goes back. The fox then eats the hens, and rides off on the camel. The stranded crocodile in this story suggests pretty direct influence of the *Panchatantra* form of the fable, and may have come from the same source as the fable in the *Extravagantes*,³ which also has but one judge. (Cf. also the Mauritius version, in which a subsequent trick played on the alligator has analogues in American and oriental tales.) The introduction of the promise of hens often occurs in Europe, as we shall see; yet this episode is so different in Nubia that it may well have been attached to the story there. In any case, when we remember the history of the famous Tar-baby,⁴ it is not difficult to assume that the individual features in the versions from North and South America are due to the length of the journey across Africa and the Atlantic.

Oriental tales came to mediæval Europe through various chan-

¹ HERBERT H. SMITH, *Brazil, the Amazons and the Coast* (New York, 1879), p. 553; quoted from COUTO DE MAGALHÃES, *O Selvagem*, p. 327.

² J. C. HARRIS, *Uncle Remus, His Songs and His Sayings* (New York, 1892), p. 70; cf. p. 6, and SMITH, *op. cit.*, p. 552.

³ See below.

⁴ Cf. JACOBS, *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 251.

nels. One of these was the *Disciplina Clericalis*, written in Latin at the beginning of the twelfth century by Petrus Alphonsus, a Spanish Jew, who learned the tales from the Saracens in Spain. This collection¹ includes the following fable: A man finds a serpent which has been tied up by some shepherds; he unties it and warms it in his breast, whereupon it attacks him, saying that such is its nature. The fox, called as a judge, has the serpent tied up again so as to decide fairly, and then taunts it with the advice to untie itself if it can. The *Disciplina Clericalis* was several times translated into Old French.² This fable was taken from it into *Le donnei des amants*,³ a poem written in England at the end of the thirteenth century, and into the *Scala Celi* (printed at Ulm, 1480; f. 86: "Item refert Petrus alphonsi," etc.). A German version in Ulrich Boner's *Der Edelstein*,⁴ written in the fourteenth century and printed in 1461, is evidently derived from Petrus Alphonsus. A fable in the *Gesta Romanorum*⁵ apparently has the same source, for the incidents are the same; but in place of the fox we have a philosopher. In a weakened form we find the same fable ascribed, probably wrongly, to Marie de France;⁶ the fox urges the serpent to release the man, but accomplishes nothing. All these versions of the *Disciplina Clericalis* family, while oriental in origin, show a trace of Æsopic influence: the serpent is not merely tied, but frozen, and has to be warmed; yet it is able to call for assistance.

Another form of the fable, with only one judge, but otherwise closer to the *Panchatantra* than any other European version, is

¹ *Disciplina Clericalis auctore Petro Alphonsi*, 2 parties, Société des Bibliophiles Français (Paris, 1824), No. 4; *Petri Alf. Disc. Cler.*, hrsg. von SCHMIDT (Berlin, 1827), No. 7 (pp. 44, 118).

² "Le castolement d'un père à son fils," conte 4, in BARBAZON ET MÉON, *Fabliaux et contes* (Paris, 1806), Vol. II. Also in the 1824 edition of the *Disc. Cler.*, and republished by M. ROESLE (Munich, 1899).

³ Published by G. PARIS in *Romania*, Vol. XXV, pp. 497-541; the fable begins at vs. 753.

⁴ Ed. PFEIFFER (Leipzig, 1844), No. 71.

⁵ Ed. OESTERLEY (1872), chap. 174. In *Le Violier des histoires romaines* (Paris, 1858), chap. 141.

⁶ LEGRAND D'AUSSEY, *Fabliaux ou contes*, 3d ed. (Paris, 1829), Vol. IV, p. 356. Odo of Cheriton not merely has the ordinary Æsopic fable (*Fabulae*, No. 59, in HERVIEUX, *Fabulistes latins*, Vol. IV, p. 231), but gives a still more weakened form of the *Disc. Cler.* version, without the fox (*Parabolae*, No. 53; *ibid.*, p. 235).

found in H. Steinhöwel's *Aesop*;¹ it is the fourth of the *Extravagantes* (Book V of the collection), *De Dracone et Villano*: A man finds a dragon (evidently a kind of water-snake or crocodile), which has been left high and dry on the river bank by the receding water. The dragon begs to be tied on the man's ass, and carried to the water, promising a reward of gold and silver. (The man would naturally believe this promise, for dragons and serpents are universally believed to have great riches.) The man does as requested, and when they have reached the river, the dragon proposes to eat him. He objects, and a fox, hearing the discussion, offers to be the judge. He wishes to see the dragon tied as tightly as before; when this is done, he tells the man to carry the dragon back to the original spot, and leave it there. This fable passed, of course, into the translations of Steinhöwel in French, English (by Caxton, 1484),² and other languages; it appears without essential change in the collection of Camerarius³ in the sixteenth century. The age and sources of the *Extravagantes* are unknown, but this is not the only one among them which seems to have come from the Orient. Jacobs⁴ connects them with the English collection, now lost, which was the source of Marie de France (twelfth century). Many of them are entirely foreign to the mediæval Latin collections descended from Phædrus, but are found in collections which drew largely on popular tradition. The fable now under discussion cannot have come from Petrus Alphonsus, although it resembles his version in having only the fox as judge (so that Steinhöwel omitted the *Disciplina Clericalis* version in the eighth book of his collection, which was derived from that source: *Ex Adelfonso*). If I may venture on a hypothesis, it is that the fable in the *Extravagantes* reached England in the twelfth century, having come, probably orally, pretty directly from Asia (cf. *Panchatantra*). In trans-

¹ Edited by H. OESTERLEY (1873, Stuttgart Litterarischer Verein), p. 197. The first edition was printed about 1480.

² *The Fables of Aesop as First Printed by William Caxton in 1484*, edited by JOSEPH JACOBS (London, 1889), 2 vols.

³ *Fabulae Aesopicae plures quingentis, studio J. CAMERARII* (Lugduni, apud J. Tornaesium, 1571), No. 237, p. 268: "Serpens vinctus." According to the British Museum Catalogue, this collection was first printed at Tübingen, 1538. Camerarius was born at Bamberg in 1500.

⁴ Cf. JACOBS, *Aesop*, Vol. I, pp. 186, 252 ff

mission it lost, like the version of Petrus Alphonsus, two of the three judges, retaining only the fox. In this connection, we must refer again to the Nubian version,¹ which is practically identical: the crocodile carried, on the Arab's camel, back to the receded river, with the fox as the only judge. This version, with the hen episode which we shall discuss later, is something of a puzzle, for it has elements that occur elsewhere only in Europe.

Probably the oldest European version with the three judges is also one belonging to England, which was once a center of fable-writing. It is in a Latin collection² of the thirteenth century, preserved in a single manuscript in connection with fables by Odo of Cheriton. A soldier, riding through the forest, sees two snakes fighting; one of them calls for help, and the soldier, dismounting, drives the other snake away with his spear. The one that has asked for help then runs up the spear, and coils about the soldier's neck; such, it says, is the way of the world, and its own nature; but it will arbitrate. A horse and an ox justify the snake. A fox, sitting in judgment, has to see how they were placed at first; so the snake gets upon the ground, and the soldier mounts his horse. The fox then tells the man to ride off, and quotes Scripture (Gen. 3:14) to the snake. This version is somewhat removed from the primitive type, for the predicament of the snake (fighting with another)³ and the precise combination of judges do not occur elsewhere. It is evidently a popular story applied to Christian didactic usage. Another version, with curious variations, applied in the same way by Jews, is found in the Judeo-German *Maasebuch*,⁴ from which it is quoted and "refuted," as follows:⁵ An old man finds a frozen snake, and warms it; the snake coils about him and nearly kills him. An ox and an ass say that such

¹ See above.

² Harley MS 219, in the British Museum; published by HERVIEUX, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV (1896), pp. 361-86, cf. p. 63; Fable No. 24, p. 381.

³ Can this be a reminiscence of Ovid's story of Tiresias and the snakes? See *Metam.* III, 324, 325; cf. DANTE, *Inferno*, XX, 43, 44.

⁴ No. 144; in M. GRÜNBAUM, *Jüdischdeutsche Chrestomathie* (Leipzig, 1882), p. 411.

⁵ [Erster und] *Ander Theil Jüdischer Historien . . . sampt Widerlegung durch CHRISTOPHORUM HELVICUM* (Giessen, 1612), chap. 38, p. 136. Exactly the same tale in other wording in TENDLAU, *Fellmeiers Abende* (Frankfurt a. M., 1856), p. 77. Cf. GRÜNBAUM, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde* (Leiden, 1893), pp. 236 f.; and W. A. CLOUSTON, *Flowers from a Persian Garden* (London, 1890), p. 274; these give two Jewish stories, somewhat similar to the above, with Solomon as arbitrator between man and serpent.

is the way of the world. King David says that the man ought to have known better. The youthful Solomon, when appealed to, questions the snake, which says that God made it man's enemy (Gen. 3:15). Solomon commands the snake to leave the man, and stand beside him, as the law prescribes. This done, he suggests, finishing the verse quoted by the snake, that God commanded men to bruise the serpent's head. Helvicus refutes this by declaring that the serpent of Genesis is not a real snake, but the devil. He seems not to suspect that the story came from the East, for he says that the rabbis must have been reading Æsop; and, in fact, the *frozen* snake shows Æsopic influence. A somewhat similar version is reported from Servia:¹ St. Sabbas rescues a snake from a burning bush by holding out his stick, and the snake winds about his neck. The fox, the only judge, commands the snake to stand on the ground beside St. Sabbas, who then kills it. The use of the stick, here and in the Anglo-Latin fable, suggests the *Anvar-i Suhaili*, where, moreover, the snake quotes from the Koran to show that God made it man's enemy.² These three last-mentioned fables agree in the device used for getting the snake away from the man; the bag, used in the original story, having been forgotten. They probably have a common origin in some version like that of the *Anvar-i Suhaili*. To the same group belong folk-tales³ reported from Syria⁴ (snake winds about neck of sleeping shepherd; judges: camel, ox, fox; snake lured to the ground and killed; hens promised to fox, but dogs sent instead by man's wife); from Turkey (old man saves snake from fire; judges: dog, horse, fox; snake lured to the ground and killed; fox also killed); from Greece⁵ (peasant burns thorns; snake in fire asks to be saved, comes up man's stick; judges: mare, mule, fox; snake killed on ground; reward promised to fox); from Russia⁶ (snake rescued from fire in bag; hare, wolf,

¹ JAGIC, "Aus dem Südslavischen Märchenschatz," *Archiv für Slavische Philologie*, Vol. I (1876), p. 279.

² EASTWICK, *op. cit.*, p. 265; cf. GRÜNBAUM, *Beiträge*, *loc. cit.*

³ See KAARLE KROHN, *Mann und Fuchs* (Helsingfors, 1891), pp. 42-46.

⁴ PRYM UND SOCIN, *Syrische Sagen und Märchen* (Göttingen, 1881), No. 74, p. 310.

⁵ HAHN, *Griechische und albanische Märchen* (Leipzig, 1864), Vol. II, No. 87.

⁶ A. GERBER, "Great Russian Animal Tales," No. 28, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. VI, No. 2, 1891; cf. KROHN, *loc. cit.*

fox; snake lured into bag and killed; hens promised to fox as reward, but dogs sent instead; fox escapes, but sacrifices tail as being useless—this addition peculiar to folk-tales of northern Europe); and from Sweden (hunter saves snake from fire by bag on stick; cow, tree, fox; snake killed in bag; the occurrence of the tree as judge is almost unparalleled in Europe, but usual in the East).

We now come to a group of versions in which the animal in distress is imprisoned in a cave, crushed by a rock, or caught in some similar way. Here the animal is most frequently a snake or dragon; the judges are very often the horse, the dog, and the fox; and in many cases there is a sequel, the fox having hens promised him as a reward, but not receiving them. Our Italian fable belongs to this group, although the lion is exceptional; it was composed not later than the first half of the fifteenth century. To the same century belongs a version in the Low German *Reynke de Vos*,¹ which was printed at Lübeck in 1498. In Book III, chap. 4, this story is told to the lion by the ape: a *lindwurm* gets caught in a hedge, and wishes to eat the man who sets it free. The judges appealed to are, first, the ravens; then, the wolf and the bear, who expect to get their share of the man's flesh; and, finally, the fox, who has the dragon fastened again in the hedge. This is the first appearance of the story in the Reynard cycle, and the modifications in it (especially the number of judges, although they are in three groups) suggest popular transmission. It naturally appears in Schopper's Latin version,² and ultimately in Goethe's *Reineke Fuchs* (Part 9). In the first half of the sixteenth century we find three versions in German, and one in Latin by a German. Of these the fable in the *Esopus* of Burkhard Waldis³ will serve as a type: A peasant, while going to town,

¹ Published by F. PRIEN (Halle, 1887: *Altdeutsche Textbibliothek*, 8); see also WOLFF, "Reinke de Vos und die satirisch-didaktische Dichtung," in KIRSCHNER'S *Deutsche National-Litt.*, Vol. XIX.

² *Speculum Vitae Aulicae. De admirabili fallacia et astutia vulpeculae Reinikes*, auctore H. SCHOPPERO (Francof. ad Moen. 1595), Lib. III, cap. 4, p. 338. *Reynke de Vos* seems to be from the same source as a popular tale, in which the hare rescues a snake under a stone; judges: two ravens, the wolf, and the fox; see HALTRICH UND WOLFF, *Zur Volkskunde der Siebenbürger Sachsen* (Wien, 1885), No. 30, p. 64.

³ Edited by H. KUEZ, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1862), Book IV, Fable 99. This fable is omitted from TITTMANN'S edition (Leipzig, 1882).

hears a piteous voice promising rich gifts to anyone who will roll away the stone which blocks the opening of a cave. The peasant removes the stone, and sees come out a picturesque dragon some sixty feet long, which proposes to eat him. A horse and a dog, when questioned, complain that ingratitude is the world's reward for good deeds. The fox is promised a bribe of hens, and gets the dragon back into the cave, with the stone before the opening. On reaching home, the man meets with a stormy reception from his wife, who intimates that she would rather give him to the dragon than her hens to the fox. She sends the man to bed, and kills the fox when he comes at midnight for his reward. This fable was related by Melanchthon to Martin Luther, and is given in the *Tischreden*.¹ It also occurs in the *Fabeln* of Erasmus Alberus,² who was intimate in Luther's circle. Waldis was born about 1490, Alberus about 1500; their fables were printed, respectively, in 1548 and 1550, and often thereafter. Both of them drew largely on the *Æsopus Dorpii* (first edition about 1516; often reprinted), which, however, does not contain this fable. The version in the *Extravagantes* has been suggested³ as the source of Waldis, but this is impossible, for Waldis, Alberus, and the *Tischreden* of Luther, as well as the corresponding Latin version of Camerarius,⁴ represent a different type. They are also nearer than *Reynke de Vos* to the original form of the fable. From one of the collections mentioned, the story was derived by Georg Rollenhagen, who inserts it, with further developments and additions, in his *Froschmäuseler*;⁵ also by H. W. Kirchhof, who gives a brief prose version in his *Wendunmuth*,⁶ and in the seventeenth century by Abraham a S. Clara.⁷

Now, these German fables, and the Italian fable outlined at

¹ Cf. *Œuvres de La Fontaine*, ed. REGNIER, Vol. III, p. 359.

² Edited by W. BRAUNE (Halle, 1892: *Neudrucke deut. Litt.*, Nos. 104-7), No. 48. On Waldis and Alberus, see also WOLFF, *op. cit.*

³ KURZ, edition cited, *Anmerkungen*, p. 184. BRAUNE, *op. cit.*, p. lvi, says simply: "Quelle unbekannt." STIEFEL, "Über den Aesopus des B. Waldis," *Studien zur vergleich. Literaturgesch.*, Vol. III (1903), pp. 496 ff., states that the sources of Waldis have not all been determined; he suggests nothing for this fable.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, 1571 edition, No. 391: *Merces anguina*.

⁵ Edited by K. GOEDEKE (Leipzig, 1876: *Deutsche Dichter des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 8, 9), Book I, Part II, chaps. 19-22. First edition, 1595.

⁶ Edited by OESTERLEY, 1899, Book V, chap. 121.

⁷ Quoted in KURZ, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* (Leipzig, 1888), Vol. II, p. 437.

the beginning of this paper, are, so far as I can discover, the only written versions earlier than the nineteenth century in which hens are promised to the fox. This point in common is very striking; and yet the Italian has a lion caught in a tree, where the German has a dragon imprisoned in a cave; but the judges are the same—German: horse, dog, fox; Italian: dog, horse, fox. The explanation of the similarity is doubtless to be found in an ultimately common source, with considerable intervening development in popular tradition. This explanation is strikingly confirmed by the popular oral versions which are current today, not merely in Germany and Italy, but in all parts of Europe. It seems unquestionable, then, when one examines these popular versions, that the particular and identical forms of the story told by the people now in widely separated regions began to spread as early as the end of the fourteenth century; for we have them crystallized, so to speak, in our written fables from a period not much later than that. To make this point plain, we must glance at the popular versions which have been made accessible. In enumerating them here, only the variable traits are mentioned; the outline of the story is in all cases the same.

Germany: (1) Peasant releases snake from under stone; judges: horse, dog, fox; fox asks for hens, doves, and geese, but on coming to get them is captured by peasant's sons.¹ (2) Woodcutter releases monster from under stone; horse, dog, fox; man promises hens; his wife kills fox.² *Hungary*: Countryman releases monstrous snake under stone; horse, dog, fox; six hens promised to fox, who is killed by man's wife.³ *Armenia*: Peasant while plowing finds frozen snake in hole, and warms it; horse, buffalo, fox; hen promised; fox comes while man is asleep, and is beaten by servants.⁴ *Greece*: Peasant burns thorns in field, rescues snake; mare, mule, fox; man promises cakes to fox, but, on advice of his wife, puts dogs in bag; fox escapes.⁵ This has

¹ H. PRÖHLE, *Märchen für die Jugend* (Halle, 1854), No. 2, p. 8.

² A. BIELINGER, *Nimm mich mit!* (Freiburg, 1871), p. 219.

³ G. VON GAAL, *Märchen der Magyaren* (Wien, 1822), p. 268.

⁴ A. VON HAXTHAUSEN, *Transkaukasien* (Leipzig, 1856), p. 332. This shows Æsopic influence, and doubtless was carried from central Europe.

⁵ HAHN, *Griechische und albanische Märchen*, loc. cit., No. 87; cf. No. 94.

been mentioned in another connection, but the dogs in the bag instead of the promised reward connect it with this group. *South-eastern Italy* (Greek colony): Hunter rescues snake under stone; dog, horse, fox.¹ *Northern Italy*: Man gathering wood rescues snake under stone; horse, mulberry tree, fox; man promises hens, but puts dogs in bag; dogs kill fox.² *Denmark*: Man releases dragon; cow, horse, fox; man promises geese.³ *Norway*: Man releases dragon under stones; dog, horse, fox; fox afterwards comes for hens and eats his fill, but is beaten before he escapes.⁴ *Lithuania*: Peasant releases dragon under tree; dog, horse, fox; goose promised; man's wife persuades man to shoot fox.⁵ *Spain*: Man releases serpent under rock; ass, dog, fox; man promises lamb, and brings it, but also brings dog.⁶ *Russia and Syria*, see tales already mentioned. Professor Kaarle Krohn⁷ enumerates further a large number of versions found in Finland, Norway, Sweden, Russia, and Poland, in which we usually find the snake or dragon, but sometimes a bear or a wolf; the judges are still: (1) horse (ass, bear), (2) dog (sheep, wolf), and (3) fox. In Russia we are not surprised to find the wolf caught in a trap and rescued by a peasant. In another Russian story⁸ a wolf, pursued by hunters, begs a peasant to hide him in a bag; when the hunters have passed, the wolf wishes to eat the peasant; judges: mare, dog, fox; wolf is persuaded to get into bag again; peasant kills both wolf and fox. This is a combination of our story with another which is probably *Æsopic*⁹ in origin.

In seeking parallels to the Italian fable, we naturally look to Italy; and among Sicilian folk-tales there are several.¹⁰ A man

G. MOROSI, *Studi sui dialetti greci della terra d'Otranto* (Lecce, 1870), p. 75; translated by T. F. CRANE, *Italian Popular Tales* (Boston, 1885), p. 354.

² COMPARETTI, *Novelline popolari italiane* (Torino, 1875), Vol. I, No. 67, p. 290; translated by CRANE, p. 150.

³ BERG OG GÆDECKEN, *Nordiske Sagn* (Kjøbenhavn, 1868), p. 175.

⁴ G. W. DASENT, *Tales from the Fjeld: A Second Series of Popular Tales from the Norse of Asbjørnsen* (London, 1874), p. 110.

⁵ LESKIEN UND BRUGMAN, *Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen* (Strassburg, 1882), p. 353 (Übersetzung).

⁶ In *El Folk-lore andaluz*, Vol. I (1882), p. 319.

⁷ *Mann und Fuchs*, pp. 42 ff.

⁸ L. SICHLER, *Contes russes traduits* (Paris, 1886), p. 147; GERBER, *op. cit.*, No. 29.

⁹ Cf. HALM, *Fab. Æs.*, No. 35, etc.; KROHN, *op. cit.*, pp. 61 ff.

¹⁰ G. PITRÉ, *Fiabe, novelle e racconti popolari siciliani*, Vol. IV (Palermo, 1875), No. 273, pp. 164-72.

gathering wood releases a lion imprisoned in a cave; of course, the lion wishes to eat him; the judges are: ass, wolf, fox; when the lion is safely within the cave again, the man goes to get some hens for the fox, but gets a big dog instead. Another version is peculiar: a wolf is released from a large stone which had fallen on him; judges: man, fox (both of whom are afraid to oppose the wolf), and lion (who plays the part of the usual fox). Still another¹ brings in a lion caught among some rocks, and freed by a horse; there is but one judge in this case, the fox. But a far closer parallel is found in a folk-tale from Gascony. A lion, according to one authority,² a wolf, according to another,³ is found by a traveler hanging in a tree with his paw caught in a split branch, and swears that if released he will not harm the man; but soon forgets the promise. Judges: dog, horse, fox; lion (wolf) left in the tree. The man promises to bring two chickens the next morning, but instead he brings two dogs in a sack, and the fox barely escapes.

From a study of these written fables and popular tales, one would naturally make the deduction that the hen episode was attached to the story after it had reached Europe,⁴ and before the variation between serpent and lion had begun. Supposing this deduction to be correct, what was then the form of the story? The earliest European version that can be dated—that in the *Disciplina Clericalis*—is of little use in settling this point. It came to Spain in the eleventh century, and the versions with three judges came to Europe later, and not by way of Spain; they are nearer to the oriental form. With the increasing intercourse after the crusades, the story may have been brought from Asia several times, both in the form with a lion (corresponding to the modern Hindu versions) and in that with a serpent (corresponding to the Persian), as well as in a version leading from the *Panchatantra* to the *Extravagantes*. Then, if the hens were attached to one

¹ LAURA GONZENBACH, *Sicilianische Märchen* (Leipzig, 1870), Vol. II, p. 77, No. 69. The *Anmerkungen*, by R. KÖHLER, are useful.

² CÉNAC MONCAUT, *Littérature populaire de la Gascogne* (Paris, 1888), p. 213.

³ J. F. BLADÉ, *Contes et proverbes populaires recueillis en Armagnac* (Paris, 1867), No. 4, p. 9. Also told in northern France: DEULIN, *Contes du roi Cambrinus* (Paris, 1874), p. 141.

⁴ The only non-European versions having the hens are the Nubian and Syrian, the evidence of which is too uncertain to be given any weight in this connection.

version, they might have been transferred by analogy to another; so that they do not really settle the question. In any case, the earliest version with the hens is the Italian fable, of the first part of the fifteenth century; next come the German fables of the sixteenth. The age of the popular tales can only be inferred, but they certainly go far back; for these written versions, like the poems of the Reynard cycle in France and in Germany, and like many collections of fables and *exempla*, undoubtedly rest on popular tradition.¹

The hen episode merits a word on its own account. It seems to have been detached from another story, which originated in northern Europe,² and which has elements in common with our fable. In this story, a man, angered at the slowness of his oxen, wishes that the bear might get them; the bear happens to hear the remark, and claims the oxen. The fox intervenes, however, and devises a trick by which the man kills the bear; meanwhile, the man has promised hens or geese to the fox, but brings dogs (sometimes in a bag) instead. In some versions the man's wife instigates him to his treachery. This story appears in a multitude of popular versions in oral tradition today,³ and is the subject of *branche ix* of the *Roman de Renart*.⁴ In a form showing development away from the primitive type, in spite of the early date of the version, it appears in the *Disciplina Clericalis* and its descendants;⁵ here the wolf takes the place of the bear, and is not killed; hens are promised to the fox, but nothing more is said about them; the fox bribes the wolf to abandon the oxen, by offering him a cheese, which turns out to be the reflection of the moon in the bottom of a well—but that is another story. The original story, but with jackal and lion instead of fox and bear, is told in Africa;⁶ a lamb is promised to the jackal, but a dog is

¹ Cf. L. SUDRE, *Les sources du Roman de Renart* (Paris, 1893); REISSENBERGER, *Reinart Fuchs* (Halle, 1886), Einleitung; KROHN, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-10.

² See KROHN, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-37; SUDRE, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-203.

³ E. g., J. HALTRICH, *Deutsche Volksmärchen* (Wien, 1877), No. 88.

⁴ Published by E. MARTIN, Vol. I (Strasbourg, 1882).

⁵ *Disciplina Clericalis* (Paris, 1824), Fabula XXI; BARBAZON-MÉON, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 144. In STEINHÖWEL, CAXTON, etc., No. 9 in the section from Petrus Alphonsus (Alfonse): *De lupo, rustico, vulpe et caseo*.

⁶ R. BASSET, *Contes populaires berbères* (Paris, 1887), p. 7.

brought in a bag. A modified form appears to have found its way to India; at least, a remarkably similar tale is reported as being current in Cashmere.¹ In a fable by Odo of Cheriton,² the fox comes to a hen-house, and begs to be let in, promising not to harm the hens; but he eats a hen when the door is opened. In many forms of the fox and cock story³ the fox is driven away from the hen-yard by dogs. This element was, then, very common in mediæval popular literature.

We have assumed, so far, that in the story of the ungrateful animal, rescued and put back in the original predicament, the form with three judges was the earliest. This is not the view which has usually been held. Benfey⁴ maintained that the whole story developed out of the Greek fable of the ungrateful serpent. According to his theory, this fable became known in India, and added one feature after another, somewhat as follows: first, the serpent bites its benefactor, who dies; then the man, by some trick, escapes the serpent. This stage of development is exemplified by a tale in Kadiri's *Tuti-Nameh*⁵ (sixteenth century): A snake begs a man to rescue it from a pursuer; the man hides it in his sleeve, and tells the second man that he has seen no snake; when the danger is past, the snake wishes to bite, but the man says, "Here comes another snake, let us leave the question to arbitration"—and when the snake turns to look, he kills it. In the next stage there really is an arbitrator, the fox, who persuades the rescued animal to get back into its original predicament; and finally we get the full form with three arbitrators, two of whom decide against the man. Then the serpent in distress changes, as in the *Panchatantra*, into a crocodile wishing to be carried to a large river. Having thus developed in India, the

¹ STEEL, *Tales of the Punjab*, pp. 123, 309, 338. Here a tiger demands oxen; the man offers a cow instead, and goes home to get it; his wife frightens the tiger away with a trick similar to that of the fox in the European tales. The jackal plays a minor part.

² HERVIEUX, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 221, No. 50; cf. p. 424.

³ Cf. K. O. PETERSEN, *On the Sources of the Nonne Prestes Tale* (Boston, 1898).

⁴ *Pantschatantra*, Vol. I, pp. 113-20. Benfey's view is incidentally approved by GASTON PARIS, in *Romania*, Vol. XXV, pp. 537-40.

⁵ IKEN, *Touti Nameh von Nachschebi übersetzt* (Stuttgart, 1822), No. 29, p. 119. This is really from the Persian of Kadiri, who rewrote Nachschebi's work. This tale is, of course, comparatively late; Benfey introduces it merely to illustrate his idea. Yet the source was Indian.

story made its way to Persia and various parts of Europe, appearing now in complete form, or even with new episodes added, and now in forms representing different stages of development. Thus Benfey makes the characteristic elements of the story Indian, but its nucleus a fable imported from Greece.¹ Kaarle Krohn,² on the other hand, maintains that in its earliest form the story had the crocodile and one judge; that it probably originated, not in India (where the *Panchatantra* has the crocodile and three judges), but in the Nile valley (where the original form is still preserved in the Nubian tale); that it traveled by way of India, where it assumed the form with three judges, to Persia and to all parts of Europe; being then influenced by the Greek fable of the serpent, and by other tales. The hen episode in the popular versions he thinks was derived from written versions such as the fable of Waldis.

Although both Benfey and Krohn have contributed highly important material for determining the history of this fable, I cannot agree with the conclusions of either one. Even assuming, as they do, that the form with one judge is the earliest, I see no reason to believe that a suggestion for the original fable came to India from outside. Krohn is probably right in thinking that the ungrateful animal was originally a crocodile wishing to be carried to a river; if this supposition is correct, Benfey's theory falls to the ground. But whatever the animal may have been, the story is more likely to have been suggested by purely Indian tales than by the Greek fable. Among the *Jataka*, or Buddhist birth-stories, are the following:³ No. 43: A hermit keeps a viper as a pet, and feeds it, in spite of warnings that it will bite him; finally it does bite him. (With this may be compared a tale in the *Anwar-i Suhaili*,⁴ of a blind man who picks up a frozen snake, thinking it a whip; he disregards the warnings of a friend, is

¹ The custom of calling upon the first passer-by to settle a dispute is said to be common in India; see BENFEY, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 115; Vol. II, p. 529; DUBOIS, *Panchatantra*, p. 342, and *Hindu Manners*, Vol. II, p. 661. To be sure, the same thing could no doubt be said of other localities; it is said, in fact, of the Greek peasants in Epirus, in connection with this very fable; see HAHN, *Griechische und albanische Märchen*, already cited, Vol. II, p. 306.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 47-59.

³ *The Jataka*, edited by E. B. COWELL; Vol. I (Cambridge, 1895), translated by CHALMERS; Vol. II, translated by ROUSE.

⁴ Chap. ii, Story 5; EASTWICK, p. 209.

bitten, and dies.) No. 69: A doctor tries to make a snake, which has bitten a man, suck out the poison; the snake refuses, but the doctor effects a cure. No. 113: A jackal visiting a town by night, falls asleep; when morning comes, he offers gold to a Brahman to carry him out of the town, but proves unmindful of his promise, and only soils the Brahman's robe. No. 73 is a very striking story, in which the gratitude of animals is contrasted with the ingratitude of men, as by the first two judges in the *Panchatantra* and other versions of our fable. A prince, a snake, a rat, and a parrot, floating on a log down a flooded river, are saved by a hermit; the three animals prove grateful to the hermit, but the prince tries to kill him. (This tale, in various forms—often a man rescues another man and several animals from a pit—is found in innumerable oriental and European collections.¹) In the *Ramayana*² the jackal is the hero's friend, and frightens away a monster. In the Nala episode of the *Mahabharata*³ a serpent surrounded by flames makes itself small, so that it can be carried, and persuades Nala to rescue it; afterward it bites him. In the *Panchatantra* (III, 5) there is a tale which has spread widely in Europe, at times becoming confused with the Greek fable of the serpent. Although it appears in Greek, and in the Latin of Romulus and his descendants, it is certainly Indian in origin:⁴ A man regularly furnishes milk to a serpent and receives gold in return; he tries to kill the serpent, so as to get all the gold at once,⁵ and the serpent kills the man's son, afterward refusing to be reconciled. Two familiar fables, illustrating respectively gratitude and ingratitude, both of them being Indian in origin,

¹For numerous references see BENFEY, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 191 ff.; Vol. II, p. 123; E. DU MÉRIL, *Poésies inédites du moyen âge* (Paris, 1854), p. 244. The following may be added, to indicate how the tale has spread: E. STEERE, *Swahili Tales, Told by the Natives of Zanzibar* (London, 1870), p. 423; FLEESON, *Laos Folk-Lore* (New York, 1899), pp. 71, 95; ULRICH, *Libro de li Exempli* (Bologna, 1891), No. 40; JACOBS, *Indian Fairy Tales*, pp. 237, 243.

²See A. DE GUBERNATIS, *Zoölogical Mythology* (London, 1872), Vol. II, p. 125.

³*Ibid.*, p. 404. According to HOLTZMANN, *Indische Sagen* (Stuttgart, 1854), Vol. II, p. 210, the *Mahabharata* refers to the frozen snake which bites its rescuer.

⁴BENFEY, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 359; Vol. II, p. 244; JACOBS, *Indian Fairy Tales*, pp. 112, 246; *Fables of Æsop*, Vol. I, pp. 92, 240; HALM, *Fab. Æs.*, No. 96; *Romulus*, II, 10, in OESTERLEY'S STEINHOWEL, II, 11 in OESTERLEY, *Romulus* (Berlin, 1870); K. WARNEKE, *Die Quellen des Æsop der Marie de France* (Halle, 1900), p. 61, No. 72; *Extravagantes* 8 (in STEINHOWEL).

⁵This suggests "the goose that laid the golden egg," with which cf. *The Jataka*, No. 136, edition cited, Vol. I; BENFEY, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 378; C. C. JONES, *Negro Myths from the Georgia Coast* (Boston, 1888), No. 20, p. 42.

are those of the man who pulls a thorn from a lion's paw, and of the crane which extracts a bone from a wolf's throat.¹ Finally, the putting back in the original position occurs in various oriental stories. Just as the fox, in many versions of our fable, induces the ungrateful animal to get into the bag again by pretending to doubt that it was ever there, so the fisherman in the *Arabian Nights* gets the jinn back into the bottle from which he has unwittingly liberated it.² And, as already mentioned, the appeal to arbitration is characteristically Indian.

Many of the elements of our fable were current in India, then, at a very early period, and there is not the slightest reason for supposing, in this case, any influence of Greece on India, even if the story was first told about a serpent. As to the influence of Africa, Krohn rightly insists on the importance of modern traditional versions in investigations of this kind, but he goes too far in basing his whole argument on the insecure foundation of a version current today in Nubia. The story may have reached there in any one of a number of ways; conceivably, it may have come directly from India very early, and may represent an earlier form than the *Panchatantra*. Krohn is probably correct in thinking that the story was first told about a crocodile wishing to go to a river (the Ganges?); this certainly seems the most natural starting-point. He makes the Nubian form older than the *Panchatantra* form, on account of the number of judges. On this point, however, I am inclined to differ both from him and from Benfey, and to make the form with three judges the earliest. The length and elaboration of the oriental stories is well known, and it is quite as easy to assume that an originally complicated story has lost some of its elements as that a simple story has accumulated new ones. This story does not belong to the earliest strata of Indian literature. I believe, not that it grew up from any particular story or fable, but that it was composed substantially in the form in which the *Panchatantra* gives it. As it was told, the trick of the fox was no doubt the feature that most struck the hearers, and so in transmission the first two judges were some-

¹ See *The Jataka*, Vol. II, No. 156; JACOBS, *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 236, and *Fables of Æsop*, Vol. I, pp. 232, 243.

² Cf. BENFEY, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 115-17; JACOBS, *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 243.

times omitted. These judges might vary, without at all affecting the rest of the story; but not so the third judge, who nearly always remained unchanged. According to this theory, then, the Nubian version, the North and South American versions, and those in the *Disciplina Clericalis* and the *Extravagantes*, all represent a simplification of the original story. This simplification very probably took place in India. Yet whatever the original form may have been, the story certainly came from Asia to Europe both in the form with one judge and in that with three judges. It does not really matter, in fact, which was the older form, since by a process either of simplification or of amplification, both forms existed very early. In some cases the story was influenced by the Greek and Latin fable of the frozen snake; yet the prevalence of the snake in European versions may be partly due to the existence of oriental versions with the snake, earlier than the *Anvar-i Suhaili*. The crocodile would naturally not always persist in countries where the animal itself was unknown. In India we do not find versions with the serpent, except as they may have been imported; there the crocodile going to a river is metamorphosed into a lion or tiger in a trap. In this connection, it is worthy of note that a certain word which means "serpent" in Ethiopic means "lion" in Hebrew, and in an Arabic dialect means simply "wild beast."¹ An analogous confusion in the transmission of our story is not surprising, so long as the animal is one capable of injuring, if not of eating, the man who befriended it. Most, if not all, of the versions which came from the Orient to Europe undoubtedly came by oral transmission.

One more point remains to be considered before we take leave of our Italian fable: whence did it derive the lion with his paw caught in the tree? Was the story told in India about a lion early enough to have come to Italy at the beginning of the fifteenth century? Or did the change from crocodile to tiger in India parallel a change from serpent to lion in Italy?

The Italian fable is the oldest written version now known that has the lion (or tiger); but there is no difficulty in believing that the lion was already present in oral versions in India. There are

¹ I owe this information to Professor C. C. Torrey, of Yale.

in the *Panchatantra* tales about lions having a certain similarity to this one. Book V, No. 4:¹ Three men bring a dead lion to life, and are killed; a fourth man escapes by climbing a tree. In another tale,² which suggests the Latin "example" which we shall mention in a moment, a man and his wife receive visits from a lion; but they climb a tree when the lion brings other beasts with him. Book IV, No. 10:³ A jackal deceives a lion, a tiger, a leopard, and another jackal. In the first tale of Book I,⁴ an ape playfully pulls out a wedge left in a log by a carpenter, and so gets caught. This story is also in the Bidpai fables,⁵ and hence reached Europe in a number of written collections. There is little doubt that it came in oral tradition as well. The incident also seems to have arisen independently in Europe, for there is apparently no connection between the oriental story and one which occurs several times in the *Roman de Renart*⁶ and in *Reinhart Fuchs*.⁷ The bear comes to the fox as a messenger, but is easily tempted by the promise of honey; he puts his nose and paws in the cleft of an oak, and the fox pulls out the wedges which hold the cleft open. Possibly from this, or possibly from an oriental tale, comes an incident which appears in some versions of the story of how, in the words of Uncle Remus, "Mr. Lion hunts for Mr. Man." This story, I think, originates in the classical fable⁸ of the hunter and the lion (*Æsop*), or tiger (*Avianus*); in many versions the tiger is shot with an arrow, and acknowledges that man is superior; sometimes (*Æsop*, *Camerarius*) the fox says, "I

¹ BENFEY, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 489; Vol. II, p. 332.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 135.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 472; Vol. II, p. 316.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 105; Vol. II, p. 9; DUBOIS, *Pantch.*, p. 33.

⁵ BICKELL, *Katilag und Damag* (Leipzig, 1876), p. 3; KEITH-FALCONER, *K. and D.*, p. 4; *Anvar-i Suhaili*, chap. i, Tale 5; JOHN OF CAPUA, "Directorium humane vite" (in HERVIEUX, *Fab. lat.*, Vol. V, p. 114); DONI, "Moral filosofia" (in JACOBS, *Fables of Bidpai* [London, 1888], p. 73; this is NORTH's translation of Doni); BALDO, viii (in DU MÉRIL, *Poésies inédites*, p. 225; HERVIEUX, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 345); GOEDEKE, *Dichtungen von M. Luther* (Leipzig, 1883), p. 177.

⁶ *Roman de Renart*, ed. MARTIN, branche i, ll. 476 ff.; branche vi, ll. 231 ff.; branche xxiii, ll. 375 ff. Cf. SUDRE, *Sources*, pp. 180-88; K. KROHN, *Bär und Fuchs* (Helsingfors, 1888), p. 45. With this story may be compared one in HARRIS, *Nights with Uncle Remus*, chap. 51: the rabbit puts the wolf into a hollow tree in search of honey, and then builds a fire around the tree; also in C. C. JONES, *Negro Myths*, Nos. 39, 43.

⁷ *Reinhart Fuchs*, ed. REISSENBERGER, ll. 1511 ff.

⁸ HALM, *Fab. Æs.*, No. 403; BABRIOS, No. 1; AVIANUS, No. 17; STEINHÖWEL, CAXTON, etc., Av. 13; BONER, *Edelstein*, No. 3; WALDIS, Book II, No. 2; CAMERARIUS, No. 279.

told you so." This is current as a German folk-tale, in various forms, with the wolf or the lion;¹ and two versions are reported from Africa.² In one of the German versions a young lion asks his father if anything is stronger than they; the old lion says that man is stronger. A boy and an old man pass, and are disregarded: when a hunter comes, the young lion attacks him and gets shot. Evidently connected with this story in some way—an outgrowth of it, I am inclined to think—is a story that appears in two mediæval Latin versions. In the sixteenth of the *Extravagantes*³ it is told thus: A young lion asks his father why they have left their former home, and learns that it is through fear of the man. Against the advice of his father, he determines to have vengeance. He meets an ox and a horse, who point out a man as the one who has injured them. The young lion asks the man to go to the old lion for judgment, and the man assents, but leads his companion into a trap and kills him. The other Latin version is closer to our Italian fable. It is in a manuscript dated 1322, and was presumably composed earlier. It runs thus:⁴ A lion meets an ass and a horse, which declare that they have been maltreated by the man whom they have served. Then the lion finds the man cutting logs, and asks his name; the man replies that he is called *mulier*, but offers to find the man if the lion will help with the logs. The lion puts his paw in the cleft to pull it open wider; the man extracts the wedge, and the lion remains caught. The man's wife then pours boiling water over the lion, who escapes, leaving his claws in the log. Later a number of lions come, but the man climbs a tree, and shouts: "Aquam calidam!" This story is told in two practically identical versions, by Pauli⁵

¹ GRIMM, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (Göttingen, 1857), No. 72; Vol. III, p. 123.

² BLEEK, *R. F. in Af.*, No. 23 (young lion attacks man against advice of mother-lion); S. W. KOELLE, *African Native Literature* (London, 1854), No. 9 (lion fears nothing; wild dog shoots hunter, who shoots lion with poisoned arrow).

³ STEINHÖWEL, ed. OESTERLEY, p. 234; JACOBS, *Æsop*, Vol. II, p. 183. The long-winded version by Berachiah ha-Nakdan resembles this, but breaks off just as the lion approaches the man; *Parabolæ Vulpium*, RABBI BARACHIAE NIKDANI, trans. M. HANEL (Pragae, 1661), last fable but one, p. 383 (Hebrew and Latin).

⁴ Published by K. WARNEKE, *Die Fabeln der Marie de France* (Halle, 1898), pp. lx-lxviii: *Notabilia super fabulas animalium*, No. 2. Of the thirty-three fables in the collection, twenty-six come from Marie (not including No. 2). This is the solitary parallel found for the Italian fable by M. P. BRUSH, *Isopo Laurenziano*, p. 40. The manuscript is at Paris, and the collection is called by Warneke *das Pariser Promptuarium Exemplorum*.

⁵ J. PAULI, *Schimpf und Ernst*, ed. OESTERLEY, 1866, cap. 18.

(in German) and by Uncle Remus.¹ How it reached America would be a difficult problem to solve, unless it went first from Europe to Africa.

Now, either the Latin "example," or a version very much like it, probably suggested the beginning of the Italian fable. The point of similarity between the two stories is in the complaint of two animals whom the man has maltreated; otherwise they are quite distinct. It seems to me likely that a story similar to those now current in India, with a lion caught in a trap, came to Italy in the fourteenth century; and that the Latin story suggested the way in which the lion might have been caught. From the contact of these two stories resulted the Italian fable, written in *terza rima* early in the fifteenth century; also the version now current orally in Gascony. The occurrence of the lion in the Sicilian tales supports this view. The German fables of the sixteenth century, and the numerous popular tales also, having the hen episode in common with the Italian and Gascon versions, would, in this case, have the serpent under a stone, instead of the lion, by analogy with other versions of the story. However, it is quite possible that the immediate source of the Italian fable had the serpent, which was then supplanted, in a few versions, by the lion with his paw caught.²

One feature in the Italian fable does not occur, so far as I have discovered, in any other version of the story: the fox has received from the man a written promise that she may visit his hen-yard freely; but at the critical moment she does not depend on this fact, fearing that no one will pay any attention to the paper. This feature comes, I think, from the "decree of peace" that occurs in various mediæval fables and tales. In a fable of Marie de France³ we find the fox trying to beguile the dove down from its high

¹ HARRIS, *Nights with Uncle Remus*, chap. 7: Mr. Lion, irritated by constantly hearing about the prowess of Mr. Man, determines to give him a "larrupin'." Mr. Steer, Mr. Horse, and Mr. Jack Sparrow warn him that if he has anything to do with Mr. Man, he will get into trouble; but he persists, and finally sees the object of his search splitting rails. Mr. Man, not disclosing his identity, promises to fetch Mr. Man, if Mr. Lion will put his paw in the split to hold the log open for a few minutes; "en dar Mr. Lion wuz." The man then gives the lion a beating. In another story, *ibid.*, chap. 45, Uncle Remus tells how Brer Rabbit's wife poured boiling water on the wolf.

² It is probably merely a local peculiarity that a Danish popular version has a serpent caught in a cleft tree; cf. KROHN, *loc. cit.*

³ *Fabeln*, ed. WARNEKE, No. 61.

perch by telling that universal peace has been declared; the dove consents to come down, but mentions that some horsemen and dogs are approaching. The fox departs without delay, remarking: "Ne sai s'il unt le brief oï." The same incident occurs in the *Roman de Renart* (branche ii, ll. 468 ff.). Poggio¹ tells the story with the fox trying to persuade a cock and some hens to descend from a tree; the cock pretends to see two dogs coming, and the fox departs, saying: "Dubito an canes isti audierunt decretum pacis." This version, evidently connected with the cock and fox stories, is included by Steinhöwel, Caxton, and others, among the fables derived by them from Poggio (No. 7); it is also in the collections of La Fontaine (II, 15) and Waldis (IV, 2). There are, besides, several oral versions.

Certain conclusions may be drawn from this investigation. In discussing the migrations of this oriental tale, considerable importance must be attached to the Italian fable, here studied for the first time, on account both of its age and of its individual form. In itself it offers, perhaps, a sufficient excuse for reopening the discussion. Some of the other versions, also, have not before been connected with their sources. References to many of them, however, are scattered among the notes of Benfey, Kurz, Köhler, Regnier, Jacobs, Krohn, and others; and yet they have never before been brought together. No doubt, still more versions will come to light from time to time. Indeed, I have references to a few more; in the present paper I cite only works which I have myself consulted.

In the original tale, composed in India some time before the eleventh century, a crocodile is carried to a river, tries to harm its benefactor, but is put by the fox into a situation where it is helpless; whether there were, besides the fox, two judges who decided in favor of the crocodile, is a question that will be definitely answered only by finding older Indian versions of the tale. The oldest version now known, that in the *Panchatantra*, has three judges. The crocodile, or a water-snake, reappears in the mediæval

¹ *Les Facéties de Poggio* (Latin and French) (Paris, 1878), No. 79; JACOBS, *Fables of Æsop*, Vol. I, p. 287; Vol. II, p. 307. Cf. PETERSEN, *Nonne Prestes Tale*, p. 15; GERBER, *Gt. Russ. An. Tales*, p. 66; WARNEKE, *Quellen*, p. 48.

Extravagantes, and in oral versions in Mauritius and Nubia. Another group of versions, which came from India to Persia (*Anvar-i Suhaili*), has a snake rescued from a fire, and three judges; this is represented by some early written, and by some modern oral, versions in Europe. Another group, represented by the *Disciplina Clericalis*, has a snake tied and frozen, and one judge; this reached Europe from the Orient through Spain. Some German versions of the sixteenth century, and numerous oral versions in all parts of Europe, have a snake or dragon under a stone, and three judges, often with the promise of hens to the fox. This group probably came to Europe by oral transmission, and was influenced by the Greek fable of the frozen snake, and by different European tales. In India the story has been told for at least two centuries, probably longer, with a lion or tiger in a cage, and a variable number of judges. This version may have come to Italy in the fourteenth century; at any rate, we find the story told there in the fifteenth, with the lion and three judges; but this version, which is current orally in Gascony, has additional elements of European origin, and may have developed in Europe out of the snake version. The story is told by the Hottentots in Africa, and by negroes in North and South America, in forms which, in spite of wide variations, seem to show European influence.

All these versions must have come ultimately from one source; and even if at the beginning the story was told with one judge (in which case some of the one-judge versions now existing may be survivals of the original form), nevertheless at a very early period it assumed the form with three judges, which was the source of the great majority of all the versions. In all this we see strikingly illustrated many of the interesting features of the transmission of fables and folk-tales; especially the fact that barriers of race or language are no obstacle to the spreading of a tale, which follows lines of commerce and travel—and the further fact that the essential features of a tale are preserved, in spite of changes in the personages, on long journeys and through long ages.

KENNETH MCKENZIE.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

PP. 6, 10, 19.—An Arabian tale from the Soudan, so far as its evidence goes, supports the view that the Nubian version, with one judge, does not represent the original form of the fable: A crocodile is carried from the desert back to the river on a traveler's camel; when in the water, it wishes to eat either man or camel. A hyena (here we have a trace of a second judge) tries to persuade it to come out of the water; a fox, in order to judge, has it again tied on the camel's back, and it is killed. MAERNO, *Reise in der ägyptischen Aequatorial-Provinz*, 2d ed. (Wien, 1879), p. 267.

Two versions reported from Senegal resemble the American versions in the change of personages: A hyena is rescued from a hole by an ox, and wishes to eat its rescuer; one judge, either elephant or hare, requires the hyena to get back into the hole. BLEEK, *R. F. in Afrika*, German edition, Part 2, No. 5; R. BASSET, *Contes populaires d'Afrique* (Paris, [1903]), p. 182; COLIN, "Deux fables sénégalaises," *Revue des Traditions populaires*, Vol. I (1886), p. 136.

P. 11.—A tale is reported from Afghanistan which evidently comes from the *Anvar-i Suhaili*; see "Afghan Beast Fables," *Strand Magazine* (March, 1904).

P. 13.—According to KROHN, *op. cit.*, a version similar to that of Waldis was written in Finnish in the eighteenth century by Ganander. L. Abstemius (end of fifteenth century) has a fable of a man rescuing a snake under a stone, with one judge, the monkey; in NEVELETUS, *Fabulae variorum auctorum* (Francofurti, 1660), p. 593. This was translated into Italian in the sixteenth century by GIULIO LANDI, *Vita di Esopo* (Firenze, 1718), No. 345 (edition of 1581 mentioned in Brit. Mus. Cat.).

PP. 19, 20.—To the *Jataka* containing similar ideas may be added these in Vols. III (1897) and IV (1901): Nos. 349, 361, 367, 389, 397, 400, 475, 482. In the story of Nala in the *Mahabharata* the serpent's bite is beneficent, and therefore an example of gratitude. The same story is in *The Kathakoça or Treasury of Stories*, ed. C. H. TAWNEY (London, 1895), p. 218.

P. 20, 24.—The stories of grateful animals and ungrateful man, and of lion hunting for man, are told in Brittany; see SÉBILLOT, *Contes des Landes et des Grèves* (Rennes, 1900), Nos. 24, 26.

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K. MCK.

NOVA SOLYMA.

A ROMANCE ATTRIBUTED TO JOHN MILTON.

IN 1648, the year before the execution of Charles I., there appeared a Latin work with the following title-page: "NOVAE SOLYMAE Libri sex. Londini, Typis Joannis Legati. MDCXLVIII." In the middle of the blank page facing the title were the lines:

Cujus opus, studio cur tantum quaeris inani?
Qui legis, et frueris, feceris esse tuum.

It was reissued in the next year with the addition of a sub-title: "Sive Institutio Christiani 1. De Pueritia. 2. De Creatione Mundi. 3. De Juventute. 4. De Peccato. 5. De Virili Aetate. 6. De Redemptione Hominis;" of the following words after the name of the printer: "Et venundantur per Thomam Underhill sub signo Biblii in vico Anglice dicto Woodstreet. MDCXLIX;" and of an "Autocriticon" or personal note by the author, to which we shall return later. Amid the political excitements of the time the book seems to have fallen unnoticed; and it remained in apparently complete obscurity until 1902, when Rev. Walter Begley published an English translation, accompanied by an introduction, notes, and numerous Excursus, all devoted to the attempt to prove that the author of the book was no less a person than John Milton. This claim has drawn the general attention of readers, and discussion has naturally turned largely on the question of authorship. But the contents of the work are of sufficient interest to justify a detailed examination for their own sake, and to earn for Mr. Begley the gratitude of students of literature, whether his arguments produce conviction or merely irritation. For, while the book itself is sufficiently puzzling, it has been rendered ten times more so by the method of the translator's attempted proof. Much of his argument is totally irrelevant and trivial, much is unconvincing and without logical cogency, and what remains worthy of consideration is so hope-

lessly scattered and unsystematic that one has to make a constant effort not to be prejudiced against the Miltonic hypothesis by the extravagances of its champion.

The book belongs to the class of didactic romances of which *Euphues* is a conspicuous example. Being in Latin, it lacks the stylistic interest that makes Lyly's work so important; but this is partly made up for by more solid and weighty thinking. The romance which forms the framework is extremely slight, and the incidental narrative material is, as will appear, conventional. The author's main interest was obviously in the discussions of religion, education, government, and the like, which form the conversations of characters created to talk rather than to act. In the following pages the attempt will be made to disentangle and summarize what the author has to say on each of his main themes, and to consider the bearing of each division on the question of authorship.

FICTION.

The scene of the romance is laid in the rebuilt Jerusalem, in which the Jews have lived since their conversion to Christianity, nearly fifty years before the story opens. The season is spring, celebrated in a short introductory poem. The plot begins with the entry into the city of a young Jew, Joseph, accompanied by two young Englishmen, Eugenius and Politian, whom he has met in Sicily and by whom he has been employed to guide them to the city of his birth. As they enter they become spectators of a procession, the most striking feature of which is a vine bower, in which is seated a maiden of distinguished beauty, personating the daughter of Zion. This maiden turns out to be Joseph's sister, Anna; and with her both Eugenius and Politian fall frantically in love at first sight. The second chapter explains that the Englishmen had been students at the University of Cambridge, and that, having heard of the fame of the new republic of Nova Solyma, and having conceived a strong desire to see it, they had set out without the knowledge or consent of their parents. In the rest of the first, and the whole of the second, third, and fourth books, there is no progress with the love-story, beyond the mention of the lovesickness of the two youths, and two meetings

with Anna, with whom, however, they have no opportunity of personal conversation. In the fifth book the two friends, having become aware of their mutual rivalry, quarrel violently, and are on the point of fighting a duel when Joseph intervenes, shows them the folly of such love as theirs, and convinces them by a sort of practical joke. While they are talking, Anna enters the room, leaves it, and apparently returns in a short time. She is still with them when what appears to be her double enters, and Joseph challenges his astonished friends to say with which girl they suppose themselves to be in love. The second is a twin sister, of whom they do not happen to have heard during their stay in Joseph's home. They admit that their confusion is conclusive proof that Joseph is right in condemning the kind of love from which they have been suffering, and in all contrition they undergo severe religious experiences, which result in their true conversion. Finally their father arrives, and a double marriage is arranged by him and Jacob, the father of the maidens. The young men are delighted, and the girls consent. The whole wooing is described in the following passage:

Having thus obtained their father's consent, and arranged between themselves which sister they should each choose, they went to Jacob and told their love. Politian asked for Anna, and Eugenius for Joanna, as their respective brides.

The sisters were all this time quite unaware of what was being arranged; but what with their father's advice and their brother's persuasion, and the delicate and loving attention of the two really very good-looking young men, they were not long in yielding consent. They soon began to feel Love's ardent passion themselves, and burned with mutual fires.—*N. S.*, Vol. II, p. 209.

The marriage is celebrated on election day, and the book closes with a bridal song.

Besides this slight main plot, the work contains a number of subordinate pieces of narrative, the most important of which is the story of Joseph. He is the son of a prominent citizen of Nova Solyma, and after leaving college had set out to travel in Italy with his tutor Apollos. They land at Messina, near which they are attacked by robbers, among whom is Alcimus, the lost son of Apollos. Joseph escapes and finds his way to Palermo,

where he makes his living in the studio of an artist, thanks to his own talents and the excellent educational system of Nova Solyma. One day, while walking in the forest, he rescues the duke's daughter, Philippina, from a hunting accident. The lady falls in love with him, sends him presents, and engages him to paint her portrait. Her stepmother, Leonora, also falls in love with Joseph; but, being repulsed, avenges herself by betraying Philippina's passion to the duke, who had been arranging a marriage between his daughter and the duke of Parma. Joseph, who has never given the Lady Philippina any encouragement, is thrown into prison. One day the Ethiopian who guards him is seized with an epileptic fit. Joseph puts him into his bed, exchanges clothes with him, and escapes. He is recaptured, and is saved from execution on a charge of murder only by the recovery of the Ethiopian. He is now set at liberty, and, while attempting to negotiate a passage home, he meets the two Englishmen, is engaged as a guide, and so returns to his own city. The love-lorn Philippina escapes from her home in the disguise of a youth, comes to Nova Solyma, and meeting Joseph and his two friends, tells them a version of her own story disguised by a change of sexes. Joseph, who fails to recognize her, places her in the house of an Italian widow who keeps boarders. This lady conceives a violent passion for the supposed boy, and, being repulsed, is about to poison both herself and him, when there arrive from Sicily envoys in search of Philippina. She, seeing them from a window, and knowing that she had failed to win the affections of Joseph, avoids capture by suicide. The amorous widow follows suit, and the exemplary Joseph expresses regret.

The story of Alcimus is a sort of pendant to this. Having run away from home and passed through many adventures, he at length joins a band of robbers, into whose hands fall his father and Joseph, as already related. He saves his father's life by sucking the poison from a wound, helps him to escape, skulks about Italy in the guise of a beggar, comes into conflict with the guild into which he finds that Italian beggars are organized, and finally returns repentant to Nova Solyma.

Finally, there is the interesting case of Theophrastus. Theophrastus was a professor of the occult and of alchemy, to whom the devil had once appeared in human form and had offered supernatural aid in his researches. The philosopher had accepted the offer, and had in return devoted his soul to the devil. The only advantage he derived was the learning of a few magical tricks, and now, at the time of the story, he is trying to escape from his bargain and is being fearfully tormented by infernal spirits. The bystanders watch his sufferings, and hear besides a great uproar in the house—the banging of doors, shrieks, mocking laughter, and foul language. The enemy is finally put to flight by the force of the prayers of Joseph and others; and though he returns, he is again routed, and Theophrastus dies in the hope of grace.

In all this there is little that is any way indicative of the identity of the author. It might be surmised that the writer was interested in the Jews and in schemes for their restoration; that he was a Cambridge man, since he assigns the two Englishmen to that university; and that he may have been in Italy, since he has information about mendicancy there. But interest in Zionism was widespread in England at that time; and Cambridge men who had been in Italy were numerous. Moreover, according to Mr. Begley's theory, *Nova Solyma* was written before Milton went to Italy. Again, the author is clearly familiar with the current commonplaces of romance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and uses the somewhat unpleasant motive of the woman who falls in love with a girl in man's costume. Such an episode is certainly not strikingly Miltonic. The minimizing of the girls' part in the romance of the two Englishmen out-Miltons Milton. In the treatment of the case of Theophrastus, the author appears to be a believer, not only in the personality of the devil and the possibility of his assuming man's shape, but also in witchcraft and demoniacal possession. But, so far as Milton held these views, he belonged to the great majority of his contemporaries. In the narrative part of the book, then, we do not find anything conclusive against a Miltonic authorship, nor anything pointedly in favor of it.

THE STATE.

There is no systematic account of the manner of government in Nova Solyma, and information on this point has to be gathered from occasional references scattered throughout the book. From these we learn that there was a senate chosen annually by popular election, and that there was a civic guard. Distinctions of rank were acknowledged by appropriate dress; honors were hereditary; trade was regarded as an honorable occupation; charity was organized; and some forms of luxury were restrained by law. A somewhat elaborate description is given of a "Merchants' Exchange"—a square building, with an open quadrangle surrounded by a colonnade. But little is said of the uses to which it is put, or of the methods of business of the merchants.

From the meagerness of this account it is clear that the work is not to be regarded as a utopian romance with the picture of an ideal government as a main object. The omissions in the scheme are, indeed, more significant than the details given, especially when it is considered in relation to Milton. The state is, it is true, republican, but there is no word pointing out the advantages of this form of government over a monarchy. The constitution of the electorate, the function of the legislature, the judiciary, and the ecclesiastical system are all left undescribed. Would Milton in 1648 have thought it worth while to issue such a work as this, and remain silent on questions on which he felt passionately? Liberty of conscience seems to be permitted, but the point is not dwelt on. There is nothing about the freedom of the press. The author's attitude on marriage and divorce has to be inferred from the following sentences:

Matrimony is the foundation stone of society, and should be in the highest degree honoured and guarded, lest the other duties of life suffer through the neglect of it. Position, age, suitable habits, and hundreds of other things which we young lovers in our excited passion so easily overlook, are really things deserving our most serious deliberation.—*N. S.*, Vol. II, p. 106.

I should like to show you what an important matter matrimony is, much more so than the common, everyday incidents of life; for the greatest part of a man's life depends upon it, and many future generations. In this weighty business, if you make a mistake, *you must abide*

by it,¹ and it brings with it a new life, new cares, new counsels. . . . Those to whom marriage brings the most happiness are the faithful, sober-minded, unbigoted couples. Those who are remarkably handsome or quick-witted, or especially able in any line of life, are not likely to have such pleasant experiences, and even less likely are the effeminate and uxorious.

Civil discords are bitter enough, family ones are still worse; but the most bitter of all are the quarrels of man and wife. However, if they come about, they can be made less by care and patience, *for he would be a fool or a madman to let simple disagreement of temper separate him from her who in all else is associated with him as a helpmate.*¹ —*N. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 207, 208.

In contrast with all this, we have to consider Milton's acknowledged writings on matters of government. The general theme of all Milton's prose writings is, he himself states, liberty. To the upholding of the idea of liberty in all human relations he devoted a large part of the best years of his life. Civil liberty he upheld against the arbitrary government of a king; religious liberty, against the tyranny of prelates and church courts; domestic liberty, against the misery of an uncongenial marriage; liberty of speech, against the censorship of the press. On all these topics his mind was made up before the publication of this book; and, even if we suppose that the work was composed ten or twelve years earlier, the author must have read it again before going to press. The question is, then, whether it is probable that Milton would have cared to put forth a document which he must have felt himself to have so completely outgrown. He had written his great plea for unlicensed printing, his pamphlets arguing for divorce on grounds of mere lack of intellectual sympathy, and his attacks on episcopacy. To the man who had uttered himself on such questions as these with the intensity that glows through all of Milton's polemical writings, the mild and peaceful tenor of the political passages of *Nova Solyma* must have seemed intolerably insipid.

EDUCATION.

The system of education in vogue in *Nova Solyma* is described in great detail, and it is clear that this was a subject on which the author had thought much more than he had on politics. Ele-

¹ The italics are mine.

mentary education for children up to the age of ten is open to all classes. Much attention is paid to their physical development; exercise is compulsory and of a carefully graded severity. In the sphere of moral culture, the young are taught to overcome passion, whining, obstinacy, pride, and envy; and the cultivation of endurance and good temper is aided by prizes and similar contrivances, rather than by precepts and tears. Restrictions are placed on sleeping and eating, but occasional gorges are allowed in order to beget disgust at excess. Intellectual training begins with abstract things, such as grammar, arithmetic, and mathematics, in order to train the powers of concentration and reasoning; and games are devised to practice the boys in these sciences. Religion, patriotism, and domestic piety are also cultivated. Obscure ability is watched for and aided, and the intellectual life of the whole community is stimulated by public discussions in all parts of the land.

After the elementary schools, the children of the poorer classes may go to technical and trade schools. Besides studies auxiliary to the mechanical arts, these students are taught only reading, writing, and arithmetic, since higher culture is not suited for the masses.

For the sons of men of position and for scholars of marked talent from the poorer classes the state provides a public academy with a seven-year course. The building is in the form of a quadrangle, inclosing a lawn, and having the entrance guarded by an incorruptible porter. The tutor at the head of the metropolitan academy is a man held in the highest honor, and he acts also as supervisor of the affiliated academies in the provincial towns.

Much attention is given in the academy, as in the elementary schools, to morals and religion. These are taught, not only by general lectures, but also in private conferences, and the individual temperaments of students are carefully studied. Military science and drill are taught to all, with the elements of politics. Instruction is given in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, their vernacular; and other (unnamed) living languages are studied for the sake of their literatures and their use in commerce. Stress is placed upon the power to speak as well as read foreign languages. The author

protests against dry-as-dust philology, and ridicules such absurdities of scholarship as the making of anagrams and centos and quibbling over conjectural readings. Students are encouraged to use the oldest editions and make their own emendations. All are practiced in the writing of poetry, and instruction in music and painting is given to those who show special talent in these directions. There is a good gymnasium, and athletics are compulsory. The arts of writing and public speaking are taught in great detail and with special attention to subject-matter as well as to form; and prize pens are offered as rewards for excellence in various kinds of composition. To these we shall return later.

The third division of the educational system is the university. To this institution students are admitted only after taking their first degree in arts. There are two buildings—one devoted to philosophy and civil prudence; the other, to theology, medicine, and jurisprudence. The professors are highly paid specialists, and the instruction is conducted by means of lectures from which the students take notes. Two specimen lectures are given—one on “The Origin of the World,” one on “The Well-Regulated Mind.”

If the scheme just outlined is compared with Milton’s *Letter to Hartlib* (1644), no significant similarity appears. The general purpose in both is moral and religious, and there is in both a care for physical and political training not uncommon in the educational theories of the time. But the two plans vary widely in the scale, the relative proportions, and the order of the studies prescribed.

Though the *Letter to Hartlib* embodies what are intended to be practicable suggestions for the training of English youth in the seventeenth century, and the plan in *Nova Solyma* is a free sketch for an ideal state, it is remarkable that the former makes much greater demands than the latter, and to a greater extent ignores the mental limitations of the average youth. Thus the author of *Nova Solyma* begins the study of languages with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; adding modern tongues chiefly for commercial purposes. Milton suggests the addition of Chaldee and Syriac, and expects Italian to be picked up at odd moments. He

indicates a much wider range of reading than the unknown author, and prescribes a large amount of science. The exercises in the academy of Nova Solyma are dancing, swimming, and archery; Milton does not mention these, but puts stress on the arts of swordsmanship and wrestling. Milton prescribes music after exercise and after meals as an important element in the culture of all; the academy teaches this art and that of painting only to those who have special talent; while poetry, which is only a subject of study in Milton's scheme, is in Nova Solyma an art to be practiced by everyone.

Thus, while there is no very pointed antagonism between the two curricula, there is a significant absence of such striking similarity as one would naturally expect in two discussions of a favorite topic by the same author.

LITERATURE.

In connection with the prize pens to which reference has been made, the author makes a classification of kinds of literature which deserves more detailed examination. There are six pens, of various materials, graded according to the comparative worthiness of the style of composition for which each is awarded. The first is of iron, and is given for ordinary diction, which ought to be vigorous and plain, yet without vulgarity. The second is of polished iron, and is awarded for letter-writing. The third is of bronze, and is the prize for the writing of history. The author here enlarges on the use of history in throwing light on politics and morals, and in exemplifying the ways of Providence. The fourth pen, of silver, is for oratory; and the mention of it is the occasion for a discussion of the methods of teaching rhetoric and "anti-rhetoric," or the art of detecting false rhetorical tricks. The fifth pen, of gold, is for poetry. The tutor of the academy, into whose mouth the author puts his ideas on these subjects, laments the neglect of sacred poetry, and expatiates on the value of it and the opportunities which it offers. Several of the sacred epigrams made by Joseph when he was a student are given as examples of what may be done in this line. Rules for the writing of poetry are stated; melodious phrasing, the agreement of style and matter, appropriateness of ornament, the happy interchange of

vowels and consonants, the essential nature of both accent and quantity, the *cæsura*, and *enjambement* being the chief points dealt with. Several kinds of poetry are enumerated: descriptions, odes, idyls, hymns, and heroic poetry. The structure of an epic is touched on, and some two hundred and sixty Latin hexameters are quoted from an epic on the Spanish Armada, written, like the epigrams, by Joseph.

The qualities of these fragments form so important a part of Mr. Begley's argument, and are in themselves so substantial, that a detailed account is demanded.

The tutor summarizes the opening of *Philippica*, as the Armada epic is called, as follows:

The plot begins with a council of the heathen gods, who, having anxiously observed the advance and increase of the true religion in Germany, and yet more in England, meet to check this progress by all possible means. After various opinions had been heard, Jupiter at length determines that Philip of Spain should be incited against England, and that Mars should be commissioned to carry out that purpose.—*N. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 272, 273.

The first fragment of the poem actually quoted describes the career of Mars in his chariot through the air to the palace of the king of Spain. There he descends, and, appearing by Philip's bedside in the guise of a beautiful youth, he urges him to attack England, the chief obstacle to his schemes of empire, pours nectar into his mouth to madden his brain, and disappears. The fragment closes with a picture of the king's martial ardor resulting from the potion. The description of the Spanish preparations is omitted, and the second fragment describes the marshaling of the heavenly host under the generalship of Christ to defend England. The archangels who captain the host under Christ are divided into three hierarchies: first, of Power—Architheus, Syntheus, and Zatheus; second, of Knowledge—Ergotheus, Mystotheus, and Opsitheus; third, of Love—Dorotheus, Charitheus, and Autotheus. The third and last fragment describes the overwhelming of the Spanish fleet. By means of fire-ships sent among them by the English, and the influence of Terror summoned from his cave by an angel sent by Christ, their lust of

victory is turned into panic fear, and the great Armada scatters in disastrous flight.

The similarity of the council of the heathen gods to that of the devils in *Paradise Lost* is admitted by Mr. Begley to be of slight importance in the question of authorship, since such a council had been an epic commonplace since Homer. On the aërial mission of Mars he puts more stress, not so much on account of its resemblance to the flight of Satan in Milton's later epic, as because in his youthful Latin poem on the Gunpowder Plot, Satan is represented as enraged at the persistent righteousness of England, and as undertaking an aërial flight (not in a chariot) to the bedside of the pope, indulging in a tirade against James I. and his kingdom, somewhat similar to the speech of Mars in Joseph's *Philippica*, and suggesting the Gunpowder Plot. The pope calls Murder and Treason from a cave of the same general Spenserian type as the cave from which Christ summons Terror in the *Philippica*, while Christ calls Fame from an Ovidian tower to betray the conspiracy against the English Parliament.

In this series of parallelisms we have perhaps the most striking evidence for Mr. Begley's theory. But the aërial mission is a conventional sequence to the council of the gods; the apparition of the devil in Franciscan garb, by a bedside, in the *In Quantum Novembris* is borrowed from George Buchanan, who in turn probably derived it from his countryman, Dunbar; the invective against Protestant England is a sufficiently natural invention to put into the mouth of a hostile figure in connection with the Armada, so that, in the absence of verbal similarity, there is no difficulty in conceiving its occurring to two men independently; and the similarity of the two caves inhabited by personifications is palpably due to a common Spenserian influence.

The evidence of style impresses our translator deeply. The fragments are undoubtedly impressive, and many of the hexameters are very fine. But their Miltonic quality is often much more clearly discernible in the translation than in the Latin. Mr. Begley frankly admits that he has done his best to imitate Miltonic diction. The result of this, and the quality of the poetry, may be best shown by extracts.

Inde satellitio sequitur delecta juvenus,
 Nuda sinus, humerisque leves tantum induit alas;
 Et regem flammis cinctum caelestibus ambit
 Laetaque perpetuo tollit praeconia cantu.
 Ceu totidem pasti fugiunt ad nubila cygni,
 Ordine surgentes longo, coeloque volantes
 Solvunt ora modis, perque humida colla canoros
 Effingunt numeros, et sydera voce lacesunt.

—*N. S.*, Vol. II, p. 284.

Next come behind a chosen band of youths,
 His guards and satellites. Their breasts are bare,
 Upon their shoulders nought but airy wings.
 Onward they fly, their King in burning rows
 Encompassing, the while they echo forth
 One joyful concent of celestial song.
 As when swans, sated, in long order rise
 From off their feeding-grounds to meet the skies,
 Then hear we, from their numerous liquid throats,
 An airy charm of such melodious notes,
 So high-resounding that it seems to be
 A challenge to the stars' sweet harmony.
 So passed the angelic throng.

—*N. S.*, Vol. I, p. 287.

Miserabilis intro

Caesorum auditur gemitus: cruor impius undas
 Polluit; ingeminant ictus, et ferrea tela
 Trajiciunt per utrumque latus, malasque praealtas
 Deturbant pelago, et flammis aplustria perdunt:
 Aequora pulsa tonant, nox ignibus atra coruscat.

—*N. S.*, Vol. II, p. 287.

Within is heard

The piteous groan of wounded men; without
 The waves are all pollute with impious blood;
 While still th' unceasing hail of shot and shell
 And fire comes pouring in. And now the flames
 Seize on the pennons fluttering to the breeze,
 And now the mast of some great ammiral
 Falls with a mighty crash. The stricken sea
 Resounds. Dark Night is all ablaze with flame.

—*N. S.*, Vol. I, p. 295.

The tendency to add a Miltonic coloring, which is observable in these translations, is to be noted equally in the versions of the shorter poems that are plentifully sprinkled throughout the work,

and this fact has to be carefully borne in mind by the critic. As to the technical characteristics of the verse, Mr. Begley takes pains to show that they are due to the imitation of Virgil, and that Milton was influenced by Virgil in his acknowledged work. As to its poetic excellence, he contends that there was no man writing in England at that time who was capable of it but Milton alone. The Virgilian influence may be admitted without any conclusion as to authorship being forced. The latter contention is difficult to disprove, impossible to prove. But lest it seem too much of a marvel that two men in England in the seventeenth century should write good Latin poetry, let the following words be considered, written before the recovery of *Nova Solyma*, by an acknowledged authority on the period, and one who was certainly not disposed to cheapen any of Milton's talents. They are quoted from Professor Masson's introduction to Milton's Latin poems:

Although, long before Milton's birth, the vernacular had asserted itself in England, beyond all rivalry, as the true language for poetry and all popular literature, Latin retaining its ground chiefly for the purposes of scholarship and speculation and for writings meant for a European constituency, yet there lingered, to an extent which it is difficult now to account for, a habit of Latin metrical composition. Nay, not of Latin metrical composition merely, but of genuine poetry in Latin. Among University men, in particular, this was the case. Not only was Latin the language of learning and of all systematic discussion; not only did men recollect in Latin, reason in Latin, make wordy war in Latin, exerting their minds to the utmost, and expressing all the ordinary contents of their minds, whether massive or subtle, in the form of Latin prose: even for the play of phantasy, the lyrical utterance of feeling, and dramatic and humorous construction, the use of Latin was kept up. It was not that each man who had the use of Latin wrote what could be called accurate Latin or classical Latin; it was that each had a certain mastery of a Latin which was, at all events, his own Latin, and in which he could be coequal to himself in English, if not (and there were cases of this) superior to himself in English.

In the light of such facts as these, it is obviously unnecessary to take up the challenge to name an author, other than Milton, capable of the present work.

One point may be noted here with reference to the machinery of the Armada epic. The tutor, in commenting on it to the vis-

itors, rebukes severely the practice of mingling the sacred names and personages of the Christian religion with those of pagan mythology. The heathen gods are devils, he holds, and he commends Joseph because he does not "transpose sacred and profane things," but "reveals the false gods as they are." "Joseph makes this rule," he says; "he never uses Olympus in the sense of the abode of the blessed saints, nor confuses the sacred with the profane; his whole object is to keep them apart, and the farthest that may be." Now the mere mention of *Comus* and *Lycidas* recalls the fact that Milton constantly commits the crime so explicitly condemned here.

The other extended passage of verse in the book, though not introduced in connection with the prize pens, may most conveniently be discussed here. This is the "Bridal Song," composed by Joseph in honor of the marriages of his sisters, which closes the work. It is practically a cento of passages from the poetical books of the Bible, written in a variety of meters, with much warmth of coloring and some passages of superb melody. The most pervasive influence which it exhibits is that of the Song of Solomon, on which its structure as well as much of its detail is based. The form is that of a dialogue between a bride and bridegroom, with a double chorus of young men and maidens. The following chorus of country maidens, written in the meter of the *Pervigilium Veneris*, will exemplify the lighter vein of the author:

O beata surge tandem linque lectum conjugis,
 Aucta donis, et decoris enovata gratiis;
 Ecce nymphas, ecce cunctas antecellis virgines:
 Bracteam nitore vincit vestis hic argenteam:
 Haec catena gemmularum fulget instar syderum
 Ne reconde tot decores, totque dotes aureas,
 I revise tecta matris, et sorores pristinas;
 Ecce vinea racemos in paterna colligunt.
 Ipsa carpe vitis uvas vinolentae lividas,
 Has et illas et petitas ore laeto devora.
 Nunc eamus et legamus capita florum mollia,
 Nexa sertis et corollis induamus tempora.
 Nunc eamus et legamus conchulas sub rupibus,
 Colla pulchris vinciamus, et manus monilibus.
 Nuna eamus et premamus fessulae cubilia:
 Et sopore blanda sero somniemus somnia.

—N. S., Vol. II, pp. 300, 301.

Mr. Begley regards this poem as "one of the most conclusive pieces of Miltonic evidence in the whole Romance;" his two chief reasons being that it shows the author to have been, like Milton, fond of experimenting with Latin meters and capable of inventing new ones; and that it seems to be referred to by Milton in his *Reason of Church Government*. In an autobiographical passage of that work, Milton is enumerating a number of literary kinds in connection with his possible future literary activities, and says: "The Scripture also affords us a divine pastoral drama in the Song of Solomon, consisting of two persons, and a double chorus, as Origen rightly judges." Now, it is true that this description applies also to the "Bridal Song" in *Nova Solyma*, but all that the similarity proves is that our unknown author perceived and imitated the structure of the Canticles, and this any writer might have done, since, as Milton observes, it had been pointed out by Origen.

Before leaving the subject of poetry, it is worth while to note that the author regards the practice of that art as properly only an avocation. "Some persons," says the infallible Joseph, "make the mistake of devoting themselves to poetry alone, or to little else." At the time at which the translator supposes Milton to have composed this work, he is believed to have been making this mistake.

We return now to the last of the prize pens.

This pen showed more variety than any of the others, both in shape and in the metals of which it was made. . . . "This is for the most unfettered sort of literature we have; the ancients rarely exercised themselves in it, but of late it has been much praised. All styles of writing are permissible, and any subject may be included. It is akin to poetry, but written in prose with fragments of verse interwoven here and there." —*N. S.*, Vol. I, p. 298.

The tutor goes on to say that many of the recent examples of this kind have been harmful in their effect, but that one, whose scene by a strange prophetic power was laid in *Nova Solyma*, was altogether wholesome and admirable. He then proceeds, under this very thin disguise, to explain the purpose and merits of the present work. In the midst there occurs one of the most personal as well as one of the most significant passages in the whole book. Of the author the tutor says:

He has not the impudent audacity of those rash reformers who are for tearing up the old foundations, for putting civil and political life on a new basis, and for carrying out specious schemes which are as costly as they are dangerous, in order to overturn what has stood the test of many generations.—*N. S.*, Vol. I, p. 300.

This is exactly what conservative people in England were charging against Milton and his friends; and it does not seem to me possible that Milton in 1648 allowed such a passage to go through the press in any work of his, whenever written. This opinion is strengthened by the extremely un-Miltonic tone of the following remarks of Jacob's, from another part of the book :

Of course, I admitted that we ought to live in accordance with the laws and customs of our native land, so long as they do not oppose our religious belief, for in temporal matters they are the main authority, and have been ratified by the common consent of the people. Therefore every subject ought to obey his duly elected king, even if his government is autocratic.—*N. S.*, Vol. I, p. 224.

By 1648 Milton and his friends had quite other notions as to their duty to an autocratic king.

RELIGION.

Religious discussions are more frequent and more prolonged than any other, and are put into the mouths of various characters; yet on this, as on other themes, there is no difficulty in knowing when the author is uttering his own opinions. To most modern readers these prolonged harangues of Jacob, Joseph, the university lecturers, and the rest will be the least interesting parts of the book; and in the following summary only those points will be mentioned which seem to be most important for determining the writer's affiliations among the theological schools of his time.

The world is regarded as limited by an impenetrable wall, beyond which is the abyss of chaos. All things are derived from one infinite Creator, who separated the chaotic mass that arose out of nothing into four elements, which hold latent within them all possible physical forms. Man was formed from the dust of the earth into which God breathed life, and men are still created daily, body and soul. The animals are made of material elements only, and have no reasoning soul. Angels were a separate

creation, and are "incorporeal beings without any generative powers." The existence of God is proved by the argument from design, and he is believed to possess the good attributes of men, since he is their source. The author holds the doctrine of the atonement by the vicarious sacrifice of Christ, the doctrine of the Trinity, and the infallibility of Scripture. He believes that the Fall is to be understood as literal and historical fact; that the cause of it was the desire on the part of our first parents to be as gods; that the joint sin of Adam and Eve was transmitted to all their posterity, Christ alone escaping it by being born of woman alone; that Christ was the Jewish Messiah and the fulfiller of prophecy; that the elect are saved by grace alone; that good deeds alone are powerless; and that the wicked will suffer the torments of hell without hope. The devil is a person, and the heathen gods are devils. The Christian sabbath is to be strictly observed by a complete freedom from daily work and the devotion of the whole day to religious exercises, such as prayer, the singing of psalms ("the human voice is the fittest instrument wherewith to praise God"), public and private preaching, and the reading of the Bible. Ceremonies should be performed "decently and in order, without any taint of illegitimate or foreign superstition, or wonder-working properties that are unwarrantable." The sacraments are baptism (for adults) and the Lord's Supper. Reproofs are administered to Antinomians and Ranters; to sectaries who found new teachings on isolated texts; to those who "allow violence and fraud and lying calumnies to be most righteous acts if only they be done for the sake of religion" (Jesuits?); to those who claim "the right of civil power to condemn in spiritual matters" (Laud?); and to the non-resistance doctrines of the Quakers. None of these sects is actually named.

The details of seventeenth-century theology are matters concerning which a layman may well be excused from speaking with assurance, but it seems to me that in all this we have little that is extraordinary enough to point clearly to an individual. It is the theology of a Calvinistic Puritan of a moderate type, and it harmonizes well enough with the far from radical tone of the author's politics. A comparison with Milton's theological opinions

is peculiarly difficult and inconclusive; for these seem to have been constantly in a state of flux. He went to the university intending to enter the ministry of the Church of England, and he left unpublished at his death a statement of his religious opinions which shows that he had traveled far since he first went to Cambridge. Exactly what he believed on a particular point during the years when, as Mr. Begley thinks, he was composing the present work, it would be almost impossible to prove. In some points the views I have just outlined certainly clash with Milton's final belief. Such are the theories of the daily creation of new men, and of the purely material constitution of the lower animals; and the doctrine of election. In many other points the author of *Nova Solyma* and Milton agree, but I do not find that these have been shown by Mr. Begley to be really distinctive.

THE AUTOCRITICON.

There remains the closing "Autocriticon," added by the author in the issue of 1649, and this is of such importance as to warrant me in quoting it entire:

In addition to the errata which the printer has corrected, and others similar which he has omitted to notice, there are many of a more important description, and indeed the author for some time hesitated whether he ought to publish the work in such a rough and unrevised state. For it was written in the heat of youthful ardour, and never received the finishing touches, which were from time to time deferred. And when, after a long interval, during which the author had much to occupy his mind and much to disturb his thoughts as well, he at last began to take in hand the final revision, he soon discovered that his literary bantling was not only an abortive one, but also so maimed and misshapen in form and structure as to require a very great deal of extra labour to make it presentable. He also felt that he could not possibly have leisure time to take it to pieces again, and rewrite it in a more perfect form. While in this changeful and hesitating frame of mind, which lasted for some time, he at length determined to publish, strengthened by the precedent of Apelles, whose habit it was to submit his pictures to the view of the passers-by in such a way that he could listen furtively to their critical remarks, and afterwards amend any faults they might discover.

Moreover, the author had a special desire, seeing that his work was such a novel and daring institute, to hear the judgements that others passed on his attempts before he bestowed further pains on them himself;

for he is by no means unconscious how adverse the spirit or fate of this age is to any strict repression of the carnal life, or to any endeavour to bring into favour the higher spiritual faculties, as is here assayed. If it should turn out thoroughly distasteful to the public, he will not proceed further with a superfluous book. If it should meet with approbation, he will be encouraged to go on, and paying due attention to what the critics may say of the present work, will proceed to bring this first imperfect sketch into a more finished picture.—*N. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 244-46.

It has been observed by several critics that this is by no means the customary attitude of Milton toward the public with regard to his work. He, indeed, in connection with some of his earlier poems shows himself conscious of immaturity, but he regards himself as his own sufficient critic, and seems to ask advice of no one. Whatever be the date of writing of the body of the book, the "Autocriticon" at least belongs to 1648-49, when Milton was forty years old, when he had been before the public as a controversialist for upwards of seven years, when he had dared public opinion again and again, and had nerved himself to all kinds of misunderstanding and abuse. It seems almost impossible, then, that with a work such as this, so inoffensive in comparison with his divorce pamphlets, he should come forward in so deferential an attitude toward a public whom he was accustomed to bully or defy, and ask for its approval before he ventured to spend more of his time on its elaboration.

STYLE.

For the lack of a more telling similarity between the Latinity of this work and that of the acknowledged writings of Milton, Mr. Begley accounts by the difference in the kind of book. The acknowledged Latin prose of Milton is controversial, most of it written at white heat, abounding in fierce invective, strenuous reasoning, and impassioned pleading. The only passages in *Nova Solyma* which approach emotion are those dealing with religious ecstasy, and they exhibit a tendency to mysticism which does not strike one as in any way Miltonic. It is true that we are at a disadvantage in judging chiefly from translation. For a complete reprint of the Latin text, or a more generous selection of extracts, we could well have spared much irrelevant comment.

But many qualities of style can be judged even in translation. Thus we miss here Milton's abundant allusions to the classical mythology—a poetic mine which the unknown author regards with evident distrust; we miss his ever-recurrent autobiographical references; we miss his free use of figure.

The translator's argument from vocabulary may be summed up in the following points: (1) an excessive use of diminutives, found also in Milton's Latin verse; (2) a fondness for rare words, some of which are found also in Milton; (3) the use of the incorrect form "Belgia" for "Belgium," as in Milton's third Latin "Elegy" and twice in his English pamphlets; (4) the use of "Britonum" with the first syllable short—an offense against quantity committed also in *Mansus* and the *Epitaphium Damonis*. But none of these is at all conclusive. For a pointed parallel to the use of a large number of diminutives resort must be had to an early college exercise. As for the second point, it is next to impossible to prove that a word is excessively rare or confined to a single writer, when one has to deal with the whole mass of Latin written from classical times down to the middle of the seventeenth century. "Belgia" and "Britones" are shown by Mr. Begley himself to have been both fairly common in the Latin writings of English university men of the time. All that their use here can possibly prove, then, is that the unknown author was probably a member of either university. On the score of Latinity, therefore, we must regard Mr. Begley's case as not proved; while, from a consideration of the more general elements of style, the negative evidence is decidedly against a Miltonic authorship.

CONCLUSION.

To sum up: We are asked to believe that John Milton wrote while still at Cambridge, or later at Horton, a Latin didactic romance; that he kept it by him for a dozen years; that he finally put it forth anonymously, hesitatingly, and deferentially, watching eagerly for the verdict of a public he was wont to lecture and defy; and that, since that public completely ignored it, he let it drop and never made any further reference to it. We have examined the romantic material it contains, and find no trace of his

personality in style or subject-matter. In the politics we find present the indications of a complaisant attitude toward the powers that were, utterly at variance with all we know of Milton as a mature man; and we miss any vigorous discussion of those ideas which he spent his manhood in upholding. In the views on education, literature, and theology we fail to detect any distinctively characteristic feature of his acknowledged opinions on these topics. In place of evidence of Milton's striking architectural faculty, we find an absolute lack of structure, a confused heterogeneous mass; in place of a style expressive of his aggressive and passionate personality, we have the manner of a man docile, tolerant, avoiding extremes.

Against all this we have some excellent Latin verse, and some experiments in epic, which share with one of Milton's college exercises several of the commonplaces of a literary tradition.

Who, then, did write the book? It seems likely that we may never know. For the work strikes me not as the production of a professional man of letters, but as the solitary offspring of some obscure university man, schoolmaster or cleric, or both, who poured into this one receptacle all his pet ideas on government, education, poetry, and religion, added a selection from the choicest products of his college days, wrapped it up in a thin coating of conventional romance, and thrust it forth nameless, while he watched in vain for a response from an unconscious world.

To deal with all of Mr. Begley's arguments in detail would have required a space as great as the original work, but I have tried to touch all that seemed to have any cogency. The others it seemed kinder both to my readers and to the author to leave unmentioned. Yet justice ought to be done to the extent of Mr. Begley's services. He has unearthed and made accessible a work of considerable merit and of curious interest, and has devoted to the exposition of it a large mass of learning in remote fields, warm enthusiasm, and much ingenuity; and has brought to bear every fact, favorable or unfavorable, that seemed to him in any way relevant, with a frankness and candor that cannot be too highly appreciated.

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LOS MORISCOS DE HORNACHOS.¹

I.

Los Moriscos de Hornachos is a hitherto unpublished play by Francisco de Tárrega, the Valencian priest and playwright generally referred to as the Canónigo Tárrega.

The MS of the *comedia* is in the Biblioteca del Real Palacio at Madrid, and is bound with a number of other plays in MS in a quarto volume which bears on the back the words: *Titulos de las Comedias*. Shelf-mark: E 39 82.

The volume is paginated in pencil and only as far as p. 480, on which page *Los Moriscos de Hornachos* begins. The play occupies thirty-four pages and is in writing characteristic of the seventeenth century. There are two columns to the page, except when the lines of verse are long. It is followed in the volume by a short *Loa* and some unconnected reflections under the heading, *Esperança. Nobleza. Desdicha*, on smaller paper and in eighteenth-century script.

The author of the play and the date of the MS are distinctly stated, the MS beginning with the title: *Comedia famoso* de Los Moriscos de Hornachos por el Canonigo Tarrega*; and ending with the words: *Fin de la Comedia de los Moriscos de Hornachos*, 1649.²

Although thus definitely set down in the Palace MS as the work of Canon Tárrega, the *Moriscos de Hornachos* has evidently hitherto been unknown to or disregarded by bibliographers or students of Spanish literary history, since it is not mentioned in any of the works which treat of Tárrega. Nevertheless, its attribution to him in the Palace MS, and the fact that the MS of the *comedia* dates from a comparatively short time after Tárrega's

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Menéndez Pidal for pointing out to me the existence of this *comedia*, and to Dr. F. DeHaan for collating my copy with the original MS, and for several of the corrected readings.

² The figures 1649, in ink blacker than that of the rest of the MS, seem to have been written over another date, which appearances indicate may have been 1619. Traces of the yellowish ink of the first date may be seen in the 6 and in the loop of the 9.

death, leave little reason to doubt that the *Moriscos de Hornachos* is his work. That it has been so long forgotten is doubtless due in part to its relatively small literary value.

The few facts known about Tárrega have been printed several times.¹ He flourished in the last half of the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth centuries. Lamarca gives his name and a list of his plays under the year 1590; Ximeno and Fuster place the date 1608 on the margin beside their articles on Tárrega; Barrera supposes him to have been alive in 1616 (the date of the publication of Aurelio Mey's² *Norte de la Poesia Española*, which contains three of Tárrega's comedias, and of Tárrega's *auto*, *El Colmenar divino*), but to have been dead when Lope praised him in his *Laurel de Apolo* (1628-30).³

Francisco de Tárrega was canon of the cathedral in Valencia, and was highly esteemed by his contemporaries for his literary talent, which he devoted principally to writing plays. He belonged to the *Academia de los Nocturnos*⁴—a literary society among whose members were counted the most distinguished Valencian playwrights of Tárrega's time, Guillén de Castro, Gaspar Aguilar, and others.

Cervantes makes two commendatory allusions to him; the first, in *Don Quijote* (Part I, chap. xlviii),⁵ where he refers favorably to *La enemiga favorable*, though without mentioning Tárrega's name, and the second, in the prologue to his *Comedias*, where he speaks of the "discrecion é innumerables conceptos del Canonigo Tarraga."⁶

Lope de Vega in the *Arcadia*⁷ mentions Tárrega as one whose

¹ For sources of information concerning Tárrega's life and works, cf. the subjoined bibliography.

² Cf. SALVÁ, *loc. cit.*, Tomo I, p. 485, No. 1360.

³ *Laurel de Apolo* | *Con otras rimas*. | *Al excel.^{mo} señor^{do} Don* | *Ivan Alfonso Enriquez* | *De Cabrera*, | *Almirante de Castilla*. | *Por Lope Felix De* | *Vega Carpio, del Abito de* | *San Iuan*. | *Año 1630* | *Con Privilegio*. | *En Madrid*, Por Iuan Gonçalez. | (Fol. 21r—21v.)

⁴ Cf. SALVÁ, *loc. cit.*, Tomo I, p. 57, No. 156.

⁵ Cf. *Obras Completas de Cervantes*, Vols. I-XII (Madrid: M. Rivadaneira, 1883-64). (Vol. IV, p. 367.)

⁶ Cf. *Comedias y Entremeses de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra*, Tomo I, Año 1749 (Madrid: Antonio Marin), which reprints the edition of 1615. (Verso of third blank leaf of sig. D.)

⁷ *Arcadia*, | *Prosas, y* | *versos de Lope* | *de Vega Carpio, Secretario del* | *Marques de Sarria*. | *Con vna exposicion* | *de los nōbres Historicos, y Politicos*. | *A Don Pedro Tellez* | *Giron, Duque de Osuna, etc.* | *Con Privilegio*. | *En Madrid*, Por Luis Sanchez. | *Año 1598*. *Vendese en casa de Iuan de Montoya*. (Fol. 292, verso.)

portrait hangs in a hall of Fame with those of the "diuino Garcilaso," the "cortesano Boscan," the "excelente Portugues Camoes," and other celebrated writers; he also eulogizes him in the *Laurel de Apolo*¹ and in the *Dorotea*.²

Agustin de Rojas Villandrando gives Tárrega a place in his *Loa de la Comedia*;³ Vicente Mariner devotes twenty lines of Latin verse to his praise,⁴ and Gracián, in his *Agudeza y Arte de Ingenio* says that Tárrega "aliñó ya mas el verso y tiene muy sazónadas invenciones como la del Principe Constante y la gallarda Irene."⁵

Flattering mention of Tárrega is also made by Escolano and by Cristobal de Mesa.⁶

Six of Tárrega's comedias—*El Prado de Valencia*, *El esposo fingido*, *El cerco de Rodas*, *La perseguida Amalteia*, *La sangre leal de los Montañeses de Nauarra*, *Las suertes trocadas y torneo venturoso*—were printed by Aurelio Mey in Valencia in 1608 in a collection entitled *Doze Comedias Famosas de quatro Poetas Naturales de . . . Valencia*;⁷ three others—*El cerco de Pavia*, *La duquesa constante*, *La fundacion de la orden de*

¹ Cf. *supra*, note 3, p. 2.

² Cf. *Dorotea*, Act. IV, sc. 2 (B. A. E., Vol. XXXIV, p. 48).

³ *El Viage | entretenido | de Agustin de Rojas, natu | ral de la villa de | Madrid. | . . . En Madrid | En casa de la viuda de Alonso Martin. | Año 1614, fol. 50:*

"El gran canonigo Tarraga
Apolo ocasion es esta
en que si yo fuera tu,
quedara corta mi lengua."

⁴ *Vicentii | Marinerii | Valentini | Opera omnia, | poetica et oratoria | in IX. libros diuisa: | Quorum indicem indicat sequens | pagina. | Tvrnoni, | Apud Lvdovicum Pillhet. | M. DC. XXXIII. | (P. 534.) Cf. SALVÁ, loc. cit., Tomo I, p. 484, No. 1357.*

⁵ *Obras | de | Lorenzo | Gracian. | Tomo Segundo, | que contiene | La Agudeza, y Arte de Ingenio. | El Discreto | El politico Don Fernando el Catholico | y Meditaciones varias para antes, | y despues de la Sagrada Comunión, que hasta | aora han corrido con titulo de | Comulgador. | . . . Barcelona: Por Pedro Escuder, y Pablo Nadal | Impresores. Año 1748. (P. 259.)*

⁶ *Decada pri- | mera de la Histo- | ria de la Insigne, y | Coronada Ciudad y Reyno | de Valencia | Por el Licenciado Gaspar | Escolano, . . . | Primera Parte. | En Valencia, por Pedro Patricio Mey, junto a Sant Martin. 1610 (col. 1132, No. 10).*

La | Restauracion | de España. | De Christoval | de Messa | . . . Año 1607 | Con Privilegio. | En Madrid, En casa de Iuan de la Cuesta. Fol. sig. z verso, stanza 115: "Un Tarraga, a Valencia marauilla."

⁷ There is a copy of the 1609 edition of this volume in the Ticknor collection, Boston Public Library. The title page reads: *Doze | Comedias | Famosas, de quatro | Poetas Naturales de la | Insigne y Coronada Ciudad de | Valencia. | Dedicadas a Don Lvy Ferrer y | Cardona, del habito de Santiago, Coadjutor en el oficio de | Portantvezes de General Gouernador desta Ciudad y | Reyno, y señor de la Baronia de Sot. | Año 1609. | Con licencia del ordinario. | Ea Barcelona, en casa Sebastian de Cormellas, al Call. | Vendense en la mesma Emprinta. Cf. also SALVÁ, loc. cit., Tomo I, Nos. 1357 and 1358. The book is extremely rare.*

Nuestra Señora de la Merced—appeared in 1616 in the *Norte de la Poesia Española*, also published by Aurelio Mey.¹

La enemiga favorable, which is not included among Tárrega's comedias either by Rodríguez or Ximeno, but which is stated by Pellicer to be the work of Tárrega,² came out in 1615 in the *Flor de las comedias de España de diferentes autores*, recogidas por Francisco de Avila. It is also contained in the *Quinta Parte de las comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio*, where it is attributed to Lope.³

Both Rodríguez and Ximeno refer to two other comedias of Canon Tárrega cited by Lorenzo Gracián and given by Barrera as comedias sueltas: *La gallarda Irene*, and *El principe constante*. Barrera mentions further two more plays as written by the same author:⁴ *Santa Margarita*, and *La condesa Constanza*. Concerning the latter he says: "Cita esta comedia Fajardo así: '*Condesa Constanza*, de Tárrega, en libro antiguo.'"

Besides his plays, Tárrega wrote a *Relacion de las Fiestas, que el Señor Arçobispo (V. Patriarca, D. Juan de Ribera) y su Cabildo hizieron en la Traslacion de la Reliquia, del Glorioso S. Vicente Ferrer, a la Santa Iglesia de Valencia* (1600), and six *Discursos*, given before the Academia de los Nocturnos, and preserved in the MS volume of its memoirs owned at one time by Mayans and later by Vicente Salvá.⁵ An *auto*, the *Auto Sacramental del Colmenar* (1616) completes the list of Canon Tárrega's works.

La enemiga favorable was reprinted by Eugenio de Ochoa in his *Tesoro del Teatro Español*;⁶ *El Prado de Valencia*, *La enemiga favorable*, *La sangre leal de los Montañeses de Nauarra*,

¹ Cf. *supra*, note 2, p. 2.

² Cf. FUSTER, *Biblioteca Valenciana* (vide Bibliography, note 2), who says that Pellicer makes this statement in a note at the end of Sancha's edition of *Don Quijote*, 1799, Vol. IV, p. 353, note 60. I have not been able to see the edition of *Don Quijote* referred to. PELLICER's *Quijote* (Madrid: Sancha, 1799), Parte Segunda, Tomo I, p. 235, note 1, has the following: "1. En Madrid. El campo de Leganitos . . . un romance, que empieza:

Al campo de Leganitos,

El canonigo Tarrega repitio por entero este mismo romance en su comedia de *La Enemiga Favorable*, que da principio con una curiosa Loa en alabanza de las Mujeres feas, y con el Bayle intitulado de Leganitos. . . ."

³ Cf. BARRERA, *loc. cit.*; also SALVÁ, *loc. cit.*, Tomo, I, p. 539, No. 1469.

⁴ *Idem* (BARRERA).

⁵ *Idem*.

⁶ *Tesoro del Teatro Español* . . . Arreglado . . . por Don Eugenio de Ochoa. Tomo primero. (Paris: Baudry, 1838.)

and *La duquesa constante* are to be read in the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* (Vol. XLIII, *Autores Dramáticos contemporáneos á Lope de Vega*).

The *Moriscos de Hornachos* is founded upon historical facts, its subject being the troubles between the Christians and the Moriscos in the town of Hornachos, province of Badajoz, which culminated in 1608.¹ At this time, the various crimes of the Moriscos having been denounced to the king by the Hidalgo Juan de Chaves, the *alcalde* of the government, Madera, was sent to Hornachos to deal justice to the offenders. Chaves and Madera are among the characters in Tárrega's *comedia*.

Captain Alonso de Contreras, a distinguished soldier of the time, who had been in Hornachos, and who testified to Madera against the Moriscos, mentions in his life² a rumored uprising of the Moriscos in 1608 and Madera's mission to Hornachos. He also names several of the characters of Tárrega's play: the judge, Don Pedro Manso, the *fiscal* Molina, the *alguacil* Ronquillo, and the secretary, Juan de Piña.

Tárrega's Francisco de Contreras may possibly represent Captain Alonso himself, whose services against unbelievers may be read of in the flattering dedicatory remarks addressed to him at the beginning of Lope de Vega's *El Rey sin Reyno*.³

The text is printed here without deviation from the original MS, except in the following particulars:

1. Capitalization has been made to conform to modern requirements, and punctuation to the editor's understanding of the text.
2. Abbreviations have been solved.
3. Where words of one speaker are broken off in the middle of a line, the words of the next speaker, which in the MS follow on the same line, have been set on the line below.

No attempt has been made to normalize the verse, which is often extremely lame and incorrect, nor have any changes been made in the spelling. Great irregularity is to be noted in the

¹ Cf. HENRY CHARLES LEA, *The Moriscos of Spain: Their Conversion and Expulsion* (Philadelphia: Lea Brothers & Co., 1901), p. 182.

² Cf. MANUEL SERRANO Y SANZ, "Vida del Capitán Alonso de Contreras," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, Julio-Septiembre, 1900.

³ *Parte veynte de las Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio . . . Año 1630 . . . En Barcelona en la Empronta de Esteuan Liberos.*

use of the cedilla, which appears or is omitted indiscriminately before both strong and weak vowels; it is even found before a consonant, as in *esçriui* (l. 290), *esçriuid* (l. 1365). The occurrence of the *tilde* is also irregular.

Z, *s*, and *ç* occur interchangeably: cf. *dezis* (l. 175), *desi* (l. 396), *diçe* (l. 1005); *caza* (l. 530), *cassa* (l. 1263); *alsara* (l. 757), *alçar* (l. 1663). Such forms are also found as *auizemos* (l. 263), *perescan* (l. 874), *fenessio* (l. 1147), etc.

The natural division of the play into scenes is indicated on the margin in square brackets.

The probable speakers of certain lines which, owing to the omission of a proper name on the margin, fall to the wrong person, are also suggested in square brackets.

Asterisks indicate words or lines manifestly incorrect.

Corrected readings have been attempted in the notes only in cases in which the reading of the text obscures the meaning of the line.

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ol. 1, r. COMEDIA *FAMOSO DE LOS MORISCOS DE HORNACHOS

POE EL CANONIGO TAREGA.

ÇAPATA, *musico.*
HERNANDO MERINO.

CAMARA, *su hija.*

ALBARO GONSALES **viego.*

ALBARO GONSALES **moco.*

ALBARO MERINO.

MARIA, *su hija.*

YzQUIERDO.

ÇAYAS.

JUAN DE CHAUES.

ALARCON.

CONTADOR.

ALONSO MATIAS.

VN CANONIGO.

VN CORREO.

CUENCA, *cura.*

GIL XIMENEZ, *alguazil de la *pimiente.*

LUIS BARCO.

TAMIME.

FRANCISCO MERINO.

DOS MOROS { *vno de Africa.*
 otro de Valencia.

DOS PASTORES.

DON PEDRO MANSO

DON DIEGO LOPES DE AYALA

DON FRANCISCO DE CONTRERAS

EL LICENCIADO BOHORQUES

EL LICENCIADO MOLINA, *fiscal.*

EL LICENCIADO MADERA, *juez.*

VNA MUGER.

PEDRO DE LA CRUZ.

JUAN DE BUENOS.

JUAN DE PINA, *secretario.*

VICENTE, *alguazil.*

RONQUILLO, *alguazil.*

LUIS CORDOUES.

TAMARIZ.

PANETE.

ALCALDE DE LA CARCEL.

DOS HOMBRES CAUADORES.

} *oydores.*

JORNADA PRIMERA.

ENA I]

(*Salen HERNANDO MERINO, ALVARO GONSALES, el viejo y el moco, LUIS CORDOUES, CABRERA,¹ que son principales, y CAMARA, y MARIA MERINO vestidos todos de moros; y ÇAPATA, musico con guitarra; y entran con boces, y sientanse en vn estrado en el suelo, y hablen el *siguiente.*)

Çapata. Sentaos, direos vna letra;
aunque hecha por christianos,
es de gusto y alegria,

5 y puede regocijarnos
porque es de la reyna mora
que en Almeria tiene estado.

Hernando. ¿Jarifa no se dezia
essa reyna devermano?²

Çapata. Si señor ¿que repitis
tantas vezes?

Hernando. ; Mahoma santo, 10
que los christianos se acuerden
de su valor soberano!

Çapata. Con razon es celebrada 15
de todo el bando othomano;
si fuera moro el poeta,
no auia de que espantarnos.
Tambien ay en nuestra corte
reyes que alaben su canto, Fol. 1, v.
y damas de quien dezir col. a

¹ This name does not appear in the list of characters.

² Read dime ermano(?).

20 mill loores sublimados;
pero huelgense en extremo,
quando en sus versos y cantos
dizen de los moros nobles
y de la fuente de Darro,
25 del Alhambra y Albaicun,¹
de sus justas y saraos,
de sus vistosas libreas,
de sus zambras y sus bannos.
Alaban a vn Muça fuerte,
30 a vn Tarfeteros *espante,
a vn Reduan animosso,
y a vn valleroso Albayaldos.
*Estas es justo loar;
destos es bien que digamos
35 que los christianos no tienen
vno de quien *ce hermano.
Pero escuchad de la reyna
vn romance muy gallardo.

Hernando. Di por tu vida, Çapata.

Çapata. Ya comienço.

40 *Maria.* Di, veamos.
Çapata (canta). La bella mora Jarifa
que era reyna de Almeria,
biuda de Moraçel
de la othomana familia,
45 aficionada de vn moro
de quien el *nombra cautiua,
por ser galan y discreto
y valiente a *maruilla.
Benhamin tiene por nombre,
50 nieto del rey que a Castilla
el *fuedo de las donçellas
puso por su valentia.
Pero el moro que adoraua
la bellissima Ardayna
55 que con esta misma reyna
en su palacio assistia.
Ella lo quiere, ella adora.
Con çelos la reyna vn dia
en su aposento lo mete
60 para lentregar su vida,
ofreçele su *parsona,
y el reyno que posehia.
Mas el moro, como noble,
no haze de nada estima.
65 Perdona, reyna, le dize;

¹ Read Albaicin.

que mientras viua Ardayna
no e de tener otro amor.
Cae la reyna amortegida;
y el la dexa y sale fuera,
quedando essa piedra fria;
70 y por temor de algun daño,
luego a Granada camina.

Maria. Desçomedido fue el moro.

Camara. Antes fue honrado, Maria.

Maria. ¿Porque?

Camara. Si a esotra queria 75
bien fue guardarle el decoro.

¡Por Ala! que fue ombre onrado,
y que mereçia corona.

Çapata. Mucho Camara lo abona.

Camara. Pues ¿no lo fue?

Çapata. Y gran soldado. 80

Maria. No era *essa moro de agora;
que no digo yo a la reyna,
sino a la que canas peina
le diera gusto.

Çapata. Senora,
no son los moros tan malos 85
como vos ymaginais.

Maria. ¡Que *gustificado estais!
¡quien os viera entre dos palos!

¿Teneis vos otros lealtad,
ni sabeis jamas guardalla? 90

Çapata. Señora —

Camara. Capata, calla.

Maria. ¿Que no digo la verdad?

Hernando. Amigos, y aquel Alhaçer
¡gracias Ala! es ya venido;
escucha pues, dad me oydo 95
a lo que os doy a entender.

Aqui no nos ve el christiano,
ni missa auemos oydo,
y assi quiero dar marido
a mi hija, de mi mano. 100

Los rritos que celebramos
agora aqui se an de ver,
pues vino ya el Alhaçer
que los moriscos guardamos.

Mahoma nombro este dia 105
para hazer los desposorios,
los conuertos² y offeritorios,
quen tal acto conuenia.

² Read conuenios(?).

- Y assi quiero que mi ermano
110 haga tambien otra boda
que aqui el alma le acomoda.
Albaro. Yo os doy en eso la mano.
Hernando. Pues con aqlessa licencia
leuantaos, bella Maria,
115 y Camara en compaignia.
Maria. ¿Para que?
Hernando. Hija, paçiencia.
(*Lleuantanse todos y tiniendo alas moras
de las manos da cada vno la suya.*)
Con licencia del buen viejo
señor Albaro Gonsales,
quiero aliuiar vuestros males
120 con daros aqueste espejo.
Y vos, Camara hermosa,
quiero que le reçibais.
Camara. Señor, muy bien me en-
pleais.
Albaro Gonsales, moço.
125 El alma esta tan goçossa
que no acierto a responder.
[*Albaro Gonsales, viejo.*]¹
Yo *goçossa y satisfecho
quisiera mostrar el pecho.
Hernando. Maria es de Barco muger,
130 y con tan buen desposado
muchos años os goçeis.
Maria. Y vos, paraque aliuiéis
a todos deste quidado.
Y pues *vestido estamos,
- aya fiesta y *hazan *cambra Fol. 2, r. b
aqui com en el Alhambra, 135
debajo de aquestos ramos.
Canta y toca Çapata. Dança *mori-
ça, dança morica, dança
al son de la guitarra, guitarra,
*danca morica a este son, morica, a
este son;
no temais tener passion, 140
pues con moricos *dancais, moricos
*dancais,
muy gallardas bueltas dajys, buel-
tas dais,
aquel por dar onor, dar onor,
mejor que las dio *Almancor, *Al-
mancor
a los moros otomanos, otomanos, 145
y burlar de los christianos, christia-
nos,
y con esta dança *moriça, dança
*moriça
al son de la guitarra, la guitarra.
Albaro Gonsales, moço. La fiesta a
estado *famosso.
Al lugar podemos yr 150
y se podra concluir.
Hernando. Y sera açertada cossa
el yrnos luego al lugar,
pues sin ser vistos podemos;
y en los cielos esperemos, 155
de que nos an de ajudar.
- (*Vanse, y salen JUAN DE CHAUES y ALONSO MATIAS.*)
Chaues. El consejo me a mandado
y el rey—que con el e hablado—
160 que trayga la ynformaçion
para certificaçion
de lo que yo e relatado.
Y assi pretendo embiar
vn hombre que vaya a Hornachos;
que no me e de desuiar
165 en procurar los despachos
que tiene el cura de dar.
Porque vista *la del cura,
ques la que aqui se procura,
porque *viendra autorizada,
170 y con la mia *acompañada,
- esta la verdad segura.
Alonso Matias. ¿Como el consejo a
tomado
lo que le aueis vos contado?
¿huelgase *ò lleuan lo mal?
Chaues. ¿Mal dezis? ¿o pessia atal, 175
que esta muy mal *yndinido!
Quisiera luego escriuir,
y que, si posible fuera,
fuera libre el que auia de yr,
sin que ninguno lo viera, 180
que en viendolo an de morir.
Por que en viendo aun forestero
desdel primero al postrero,

¹ In the MS this name stands opposite next line above.

luego le andan preguntando
 185 a que va, que *ande buscando.
Alonso Matias. Temese esse pueblo
 fiero,

pero no os de esse quidado,
 porque yo embiare el recaudo
 con vn ombre conosido,
 190 estreme no¹ y atreuido
 y en cassos disimulado.

En abito de estudiante
 a Hornachos lleuara
 esse recaudo, y trayera
 195 con secreto lo ynportante,
 y con quidado lo hara.

Y al que algo le digere,
 el le dara su respuesta

de modo que no se altere
 nadie, quando anda *libeere
 por la villa.

Chaues. Es esta
 diligencia, si se hiziere,²
 que a de ymportar grande-
 mente;

y pues el no es conosido
 y es de animo atreuido,
 quidado y diligente,
 esta mi gusto medido.

Vamos porque orden se de,
 y despacharasse luego.

*Lleua el cielo ardiente fuego
 sobre este *pueblo sin fee,
 yngrato, tirano y ciego.

[ESCENA III]

(*Vanse, y salen YZQUIERDO, CAYAS y ALARCON.*)

Cayas. Oy el consejo a mandado
 dar a *morida en fiado;
 215 y no se porque ocazion
 tiene el rey tanta compassion
 con nos otros. ¿Que a pasado?

¿Si la cautela a sabido
 que con Valençia se traça?
 220 *Yzquierdo.* No se, por Dios, lo que a
 sido,

que tanto daño a venido
 aquién la defensa abraça
 de la ley del gran profeta;
 que a pesar de sus quidados,
 225 tengo de mirar postrados
 a la soberana seta

los cuellos mas lleuantados,
 pues vienen de Barbaria
 a Hornachos cada dia
 230 moros sin que sepan dellos,
 y se contratan con ellos
 y bueluen y hazen su via;
 y vienen de *Tutuan

los que socorro nos dan,
 235 aguardando el punto y ora
 que los desta ley traydora
 meteran³ como moriran. [sado,

Alarcon. Yzquierdo, ya andais can-

y me peza que os canseis
 en quanto vos aueis tratado;
 240 veniaca ¿no me direis
 quando paresçio el letrado?

Embian los *losenores
 paraque hagan justiciã;
 mas aun que aquestos traydores
 245 la esecuten con malicia,
 passen por ellos ; ay oydores,
 ay escriuanos, ay Ornachos !

**Yzquierdo.* De lo mal que ay suce-
 dido,

aun que diligencia auido,
 250 embiense los despachos
 con el secreto deuido.

¿Que no pudimos cargalle,
 aqueste juez omicida,
 con que poder sentençialle
 255 a muerte !

Alarcon. Guarden su uida
 los que offiçios piensan darle.

Todos son en el *conseja
 como el lobo, y la *buepega,
 y assi es trabajo ynportuno
 260 querer segura ninguno
 desto. Papel *aparega.

Auizemos con cuidado

¹ Read estremeño.

² Quintilla is very lame.

³ Perhaps mueran; this form corrects the meter and makes the line intelligible (suggested by Dr. F. DeHaan).

lo que por aca a passado,
no *piensan que nos dormimos,
sino que siempre uiuimos
de vn letrado a otro letrado,
al secretario y relator
contentando muchas vezes,
y al mismo procurador,

y aun cohechando los juezes
y asta el portero menor.

De todo se les de quenta
quien aqui nos sustenta;
que tras deste desconsuelo
algun dia querra el cielo
sacar nos de tanta afrenta.

A IV] (*Vanse, y salen ALONSO MATIAS, JUAN MORENO, JUAN DE CHAUES, vn CANONIGO; a de
auer sillas, buffete y aderesço descriuir.*)

Chaues. Escriua Alonso Matias,
y vaya todo de su mano,
porque al fin es escriuano,
y lo a uzado muchos dias.

Digan los dos licenciados
lo que tiene d'escriuir.

Alonso Matias. No me tienen que
aduertir,

3, r. b que estos son autos vzados.

286 ¡Es mas de vna relacion
paraque embien el proçesso?

[Juan Moreno.] ¡Pues que? ¿a de
ser mas que esso?

[Alonso Matias.] Escriuere con
*mucho razon.

290 Juan Moreno. Escriui que con qui-
dado

se despache, uisto el pliego.

[Alonso Matias.] Ya escriuo. (*Mien-
tras escriue estan los otros en
conuersacion.*)

Canonigo. ¡Que tan ciego
es Ornachos que aya dado
en vn tan grande error

295 como es negar la fee!

Chaues. Y en mas da.

Canonigo, ¿En que?

Juan Moreno. En que con grande
rigor

no entra en Ornachos christi-
ano,

por ningun caso ni suerte,

que no procure su muerte

*aquesto pueblo tirano.

300 Chaues. Pues ya llegara su fin
y *tiendran por varios modos
el deuido pago todos,

305 llegando su San Martin.

Alonso Matias. Ya el despacho esta
acabado;

bien pueden luego llamar
a quien lo a de llevar
con secreto y con quidado.

Firmese y lo cerrare, 310
no ay que detenerse mas.

Chaues. ¡Primero no lo leeras?

Alonso Matias. Firmen y luego *le-
eere. (*Firmen todos.*)

Ya leo, escuchad, senores:

“Mandame el rey, my senor, 315

que auerigue con quidado
cierto delito y traigion;
mandame que haga en Ornachos

con secreto que aun el sol
quando todo lo passea 320

no *descuebra mi yntençion,
de su vida, de su trato,

de su hazienda y labor, 325

los modos con que se tratan
y si catolicos son;

si comulgan y confiessen,

y hazen lo que manda Dios;

y que vos *hazais lo mismo

por la suya me mando.

Resta agora en cumplimiento 330

del mandamiento y onor

de mi Dios y de mi rey,

que hagais lo mismo vos.

Y luego con gran quidado, 335

—que ymporta la dilacion,—

a Madrid lo despachad

con el mismo portador.

A todos los del estado,

y a los que mas graueson

e dado cuenta del casso, 340

y responden a vna voz:

345 quen viniendo los despachos
 mandaran con gran rigor
 que vn alcalde *deste corte
 uaya con la comission.
 El cielo os ampare en todo,
 pues con lo que hazemos oy
 uenimos a ser Adlantes
 del onor de Dios, los dos.
 350 En la villa de Madrid
 vispera de San Simon,
 año de mill y seisçientos
 y nueue, quel Bien nacio."
Canonigo. Esta por çierto estimada.
 355 *Alonso Matias.* Y ¿que dezis vos,
 señor?
Chaues. Que de tal mano e yngenio
 núnca menos *seis, *pero;¹
 esta muy bien ordenado.
 Suçeda assi, plega a Dios.
 360 Pero si susçedera,
 que yo confiado estoy.
 (*Sale vn moço como correo.*)
Correo. Si me quieren despachar

*deme recado, y sinon
 para Zamora me *fletan;
 detenerme no es razon. 365
Chaues. Ermano, no se a podido
 poner breuedad mayor;
 aquestos son los despachos,
 y çient ducados os doy
 si con secreto y çuidado 370
 negoçiais.
Correo. *Perdelle temor,
 que para hablar sere *mudor,
 para breuedad el sol,
 y para guardar seçreto
 *familiar *del ynquisiçion; 375
 para hazer que me *despachan
 sere pobre *recador,
 y viento para boluer,
 pues *vendere qual el veloz.
Chaues. Pues toma, y *guiese el 380
 cielo.
Correo. Con todos quede, señor;
 aun ques tarde, *aqueste noche
 dare vn *purso² en Torrejon.

[ESCENA V]

(*Vanse, y salen HERNANDO MERINO y ALVARO GONSALES, el viejo.*)

385 *Hernando.* En efeto, que an escrito
 que tienen el juez ya suelto.
 ¿Que tan mal emos rebuelto
 esto! Poco fue el delito;
 pues afee que abia prouado
 cossas en aquel proçesso
 390 de harto delito y pesso,
 y todo no a aprouechado.
 Escriuen los dela corte
 mill cossas para espantar.
 Pues no se pueden contar,
 395 no es cosa que a nadie ynporte.
 Desi ¿esta aqui el juez
 *ô alguazil de la *pimiente?
Alvaro. Senor si [a] tomalles quén³.
 Fol. 4, r. a *[Hernando.]* ¿Mala la hara esta vez!
 400 *[Alvaro.]* Con el anda el contador,
 y vna letra no a escrito.
Hernando. No se auerigue el delito,
 sino *muere este traydor.

Este alguazil ¿no es embiado
 para hazer mala la tierra? 405
 pues muera con cuerda guerra,
 y ansi yra bien despachado.
 No a de quedar desta vez,
 pues ya va desta manera,
 410 christiano que aqui no muera,
 ni caminante ni juez.
 Vengemos por *nuestros manos
 a Marin y a los de mas.
Alvaro. Muy bien *las *sentenciadas:
 mueran aquestos christianos 415
 que atrauesaren la tierra,
 pues es ley estableçida
 no quede christiano a vida,
 y enterrillos en la sierra.
 Pero el alguazil, senor,
 420 uiene, y el contador con el.
Hernando. Muera vna muerte cruel
 aquesse ynfame traydor;

¹ Read se espero.

² Read pienso (suggested by Dr. F. DeHaan).

³ In the MS tomalles quén³ is attributed to HERNANDO; ALVARO begins again mala la hara, etc.

no se escape con la uida,
 425 pues solos los dos estamos.
(Salen el contador y JIL XIMENEZ, alguazil.)

Contador. Si el *quierre que la ha-
 gamos,
 yo la hare muy cumplida.

Hernando. ¿Que ay? ¿que dizes,
 contador?

¿que es lo que venis tratando?
 430 esso ¿es riña *ô es burlando?

Contador. Pide este alguazil, señor,
 que aqui se le de licencia
 para hazer ynformacion,
 y *sera *dades traycion

435 desta villa, en mi conçiencia.
 Yo no e hallado la cuenta,

l. 4, r. b y e mis libros trastornado,
 y en ninguno he hallado
 alcabala de pimienta.

440 Si yo no la e receuido,
 que soy el alcauallero,
 y me cuesta mi dinero,
 señal es que no la a auido.

Porfia que la e de hazer,
 445 y licencia te pedimos.

Jil Ximenez. Señor, a aquesto veni-
 mos.

Hernando. No estoy deste pareçer;
 si en efeto no se a hallado
 que aqui pimienta an vendido,
 450 ¿porque *hazais tanto ruido,
 hombre vil y desuergonçado?

Pero basta ser christiano
 para hazer lo que aveis hecho.

Gil Ximenez. Señor,—

Hernando. ; *Rompeldol pecho,

455 Contador, a ese tirano!

*(Saca el contador la espada y dalle
 como que le mata.)*

; Ea dalde, acabalde vos,
 ques muy dino de castigo
 qualquier christiano enemigo!

Gil Ximenez. ¡Jesus, ayiuda, my Dios!

460 Virgen Maria sagrada,

NA VI] *(Vanse ALVARO, HERNANDO, y el CONTADOR. Sale el correo en abito destudiante.)*

500 *Correo.* En Argel o en Tetuan
 paresse que el hombre a entrado.
 ; Uea yo el pueblo quemado

sea mi *muerta sabida,
 y en vengança de mi vida
 sea esta jente castigada.

Ruega por mi vuestro hijo,
 465 y pues que muero entre moros,
 pise los sagrados coros
 con paz y con regozijo.

Contador. Muy buen despacho
 lleuais;

bien os aueis confessado;
 madre y hijo aueis llamado;
 470 *popres ; que *ciego estais !

; que negios son los christianos
 en confessar a Maria
 por virgen ! Fol. 4, v. a

Hernando. Es boueria
 en que dan los ynumanos;
 475 pero al fin, siguen su seta
 como aca la de Mahoma.

Contador. ; A mala rauia los coma !
 ¿No es mejor nuestro profeta?

que su ley nos da plaser
 480 sin viuir tan apretados
 de mill cosas reseruados
 asta en comer y en beuer.

Alvaro Gonsales. Ya pues esta este
 ombre muerto,
 lleuese luego a enterrar. 485

[*Contador.*] ¿A donde?

Alvaro. Ay a vn *muledar.

Hernando. Mejor estara en my
 huerto;

y porque no nos empezca
 si algun dia fuere hallado,
 490 se entierre desfigurado,
 y quitada la cabessa.

Vna pierna le quitad
 y vn braço con vna mano.

Contador. Y sera disfraz galano.

Hernando. Pues ansina lo enterrad. 495

Ea, caminemos luego,
 pues esta dentro de casa,
 y nadie nos pone tassa,
 ni nos *pertuba el soçiego.

y a quantos en el estan !
 ; desçienda fuego del cielo
 que lo abrasse qual Sodoma ! 505

510 ¡bajen donde esta Mahoma
 y soruase los el suelo!
 ¡como *hablen prolongado
 y todo en algarauia!
 Fol. 4, v. b 510 ¡o famosa lengua mia,
 alabete lo criado!
 ¡O christianos valerosos,
 do quiere respetados,
 *temmidos, reuerenciados,
 515 y de la fee temerosos!
 ¡O famosa Estremadura,
 patria mia regallada,
 de los *maestres onrada,
 por la mas bella y mas pura!
 520 Pero ¡quien me mete en esso?
 quiero seguir mi ventura
 y pedirele a mi cura
 que mande darme el *prosseso.
 Aquesta es su caza. Quiero
 525 por lo que traygo *ordonado
 de secreto y de guidado,
 ver si ay alguno primero.
 Pero todo esta seguro;
 quiero a este padre llamar.¹
 ¡A de caza!
 (Sale QUENCA, cura, solo.)
 530 Cura. ¡Quien me llama?
 Correo. Yo, mi señor licenciado.
 Salga, que traygo vn recaudo
 de la corte.
 Cura. O vos de fama
 ¡que recaudo me *trayes?
 ¡es del consejo?

[ESCENA VII]

(Vanse, y salen HERNANDO MERINO, CONTADOR, y ALUARO GONSALES, viejo.)

Hernando. Aqueste esta ya enter-
 rado,
 ya podeis perder quidado
 de que ynformacion os pida.
 Contador. ¿Como, si no tiene vida,
 570 la *pidera el desdichado?
 Assi auian de estar todos,
 desde los primeros godos,
 estos ynfames christianos.
 El que *vineere a las manos
 575 muera, amigo; mueran todos,
 no quede pobre ni rico,

¹ Two lines lost.

Correo. Vn amigo 535
 me lo dio.
 Cura. No sea enemigo.
 Correo. Aqui, señor, lo vereys.
 Yo se que son ombres graues
 los que a mi me despacharon
 y el secreto me encargaron. 540
 Cura. La firma es de Juan de
 Chaues.
 ¡O *anima, el mas leal
 que e tenido en esta tierra!
 sabe amigo, darles guerra
 pues sabe tambien su mal. (Lee.) 545
 Correo. Paresce quen la letura
 el padre se va encojiendo.
 ¡Que sera? yo no lo entiendo;
 *entendiolo el, pues es cura.
 Yo no se de los despachos 550
 mas de guardar el secreto,
 y de guardalle prometo,
 *ô no salga yo de Ornachos.
 Ojala el negoçio sea
 para prouecho del cura,
 porque sera mi ventura
 como sea lo que el dessea. 555
 *Tengo yo algunas albrigias
 si quiera en toda mi vida.
 Ya esta la carta leida. 560
 Cura. Esqucha lo que yo *codiçias.
 Mancebo, venios conmigo,
 dare os desto los despachos;
 ¡querreis partir oy de Ornachos?
 Correo. Señor, yo lo propio digo. 565

andante ny passagero,
 hombre, muger, grande o chico,
 que no prueue vuestro azero,
 y lo mateis.
 Hernando. A esso me aplico, 580
 aquesse quede a mi cargo,
 yo estoy a matar vzado
 con *rebolin y *palombo
 qualquiere que sea topado.³
 ¡A quantos abremos muerto 585
 sin el que esta oy en el huerto?
 Pienso segun buena çuenta 590

² Quintilla lacks one line.

que seran mas de nouenta.

Contador. Aqueso sera lo cierto.

590 *Hernando.* Todo lo tengo assentado,
y se los que se han hechado
en las minas desta sierra
y en la de Pinos, y en tierra
todos los que se an enterrado.

595 Se tambien, como esgriano
que a passado por mi mano,
de los delitos atroçes
que han hecho los que conoçes;
pero ya esta todo llano.

600 *Contador.* Tambien de la falsedad
que para ti fue verdad,
que hize al pesquisidor,
quando se pedia el traydor
el casso de la ermandad;

605 que con ser negoçio cierto,
y que tu lo auias muerto,
lo troque con esta mano,
y le hize crer de llano
que el negoçio estaua ynçierto;

610 pues en las *muertas passadas
¡todas no an sido acabadas
solo con my falsedad?

Hernando. Todo es muy grande ver-
dad,

pero fueron bien pagadas;
615 y agora, de aqui adelante,
os lo pagare doblado,

y estad en matar constante,
sin mostrar pecho doblado
en esto, ques ynportante.

Contador. Manda, señor, que haga- 620
mos

a todos los que aqui estamos,
en tu seruicio, vna cossa
la mas hardia y espantosa;
mira si con el no salgamos.

Manda como rey como eres, 625
que eres obedecido. Fol. 5, v. a

Hernando. Acaba, di lo que quieres.

Contador. Cada qual esta aduertido;
di, que yremos por do fueres,
que cada qual tenga quenta 630

que a de ser muy procurado
aqueste de la pimienta.
Ermanos, aya guidado.

Aluaro Gonzales. Yo tomo aqueso a
mi quenta;

no aya miedo que se entienda 635
la muerte desse cuitado,
ques gente que tiene rienda,
la de aqueste pueblo *onrada,
y en lo malo ay mucha enmienda.

Hernando. Alto, vamos a comer, 640
y mirad que aueis de hazer
lo que os aqui tengo mandado.

[*Contador.*¹] Perded en todo cuidado,
que no teneis que temer.

(*Vanse, y sale JUAN DE CHAUES solo.*)

VIII]
645 *Chaues.* 1. Por momentos aguardo
a este moço que fue por los des-
pachos,
que en *darillos ya me tardo.
¡A ynfame pueblo, a falso aquel
Ornachos!

650 ¡En *quantos dessenciones
por tus pecados los christianos
pones!

*3. Yo vide *vuestro caza
hecha corral de su ganado: pero
vos sabeis lo que passa.
Castigad con rigor tan graue yerro,
655 y entienda la justicia
deste lugar ynfame la malicia.

*2. Virgen de los Remedios,
abogada y senora de mi alma,
ordonad vos los medios
porque no quede aqueste mal en 660
calma,

pues os han offendido
a vos y a vuestro Hijo es clareçido.

4. Bien se que vos, senora,
sois de piedad y de clemencia llena, Fol. 5, v. b
y sois procuradora 665
del pecador y le aliuiais su pena;
pero aquestos maluados
bien mereçen ser, Virgen, castiga-
dos.

(*Entra el correo con los papelles.*)

¹ In the MS this name stands opposite the next line below.

- Correo.* Señor, seais bien hallado.
- 670 *Chaues.* Y vos en buen ora venido.
 ¿Como en el camino os fue?
 decídmelo, hermano mío,
 y que *auído de negocios.
- Correo.* Muy bien, gracias sean a
 Christo,
 675 pues que llegue, di la carta,
 y bueluo, mi señor, viuó.
 Traigo *de cura respuesta,
 y lo que tanto os querido,
 —ques los despachos de todo,—
 680 traigo en vn proçesso escrito.
 Con secreto lo di, y con secreto
 viene este que te remito.
 Yo no sé que diablos es
 silencio tan ynaudito.
- 685 *Chaues.* No es para publicidat
 este casso, hermano mío.
 Vos lo aueis hecho muy bien,
 yo os lo agradeço ynfinito.
 (*Sale ALONSO MATIAS.*)
- Alonso Matias.* Dizen que a venido ya
 el correo que auia ydo 690
 a Ornachos con las cartas.
- Chaues.* ¿Que ay?
- Alonso Matias.* Eso propio digo.
 ¿Ay recaudo?
- Chaues.* El mejor
 que desear se a podido.
 Ya tengo aqui los papelles, 695
 *oy sea mostrado
 el cielo que sabe bien
 que procuro su seruicio.
 Yo *los voy a dar al lettrado
 la relacion por escrito, 700
 para que en el consejo
 se vea; y vos, amigo,
 venid por vuestro trauajo
 que esta muy bien *mereçida.
- Correo.* Eso me agrada, yo voy;
 que este callar, pronostico
 que a de ser por mal de muchos.
- Alonso Matias.* Lo que Dios fuere
 seruido. 705
 Fol.
- (*Fin de la primera jornada.*)

C. B. BOURLAND.

SMITH COLLEGE.

THE SONNETS OF MICHAEL DRAYTON.

IN the Elizabethan sonnet the note of personality is slight, the note of conventionality is strong—and the note of real passion is seldom uttered. In a suggestive classification, we find a number of sonnets somewhat autobiographical with amatory inspiration. Here might be placed those of Sidney and Spenser. Sidney's sonnets may have reflected a passion for Lady Rich. But Petrarch was an inspiration to Sidney, and Petrarch's passion for Laura was more or less Platonic. In the midst of his strains to his mistress, we note his Sonnet 40: "Padre del Ciel, dopo i perduti giorni." Spenser's cycle may have been addressed to the lady that became his wife; but they bear an Italian title, *Amoretti*; and he was largely influenced by Petrarch and Du Bellay.

Other sonnet groups are but slightly autobiographical, with no amatory inspiration. They are dictated by friendship or by mere conventionality. Here I place Drayton's *Idea*. Here, too, are found Surrey's Geraldine sonnets, Daniel's *Delia*, Constable's *Diana*, and many other sequences.

Drayton's sonnets were first published in 1594—fifty-three in number. After revision, elimination, and addition, the folio of 1619 contained sixty-three sonnets, as we now have them. They are typical of all of their author's work. Less grace and art are found in them than in the *Amoretti* or the *Delia*. They show metrical ease. Some are mediocre; some are good; a few are of the best; one is excellent. There is an infusion of conceit. They embrace much of the current sonnet convention and sonnet diction. They also display an originality of thought and diction that emanates wholly from Drayton. The long process of revision from 1594 to 1619 precludes any notion of logically connected sequence. Some may be addressed to a lady; some may be addressed to anybody or nobody. Sonnet 11 seems to be addressed to a man. Sonnet 8 is hardly addressed by a lover to his mistress.

The relations of the sonneteers, one to another, is complicated.

Drayton was in the very center of the sonnet vogue, and his influence upon others and their influence upon him are hard to determine. These influences are interdependent and reciprocal.

In his valuable *Biographical Chronicle of the Elizabethan Drama* Mr. Fleay has gone to extremes in a theory that Shakspeare drew his sonnet material from Drayton much in the same way that he drew *Julius Caesar* from Plutarch. Mr. Fleay assumes that Shakspeare's sonnets follow Drayton's in time; that Drayton's influence is direct and forceful; that Shakspeare's dependence upon our author is not general; but that it is one of word, thought, structure, and content.

In regard to the relations between these two sonnet sequences, the composition of each series was spread over a long period of time. Drayton spent twenty-five years in putting his into their final form of 1619. Shakspeare's had then been published for a decade. In his argument, Mr. Fleay overlooks the point that our two authors may have drawn from a common sonnet reservoir. The terms, conceits, and thoughts that are common to these two writers are common to the sonnet vogue.

Mr. Fleay traces a similarity of terms, such as "lines," "wrinkles," "map," "mortgage," "usury," "wire," terms wholly familiar in ordinary use, but here of special application. The same terms are frequent in the other sonneteers: "Lines" and "wrinkles" are found in *Zepheria*, 27. *Fidessa*, 11, has the verse: "Upon my face the *map* of discontent." The legal terms are used in many places: *Fidessa*, 5 and 6; *Zepheria*, 37; *Parthenophil and Parthenope*, 7, 8, 20. The use of "wire" to designate hair is an ordinary conceit: notice it in Shakspeare, 130; *Parthenophil*, 47; *Phyllis*, 7 and 9; *Fidessa*, 39; *Chloris*, 9; *Delia*, 35; and earlier by Spenser and Peele. Shakspeare's figure, "rhetoric of the eye," is used by Daniel in *Delia*, and in his *Queen's Arcadia* he speaks of "the silent rhetoricke of a looke."

So also the content, similar to Shakspeare and Drayton, is very general. This whole theme of common stock and common thought can be illustrated almost without limit. The farewell sonnets, the "care-charming sleep" sonnets, the "tournament" sonnets all illustrate this common possession. And this comparative study

may be extended to melody, rime, technique, and quatorzain characteristics generally. It is unwise to say that Shakspeare depended upon Drayton, or that Drayton depended upon Shakspeare. These two men came to London while the pastoral influence was waning and the sonnet influence was rising. Both were drawn into this latter movement. Both drew from a common reservoir. Immortality in verse, transitory beauty, the cruel Fair, the woes of the lover, sleep and night-thoughts, undesirable old age, and scores of such themes were employed by all. Every sonneteer shows traces of this community of possession. Each shows also an originality of his own.

This identity of sonnet motive and convention does away largely with the autobiographical phase of sonnet interpretation. And this affects our view of Drayton's relation to Anne Goodere.

Drayton's sonnets are entitled *Idea*. He employs the term often from 1593 to 1619. It is in his eclogues, sonnets, odes, the *Barons' Wars*, and *Polyolbion*. He preserves it in his 1619 folio; after this date I do not find the term in his writings. But the term, in his restricted sense, is not original with him. We may trace it back to Plato. Mr. Sidney Lee points out its French original. I have found the term in Sidney's *Arcadia*, Eclogue 1; in *Zepheria*, 14; *Amoretti*, 87; Fairfax's *Tasso*, I, 48; *Orchestra*, 100 and 130. Drayton's biographers all concede that he employed the term to designate Miss Anne Goodere, afterwards Lady Rainsford.

The question before us concerns the relation of our author to the lady whom he addressed. Was he a lover or only a friend? Was his devotion, in his writings, personal and passionate, or conventional and gallant? This is merely a special case of the general interpretation of the Elizabethan sonnet cycles. The lover theory holds that Drayton's work offers the tribute of a lover; that the sonnets are the most determined expression of his passion; that his love was not returned. He was poor; Anne belonged to a noble family and married in her circle. The theory holds that after her marriage Drayton continued a passionate devotion and wrote then his famous "love-parting"

Sonnet 61, "Since there's no help, come let us kiss and part." This sonnet is thus regarded as the culminating cry of his unrequited passion.

In opposition to all this, it may be urged that Drayton has addressed Anne Goodere in strains no more earnest or passionate than many another sonneteer has employed to an assumed mistress. At random, notice *Phillis*, 25, and *Delia*, 1. Many of Drayton's sonnets cannot possibly be interpreted as from the pen of a lover. Sonnet 9 seems to put his devotion upon a plane with Surrey's for Geraldine. This sonnet contains the line, "'Tis nine years now since first I lost my wits." Mr. Sidney Lee thinks this sonnet dates from the year 1594. At that time Drayton was thirty-one years of age and Anne not more than twenty-four. Consequently Drayton "lost his wits" to Anne Goodere, upon this interpretation, when he was twenty-two and she only fourteen or fifteen. This is possible. But it is not probable that Drayton entertained a passion for a girl of fifteen and kept it alive for more than twenty years after her marriage, while he continued to maintain the most cordial relations with both her father and her husband. The subjectivity of the sonnets is no greater than that of some of his other work. His *Heroical Epistles* are most objective; but they frequently show as genuine a love-strain as any passion in the sonnets. The lines between Henry and Rosamond are vigorous. Some of his lyrics, *Dowsabel*, the *Beta Song*, the *Daffodil Song*, the *Quest of Cynthia* are all as subjective and as passionate as even the so-called "love-parting" sonnet.

This Sonnet 61 is justly famous. It appeared first in the folio of 1619. We do not know when it was written. The usual interpretation upon it is that of a love-pang at the marriage of Anne Goodere to Henry Rainsford. This is a good illustration of how prepossession often twists a straight mind. The structure of the sonnet suggests a date much later than the marriage. Its metrical style differs from the stiffer, earlier sonnets. It has a freedom of movement that suggests a more experienced pen. Its rather elaborate use of personification suggests a date as late as the *Barons' Wars*, wherein we find fine illustrations of this same rhetorical device. As to its sentiment, the critics seem to have

shut their eyes to its sestet. A cursory reading of the final lines shows that it is not a love-parting theme, but a love-reconciliation.

That Drayton addressed Anne Goodere in the strain of a lover is not a tenable theory. He is one of a large group of poets that indulged in a conventional literary expression. *Idea* may not be as shadowy as the nominal idol of some other sonneteers; but Drayton's pen has addressed her only in terms of the gallantry of the age, the homage of a friend.

LEMUEL WHITAKER.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

ZUM GOTISCHEN ALPHABET.

DA mir vor dem druck des artikels nur *eine* korrektur, und zwar die erste, zu gesicht gekommen ist, bei der die runenzeichen insgesamt und die gotischen buchstaben teilweise fehlten, haben sich mehrere fehler eingeschlichen, die hier berichtigt werden sollten.

S. 2, z. 2 v. u. l. *wenn* st. *when*;

s. 3, z. 8 v. u. l. *th* = *p*;

z. 7 v. u. l. *p* st. *þ*;

s. 4, z. 13 v. u. l. *p* st. *þ*;

s. 5, z. 14 v. u. l. *lh* st. *lþ*, *hþ* st. *hþ*;

s. 6, z. 11 v. o. l. *<þ* und *hþ*;

z. 15 v. o. l. *þ* st. *þ*;

s. 7, z. 18/19 v. o. l. *ka-pitalen*.

E. H. M.

DATA ON MÉRIMÉE'S COLOMBA.

THE centenary of Mérimée, on September 27, 1903, passed almost unnoticed. There was no great popular demonstration as for Victor Hugo in the preceding year, and no military display as at the recent inauguration of Renan's statue in Brittany; only some quiet references in the papers and magazines, a few short articles from the pens of fervent admirers, not too eulogistic in character, as seemed most in keeping with the memory of a man who ever despised noisy applause.

An important contribution appeared in the *Deutsche Rundschau* of August and September, under the title, "Eine Neuphilologenfahrt nach Korsika."¹ The author, Mr. Max Kuttner, furnishes some new and valuable material for discussion regarding Mérimée's Corsican tales. The following pages will serve to illustrate a few among the more important points taken up.

A PHILOLOGICAL PUZZLE.

The first *vocero* or *ballata* in *Colomba* contains the following lines with reference to Orso and Colomba's father:

. . . . *Il était le faucon ami de l'aigle,—miel des sables pour ses amis,*
—pour ses ennemis la mer en courroux.

This *miel des sables* has been very troublesome to annotators. Most of them, being aware of the fact that bees do not generally deposit their honey in the sand, and having tried in vain to discover some clue to the mystery, had finally to content themselves with some explanation (?) like this: *a very fragrant honey*—which was easily inferred from the context, and at the same time not self-committal in the least.

A passage from a Corsican song quoted by Mérimée in his *Notes d'un voyage en Corse* (p. 223) runs thus:

¹ See also MR. KUTTNER'S contribution in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, Bde. CXI, CXII (1903, 1904), "Die korsischen Quellen von Chamisso und Mérimée." Cf. also *ibid.*, Bd. CVIII, s. 117.

O lu mio Zucchero canto,
 Lu mio miele della arena.
 ("Oh my sugar candy,
 My honey from the sand.")

This is most probably the source of the expression in Colomba's *ballata*,¹ but still what does it mean?

Mr. Kuttner offers a new explanation, and he writes:

A woman in Sartene, who is familiar with *vocero* literature, suggested it to me, as I heard her use the following image:

Siete il mele renoso
 Dell 'albero benedito.
 ("You are the sandy honey
 Of the blessed tree.")

The *arbousier* is the *albero benedito* because it bears fruit, while the fruitless broom is called *la scopa maladita*. The fruit of the *arbousier* is very sweet, and bees that feed on it produce a honey, the excellence of which consists in its being crystalline and gritting between the teeth like sand. I believe that this explains the passage.

This may be the meaning, but it is very doubtful. At any rate, one thing is certain: this view is not supported by the philological interpretation of the passage. We should not be justified grammatically in considering as equivalent the adjective *renoso* in the one place, and the genitive *della arena* in the other. Of course, in German these expressions might be interchanged: *sandhonig* means at the same time *honig des sandes* (as, e. g., in *erdapfel*) or *honig wie sand* (as, e. g., in *holz-apfel*). But in French *miel sablonneux* ("sandy honey"), *miel de sable* ("sand honey"), and *miel du sable*, or poetically, *des sables* ("honey from the sand") are three altogether different things, and these terms cannot be indifferently interchanged.

It is true that in colloquial language—which, however, Mérimée never uses—*miel de sable* could be used as a synonym with *miel sablonneux*, and also that *miel de sable* could stand

¹The same comparison occurs before in the same ballata:

O dolce piu di li miele,
 O manso piu di li pane
 Paria che Dio l'avessi fatto.
 ("Sweeter than honey,
 Better than bread;
 One would have said that God had made him.")

exceptionally for *miel du* or *des sables* (as in *pomme de pin*); but one will never find *miel du* or *des sables* for *miel sablonneux*, and it is exactly this substitution which is needed here, if the interpretation of Mr. Kuttner be accepted.

Of course, there is a possibility that in Corsican dialect the adjective and the genitive can be used interchangeably. Mr. Kuttner does not establish this, however. And even if he had proved it, this would not account for Mérimée's text, which is French and not Italian.

In short, Mérimée did not write *sablonneux*, which would be the word in case Mr. Kuttner is right. He did not write *miel de sable*, for this would convey the ridiculous meaning of honey made out of sand (reminding one of the joke of French children speaking of *la pierre de bois*), or else the meaning of honey for the sand (as in *miel de table*). But he wrote *miel des sables*, which therefore remains to be explained.

Now, from the point of view of language, only one translation is possible: "honey from the sand;" the words are perfectly plain; there is no philological puzzle about them. Therefore we are driven to the conclusion: the text is meaningless, unless perhaps, after all, there actually exists a kind of honey deposited by bees in the ground. In other words, the problem before us is not in the least of a philological nature, but is purely biological. This problem, we are happy to say, has been solved long ago, and in a manner altogether favorable to Mérimée, who seems to have been much better informed as to bees than his commentators.

The fact is that not only some bees will deposit honey in the ground exceptionally, but that this is a very common occurrence among a number of species of bees. Let us open David Sharpe's *Insects*, Vol. II, and read chap. 1, division i, pp. 10-70. We shall find there that the bees of the genus *Prosopis*, of the genus *Halictus*, especially the *Halictus Quadricinctus*, frequently place their nests in the ground. Of the genus *Andrena* we learn that they live in burrows in the ground, preferring *sandy places*. Those of the genus *Dasypoda* dig burrows extending to the length of one or two feet. The *Osmia*, one of the most important of the genera of bees found in Europe, avail themselves for

nidification of hollow places already existing, choosing excavations in wood, in the mortar of walls, and even in *sand banks*. The *Megachile albocincta* frequently takes possession of a deserted worm burrow in the ground, and the *Megachile lanata* places its cells in soft soil; etc.

The bees referred to in Mérimée's story are the *social bees* of the genus *Bombus*, commonly known as "bumblebees." The phenomena connected with their social life are more similar to what one finds among wasps than to what they are in the genus *Apis*, and the wasps, as is well known to all of us, frequently place their nests in the ground. One class of the genus is called *Bombus agrorum*. A populous colony of a subterranean *Bombus* may attain the number of 300 to 400 individuals. In good weather, and when flowers abound, these bees collect and store honey in abundance; in addition to placing it in the empty pupa cells, they also form for it special receptacles that are filled with honey and always left open for the benefit of the community. The existence of these honey tubes in bumblebees' nests has become known to our country urchins, whose love for honey and for the sport of bee-baiting leads to wholesale destruction of the nests. There are species of bumblebees in Corsica that present certain peculiarities; they are entirely black, with a red termination to the body, while in continental Europe the same species exhibits yellow bands and a white termination to the body.

The writer, I think, need not now be afraid of seeming overbold if he claims that this biological explanation of the *miel des sables* is more satisfactory than the one offered by Mr. Kuttner.

The plural used by Mérimée, *des sables* instead of *du sable*, is merely a poetical form. Similar expressions are common in French artistic prose: *la liane des pampas*, *le lion des déserts*, *la glace des mers polaires*, *la grande paix des névés*, etc.

With reference to the sandy ground of Corsica, Mérimée writes in his *Notes d'un voyage en Corse*, p. 71:

La plaine [autour d'Aléria] est d'ailleurs très fertile, bien que le terrain soit sablonneux, et l'on peut juger de la bonté du sol à la hauteur et à la vigueur du mâquis qui couvre tous les endroits où la charrue n'a point passé depuis peu.

THE LOCATION OF PIETRANERA.

Pietranera is the place where the story of *Colomba* is laid.

Mérimée, who states in the very first page of his novel that he does not know what *couleur locale* means, is evidently joking. If *Colomba* is not full of *couleur locale*, where can it be found? What he wished to express was simply that to him the value of a story did not depend upon its exact and minute description of the scenery, or of the idiosyncracies of the characters. Art was first to him and erudition second when he wrote fiction, the order being reversed when he wrote the descriptions of his archaeological tours. This is very well illustrated in the point now to be examined.

There is a hamlet in Corsica, called Pietranera. It is situated on the coast, two kilometers from Bastia, on the main road. The situation alone shows that it cannot possibly be the village described in *Colomba*; but Mérimée borrowed the name on account of its picturesqueness.

In the story the fictitious Pietranera can be differently located. It must be somewhere between Ajaccio and Bastia, for allusions are made to the fact that the colonel and his daughter will pass through Pietranera in journeying from the one town to the other. But in some scenes in the story it must be looked for nearer Ajaccio; according to others, nearer Bastia. I say first, nearer Ajaccio, for we learn that Colomba and her brother travel in one day from Ajaccio to a place in the neighborhood of Bocognano (about twenty miles northeast of Ajaccio), and the next day they reach Pietranera, long before night probably; at least it is said, chap. 10: "Pour les neutres rassemblés le soir autour du chêne vert, ce fut [the return of Colomba and Orso] le texte de commentaires sans fin." When the colonel and his daughter go to Pietranera, they also spend one night only on their way, and are expected for the noon meal at Pietranera the next day. Finally the prefect in Pietranera says, "je serai absent trois jours," and he goes to Corte, which is the capital of the central arrondissement of the island, a trifle over half-way from Ajaccio to Bastia. On the other hand, the bandits are located in the

neighborhood of Bastia, and at the end of the story it is on Mount Quercio, above Bastia, that they meet Colomba and her brother in order to take leave of them.

Mérimée did not mind in the least inconsistencies of this kind. He places his scenes to the best advantage from the point of view of art. So long as he describes Corsican nature, Corsican people, Corsican bandits, the rest is of no importance. Is his novel less interesting to us if some realistic critic tells us that Pietranera is not between Bastia and Ajaccio, as Mérimée has it? And also that there are inconsistencies, even if we admit this general location, for, if Pietranera is only about thirty miles distant from Ajaccio, how can the bandits, who live near Bastia, take part continually as actors in the story?

This is not all. For his description of Pietranera, Mérimée found his material at Fozzano, the native town of the original Colomba, a few miles from Olmeto, in the southwestern part of the island. Mr. Kuttner describes briefly the place as follows:

Fozzano, which can be seen from Olmeto across the broad valley, has been divided, as far back as the memory of men reaches, into two rival camps. They are separated by a street which, as in most Corsican villages that are built on a hill's slope, divides the place into *soprani* and *sottani*. The people in the rival parties never step over this line, and for innumerable generations there has been a blood-feud between the two factions. These conditions prevail even to this day.

Thus Mérimée has taken the name of Pietranera from the northeast, the description of the place itself from the southwest, and transported the whole somewhere to the center of the island, either to the southwest or to the northeast of Corte, according to the scenes.

I may add here that near to Fozzano, as Mr. Kuttner tells us, there is a little bathing resort called Baraci, and its inhabitants are known as *Baracini*. This word probably suggested the name of Barricini for the lawyer's family in Colomba.

THE HISTORICAL COLOMBA.

My object here is only to summarize the interesting facts collected by Mr. Kuttner in his journey to Corsica.

Colomba was born in 1768 in the southwestern corner of the

island, at Fozzano, the place referred to above, which served Mérimée as a model for his Pietranera.

Her father was Bernardin Carabelli, her mother Innocence Bernardini.

She had five brothers; one was a captain in the service of the English army in 1796, and married a Corsican girl, Miss Suzini, from Bonifaccio. Another was a commandant in the French army; a third one, a consul-general in Italy. About the two others nothing is said.

She married, in 1795, Anton Bartoli, of her own village, and had one son and two daughters. One of the latter—Colomba's favorite child—married Mr. Istria, of Olmeto, a short distance from Fozzano, and a much more important town.

Mrs. Istria likewise had one son and two daughters. They are alive and live together, none of them having married. It is at their house that Mr. Kuttner was received. They showed to him the earrings, the rifle, and the cartridge pouch of their grandmother; also a few carpets made out of her silk dresses.

Another grandson of Colomba Bartoli may also be mentioned. He had been an officer in the French army, had adopted almost completely the customs and views prevailing on the continent, and had married a rich English girl—exactly the fate of Mérimée's Orso della Rebbia.

If any doubts should remain as to the identity of Colomba Bartoli and Mérimée's heroine, they will be removed by reference to a letter addressed to her by the French writer. The letter itself, dealing with private affairs, is not published. The envelope bears these words:

Madame V^{ve} Colomba Bartoli, née Carabelli
chez M. Joseph Istria

Olmeto

Corse.

It is dated:

Paris, 52 rue de Lille

6 janvier 1855.

The letter ends with the following words:

Je regrette, madame, de ne pouvoir mieux répondre à la lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'adresser et vous prie d'agréer l'expression de tous mes sentiments les plus distingués.

PR MÉRIMÉE.

Colomba was called by her countrymen *la guerriera*. She had been very fond of arms ever since she was a child and had become a marvelous shooter. In her old days she was still proud of her skill, and taught her grandchildren how to handle a rifle.

The following anecdote depicts admirably her character: The old Corsican houses are built to serve two purposes—to be a dwelling for a family, and to be a fortress. They are generally constructed in the form of a tower, with almost no windows. One day the owner of the tower opposite Colomba's house, belonging to a rival family, decided to raise his dwelling one story. Colomba saw a danger for herself and her relatives, and made up her mind that this plan should not be carried through. Several times she warned the man in charge of the construction to give up his work. He paid no attention to her. Then, one day, she induced her brothers to take a walk with the gendarme of the town. When they were gone, she seated herself before the house with a little child on her knees; she had also loaded a gun, which she concealed. After a while she again warned the man building the tower. As he persisted in his refusal, she shot him down. When people arrived she had resumed her former position and pretended to know nothing about the shot.

Her son was brought up according to her own ideas. An excellent shooter and an excellent rider, he was feared by his enemies. His family relates that he agreed seven times to make peace with his hereditary foes, but seven times he was betrayed. One day in particular an ambush had been prepared for him; but he noticed it in time and succeeded in killing two of his aggressors. Later, however, he was assassinated while trying to rescue his cousin. Colomba would not leave to another the revenge of her child, and after she had carried out the "vendetta" she went, dressed as a man and accompanied by one of her brothers, to live for several years in the *mâquis*.

She remained the same intrepid woman to the very end. At

the age of ninety-three she used to traverse on foot the distance of several miles that separates Fozzano from Olmeto, where her daughter lived. It is at the latter's house that she died. As the priest was assisting her in her last moments, there arrived by chance a friend of her brother, living in Italy. He was much overcome, and after he had given his message, he added: "Coraggio, signora!" "Non è il coraggio che mi manca!" was the prompt reply, and then she passed away.

She was buried at Fozzano.

It must be added, so as not to give a wrong idea of the woman, that, if she was famous among her people for her strong and masculine character, she also enjoyed the reputation of being extremely kind and sweet, not only to the members of her own family, but to all those suffering morally or physically, to the poor and to the weak. This feature had not escaped Mérimée's observation.

There exists a curious tradition among the descendants of Colomba Bartoli, namely, that Mérimée asked for the hand of one of her daughters, Elizabeth, but was refused. Mr. Kuttner adds in regard to this only the following mysterious words: "I have found in Mérimée's correspondence another explanation of this family tradition. But about this some other time."

From what has been said, it is easy to see that Mérimée drew the character of his heroine from a real person. But he dealt with the original Colomba as freely as he had done with reference to the village of Pietranera. He had known her a woman of seventy-two years of age; he made her beautiful and young, and he made her a poetess or *voceratrice*. He suppressed four brothers out of five, and made the two remaining children orphans. He added the descent from the noble *caporali*. He invented, further, the whole story of the feud between the della Rebbia and the Baricini. He put in the romantic English girl (later, indeed, his fancy was realized, as we have seen, when one of Colomba's grandsons, an officer, married a wealthy English girl). He invented almost certainly—and with what delight!—the figure of the scholarly bandit *le curé*, to be placed beside the traditional

bandit of the type of Brandolaccio. He may possibly also have created the character of the little Chilina.

How different is his method from that of the realists who came later! Not only Zola or Maupassant, who both could claim to have copied—almost photographed—every incident in all their stories, but even an artist like Flaubert, who was so proud of having kept on his desk for three weeks a stuffed parrot before writing his story of *Un cœur simple* (Corr., IV, 241), or thought it wise to help himself in the description of the poisoning of Madame Bovary with an extraordinarily powerful auto-suggestion. Mérimée believes, as indeed all artists do, that there are æsthetic elements in reality, but that all nature is *ipso facto* æsthetic is not true. Therefore to draw inspiration from a kind of intoxication of reality was never his method. He does not want to be a slave to his characters and situations. On the contrary, he considers it the privilege—the duty—of the writer to dominate his subject. And it is probably in order to show us from time to time that he has not lost his self-control that he adds these ironical traits for which he is famous and which are frequently found in the most dramatic scenes. He is, as is the realist himself, an impartial, exact, dispassionate observer; but he discriminates between the elements offered by reality; he keeps only what he wants; he transposes, he adds, whenever he can render his subject more picturesque and more æsthetic.

Ars homo naturae additus is his motto, as it has been that of all writers placed by posterity in the temple of fame.

ALBERT SCHINZ.

BRYN MAWR, PA.

THE OLD ENGLISH GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS.

THE texts here printed have not previously been published, either as a whole or in part.¹ While they are both concerned with that very interesting subject, the *Evangelium Nicodemi*, they are of quite a different character. The first (from the Cotton MS Vespasian D 14) is without doubt a late Old English version of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, while the second (from the Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 41) is an OE. homily which discusses with some detail the "Harrowing of Hell" episode from the apocryphal sources of the life of Christ.

I. THE MANUSCRIPT COTTON VESPASIAN D 14 (FOL. 87b-100).

When I undertook, a few years ago, to edit the OE. manuscripts of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*,² I did not appreciate the real importance of the version contained in Vesp. D 14. There are two reasons why I did not include this version (or, at any rate, supply variant readings from it) in the reprint of the Cambr. Univ. Libr. MS li, ii, 11 and the Cotton MS Vitellius A 15: first, and chiefly, because I was misled by Wülker's words, "Nicht zu verwechseln mit dieser Übertragung ist ein Auszug aus dem Pseudevangelium Nicodemi in der Handschrift zu London, Cotton. Vesp. D XIV,"³ as to the importance of the text; in the second place, I had never had a good opportunity to examine the manuscript carefully. These facts also account for the following statement, which occurs in the previously mentioned edition:

In addition to the above mentioned MSS a sort of résumé of the contents of the Gospel of Nicodemus, i. e., of Part II, is found in the Cotton MS Vespasian D 14 (fol. 87b-100a incl.) in the form of a homily by Aelfric.⁴

¹ FÖRSTER does include a few passages of Vespasian D 14 in his article, "Zum altenglischen Nicodemus-Evangelium," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, Vol. CVII, pp. 311-21.

² See *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. XIII (New Series, Vol. VI), pp. 457 f. (1898).

³ Cf. *Grundriss*, p. 497.

⁴ Cf. *Publications*, p. 464.

In the summer of 1901 I was able to study thoroughly and to make a copy of the manuscript, and to see, as a result thereof, the insufficiency of my own and Wülker's characterization of the piece. Later in the same year my attention was directed to the value of the Vespasian version by Professor Max Förster's article in *Archiv*.¹ An examination of the MS led me to conclude that the version is neither an *auszug* from nor a "résumé" of the original, or the Cambridge version—a conviction which was strengthened by the reading of Förster's discussion of the relation of the MSS.² It seems, moreover, very doubtful³ whether the piece may be considered a homily at all, although evidence in favor of such an assumption is not altogether wanting. It has been preserved in a MS that has a decidedly homiletic character, and among pieces that are undoubtedly homilies, though there are a number of non-homiletic pieces in the same codex. There are, also, two passages in the text, which have nothing to do with the traditional narrative of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, and which begin with words that belong especially to the homiletic vocabulary of OE. Neither of these passages has anything exactly corresponding in the other two versions of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. The passages in question are as follows:

1. Eala mæn þa leofeste, hwu laðlic and hwu grislic wæs þære deoflene gemot, þa seo helle and se deofel heom betweonen cidden!⁴

2. Eala mæn, hwu grislic hit wæs þa-þa seo deofellice helle pone feond Beelzebub underfeng and hine fæste geheold! For-þan se deofol wæs ær þære helle hlaford and eallra þære deofellicre pingan þe hire on wæron.⁵

The words *Eala mæn* are especially characteristic of OE. homilies. But it is, of course, possible that the peculiar language and style of the Vespasian version, as compared with those of the earlier versions, are due to the copyist of the manuscript,⁶ and that these passages were added by him. Whatever one may think on this point, there is, apparently, no valid reason for attributing them to Aelfric.⁷ But before going further into the questions

¹ Cf. *op. cit.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁵ Cf. p. 28 of text.

² Cf. p. 314.

⁴ Cf. p. 25 of text.

⁶ FÖRSTER, p. 320.

⁷ *Ibid.* Professor A. S. Napier, who knows the MS thoroughly, sees no reasons for believing in Aelfrician authorship. WÜLKER thinks (*Geschichte der englischen Litteratur*, p. 69) that the original version of the OE. Evang. Nicod. was a product of the Aelfrician school.

of date and authorship, it will be well to give a brief history of the manuscript.

MS Cotton Vespasian D 14 is a small quarto on vellum and contains 169 leaves (i. e., 338 pages), which measure $5 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The MS of our piece is written in a bold, clear hand which offers little difficulty to the reader. Capitals are indicated by a red stroke or flourish on the front of the letter, and they are employed with considerable care. The scribe was also fond of paragraphing, paragraphs being indicated by the setting in of lines. There are numerous corrections and insertions of minor importance throughout the MS, which have generally been indicated in the footnotes of the text here printed. These corrections are in a later hand, which is probably also responsible for the large number of underscored words and phrases, sprinkled apparently at random through the piece. In the very scanty account of the MS in the British Museum *Catalogue of Manuscripts* it is assigned to the late eleventh or the twelfth century. The hand of the Nicodemus text seems to justify this rather indefinite dating. The earliest account of the manuscript with which I am acquainted is that of Wanley, who says: "Vespasianus D 14, Cod. Membr. in Octavo partim Lat. partim Saxon. diversis temporibus scriptus."¹ Wanley gives a list of the contents of the MS, in which the version of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* is numbered XXXIII, and he says of it: "De Resurrectione Dñi. . . . Tractatus hic, est Abbreviatio Pseudo-Evangeliæ Nicodemo adscripti."² Skeat is evidently following Wanley when he says: "There is also an abbreviated copy of the same story [i. e., the *Gospel of Nicodemus*] in MS Cott. Vespasian D. XIV. hom. XXXIII.;"³ and, as we shall see, Wanley and Skeat are, generally speaking, correct.

Wanley evidently thought that different parts of the MS were written at different times, but he does not assign a specific date to any part. J. Nehab,⁴ who, it appears, had not seen the MS, thinks that it belongs to the end of the twelfth century;⁵ and

¹ *Catalogue*, p. 202.

² *Ibid.*, p. 204.

³ *The Gospel according to St. Mark* (London, 1871), Introduction, p. vii. Cf. also FÖRSTER, p. 314.

⁴ *Der altenglische Cato* (Berlin, 1879), p. 3.

⁵ NEHAB, p. 41.

B. Assmann¹ likewise places it in the twelfth century on account of linguistic reasons: "Aus der sprache ersehen wir, dass sie [i. e., die handschrift] im 12. jahrhundert geschrieben ist." Napier, who has examined the entire MS with care, says of it:

Homily MS, written early in the twelfth century. The greater portion is written by one hand, which extends to f. 163b. . . . Then follow six short homiletic bits in different hands: the first from f. 163b to 165; the second f. 165; the third fol. 165b to 166; the fourth f. 166 to 168; the fifth f. 168b to 169; the sixth and last f. 169b.²

Förster follows Napier in assigning the manuscript to the early part of the twelfth century, and he also attempts to fix the locality of the text:

Der in Frage kommende Hauptteil der Handschrift . . . ist im Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts, vermutlich im mittleren Süden Englands, aus sehr bunt gemischten Vorlagen von *einem* Kopisten zusammengestellt.³

In another connection he says that the region in or around Dorset

würde gut passen zu dem mutmasslichen Entstehungsorte unserer Handschrift, den ich im mittleren Süden—aufs Geratewohl habe ich an Winchester (?) gedacht—suchen möchte.⁴

I shall have occasion to revert to this point again. Napier's date for the MS may, I think, be accepted as the probable one—at all events, until more definite evidence shall prove it to be incorrect.

Objection has been raised⁵ to the presumption⁶ on my part that the Vespasian MS version (which for convenience we may with Förster call C) contains only the second part of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. The version does represent Part I of the *Evangelium Nicodemi*, but in a very much abbreviated form. That is to say, C omits entirely that part of the narrative which corresponds to the first ten pages of MS A⁷ and to about the first fourteen of MS B.⁸ The fact that C begins the narrative just where there is a considerable lacuna in the other versions has, I think, some bearing on the question of the relation of C to the

¹ *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben* (Kassel, 1889), pp. 246, 247.

² *Academy*, Vol. XXXVII (February 22, 1890), p. 134.

³ P. 314.

⁴ P. 319.

⁵ FÖRSTER, p. 320.

⁶ *Publications*, p. 464.

⁷ Cambr. Univ. MS II, ii, 11.

⁸ MS Cott. Vitel. A 15.

versions A and B, and to a possible older original. The lacuna occurs, to be sure, at the same place in the narrative as given by both A and B, but it has been shown¹ that the language and stylistic differences between these two versions are too extensive for the one to be a simple copy of the other. That is, B, which is evidently later than A, is apparently not a copy of A, but both are probably copies of an older original. Moreover, since C does not begin the story before the lacuna,² the presumption in favor of the older original is made stronger. And it therefore seems to me not at all improbable that C is also a copy of the same original, from which a few leaves (corresponding to the lacuna) had been lost.

The copyist of C, as Förster³ has already shown, dealt very freely with his original, omitting words, clauses, and sentences at will, making frequent additions, often inverting the word-order, and showing especial fondness for indirect discourse, where A and B employ direct. It is, however, to be observed that there are not a few passages and a multitude of separate sentences⁴ in C which, excepting the different word-forms due to the later date of the MS, find exact correspondence in A. There are likewise a few instances in which C agrees with B rather than with A. The changes which the copyist of C evidently made were, as compared with A and B, undoubtedly intended to make the meaning clearer and the thought more forcible. In other words, there is perceptible throughout C a strong tendency toward modernization;⁵ and it is worthy of remark that the copyist of C treats his original with greater freedom, especially through compression and abbreviation, as he approaches the end of the narrative.

As to the date of the MSS A and B, we are, I think, safe in saying that they both belong to the eleventh century;⁶ and I also think that B is later than A. The Cambridge MS was, we know,

¹ See *Publications*, pp. 536 ff.

² The lacuna corresponds to several "chapters" in Tischendorf's Latin version of the *Evang. Nicod.* Cf. TISCHENDORF, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 2d ed. (Leipzig, 1876), pp. 352-64; also WÜLKER, *Das Evangelium Nicodemi in der abendländischen Litteratur* (Paderborn, 1872), p. 15; *Publications*, p. 517; SKEAT, *op. cit.*

³ Cf. pp. 315-18.

⁴ Cf. FÖRSTER, p. 314.

⁵ For examples see footnotes to text.

⁶ Cf. *Publications*, pp. 464, 465.

included among the benefactions which Bishop Leofric made to the cathedral of Exeter at some time between 1050 and 1072 A. D. In the former year Leofric transferred¹ the united "sees of Devon and Cornwall" to Exeter, and moved the episcopal seat from Crediton to the same place. But it by no means follows that the bishop also made the benefactions to St. Peter's in the same year—an assumption that Förster makes without sufficient warrant.² It appears to me more likely that the transfer would be made within, say, two or three years of Leofric's death; about which time, we may also conclude, the memorandum³ or list of the benefactions was written. As Leofric lived twenty-two years after moving to Exeter—that is, until the year 1072—we have a considerable margin within which the MS might have been produced. Earle, who prints⁴ the memorandum in its original OE. form, adds a few explanatory notes, in which he says, among other things:

A memorandum of this sort might be made either before or after the death of the benefactor: it would probably be not at any wide interval on either side of that event, which happened in 1072. Among the Exeter deeds is one by William A. D. 1069 granting to Leofric most of the lands named in this memorandum as Leofric's own benefaction.⁵

Wanley gives the date of the MS as "circa tempus conquestionis Angliæ."⁶ But Skeat thinks Wanley's date is a little too late, and he assigns to it "the locality Exeter, and the date about A. D. 1050."⁷

The fixing of a definite date for MS B is a still more difficult problem. In the matters of carelessness, corrupt word-forms, and hand the MS bears a rather striking similarity⁸ to those of the OE. version of St. Augustine's *Soliloquies* immediately preceding it in the codex. It is, however, impossible to determine from these meager data whether either MS belongs to the end of the eleventh

¹ Cf. EARLE AND PLUMMER, *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel* (Oxford, 1892-99), Vol. II, p. 226.

² Cf. p. 312.

³ For the original documents connected with the transfer see KEMBLE, *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, Vol. IV, pp. 118 ff.; HADDAN AND STUBBS, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. I, pp. 691-95.

⁴ *Land Charters and Saxon Documents* (Oxford, 1888), pp. 249-51.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 252.

⁶ *Catalogue*, p. 152.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. vii.

⁸ Cf. *Publications*, p. 467, and FÖRSTER, pp. 312, 313.

or the beginning of the twelfth century, and it is in reality a matter of precious little importance.

If we are correct in the supposition that all three MSS are copies of one and the same older version, the question arises as to the probable date of the original MS. Wülker¹ and ten Brink² think that the OE. prose translation of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* was made in the first half of the eleventh century. Förster³ thinks it might have been written any time between 950 and 1050, and, inasmuch as that was the period in which most of the known OE. prose pieces on religious subjects and many translations from the Bible were produced, we are quite safe in assigning the original MS to the same period. At any rate, I have not succeeded in collecting any data that would justify me in fixing the date more exactly.

Version C has many points of interest for students concerned with the history of the English language, and especially for lexicographers. It contains many words and turns of speech which clearly foreshadow the rapidly approaching Middle English period. There are, indeed, several words that do not appear in any of the "Anglo-Saxon" dictionaries. I have sufficient space only to call attention to the most unusual of these words.

1. *Barimathia* (p. 13) is a peculiar form of the proper name Arimathia which occurs several times in C (Arimathia not at all), and for which I have been able to find no source. Arimathia is the form used by both the other versions. It is probably only a corruption.⁴

2. *dernelegere* (p. 13) for *forligere* of A and B = "adultery" is given in Bosworth-Toller, but is an unusual word.

3. *Syndonissce* (p. 24) is not in the dictionaries, nor have I been able to find the word anywhere. It occurs in the following

¹ *Das Evangelium Nicodemi*, p. 13; cf. *Grundriss*, p. 498.

² *Early English Literature*, Vol. I, p. 111.

³ FÖRSTER is in error when he says (p. 320), "*Hulme reproduziert ten Brink's Datirung 'in der ersten Hälfte des 11. Jahrhunderts,'*" inasmuch as I have never before expressed an opinion on this point. Cf. *Publications*, pp. 464 f. and 541.

⁴ From *Joseph ab Ar(i)mathia* or *Abar(i)mathia* (so in JOHANNIS GLASTONIENSIS. Cf. NITZE, *MODERN PHILOLOGY*, Vol. I, p. 251). In the Old French metrical romance of *Perlesvaus* Joseph of Arimathea appears, according to Nitze, as *Joseph d'Abarimacie*, while Robert's *Joseph* has the form *Joseph de Bérimathie*. Cf. NITZE, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

connection: "Soð hit is pæt ic hine abæd and on clænen syn-donissce hræigle befeold," etc., where A has "on clænre scytan befeold," while B omits the reference entirely.

4. *ferrædden* (p. 14) for *forræddan* (subst.?) = "traitor, plotter," where A has "gepeaht worhton myd þam mæssepreostum." The word is not given in the dictionaries as a noun, and may therefore be considered new.

5. *belefen* (p. 16) = "believe" ("Hwy nolden ge belefen on hine") is, I think, the only instance thus far recorded of the occurrence of this word in OE. literature. The *New English Dictionary* gives no example of it before ca. 1200.

6. *hogelease* (p. 16) for *orsorge* of A and B, and corresponding to OE. *hygelēas* = "careless, thoughtless, foolish," is an early instance of a rather general tendency in late OE. and early ME. to discard umlaut forms and return to the stems of the primitive words. This form is not recorded in the dictionaries. Förster¹ quotes several similar stem-forms from the *Owl and Nightingale*, such as *hoze* (l. 701), *hozful* (l. 537), *hohful* (l. 1289).

7. *larðeign* (p. 20) for *lareow* of A is the earliest instance of this form yet recorded. Stratmann-Bradley gives one instance of *lör-pein*.

8. *bisne* (p. 24) for *blynde* (A) is a rare word in Old English. It does not occur in B.-T., Grein, Sweet, or Clark Hall, but Cook² has noted its appearance three times in the Lindisfarne *Gospel of St. Matthew*. The references are Matt. 9:27, "gefylgdon hine (him) tuoëge bisene (blinde) clioppende;" 9:28, "geneolecdon to him bisena (blinde);" 11:5, "biseno geseað halto geonges." Both Wright and Murray give a variety of forms of this word as occurring (mainly in the northern part of England) during the ME. period, the earliest of which is *Genesis and Exodus*, 472 (Wright), 2822 (Murray). Wright quotes: "Lamech . . . wurð bisne, and haueð a man ðat ledde him ofte." The word also occurs in *Owl and Nightingale*, l. 243: "A dai thu art blind other bisne." The word survived far down into the modern English period as *bisson*, *bizzen*, *bezzen-blind* (= "purblind"), *beeson*, etc. It occurs at least twice in Shakespeare: once in *Hamlet*, II, 2, 529, "Run

¹ Cf. p. 319.

² *A Glossary of the Old Northumbrian Gospels* (Halle, 1894).

barefoot up and down, threatening the flames with bisson rheum;" and again in *Coriolanus*, II, 1, 70: "What harm can your bisson conspectuities glean out of this character, if I be known well enough too?" After this time the word in the simple significance of "blind" (or "blinding") seems rapidly to have become obsolete. The fact that the word was as well (or better) known in the OE. and ME. dialects of northern England as in the midland or south rather weakens the force of Förster's presumption in favor of the southern origin of the piece.

9. *Stinchende* and *riche* (p. 27) are early examples of *ch* for *c*.

10. *Chearte* (p. 30) represents a peculiar development of the OE. *cræt* (= "cart"). The word generally underwent metathesis (*cræt* > *cært* > *cart*).¹ I have found no other example of this form of it.

I have on two separate occasions since their appearance collated the printed texts A and B with the originals, and these collations have enabled me to make several corrections, especially in version B, the MS of which is in a few places very difficult to make out. The corrections made in A are, excepting one or two typographical errors, of minor importance. But for the sake of completeness and of convenience for future reference I give hereafter the entire list of *errata*, including the "Corrections" from *Publications*, p. 542.

It would have been better to retain the pagination of the codex in version A, which would then read "P. 344," "P. 345," instead of "P. 1," "P. 2."²

471, 16,³ read *leui* (for *levi*); 19, p. 2 begins in middle of the word *cwædon*; 32, line in MS begins with *ac*. 472, 26, insert asterisk after *acsode*. 473, 1, read *pinum* (for *pinum*); 2, *æ* in *cenne* partially erased; 14, read *geeadmetlan*, del. brackets, *a* in *eall* no longer legible; 16, del. leaders; 18, del. *and* and read *cyn-nige*; 20, read *hebreiscan*, del. brackets; 21, read *heora ræaf*; 29, *cwæt* is the regular MS form in cases where the word is written

¹ See *New English Dict.* under "Cart."

² The MS numbers refer to pages and not to folia, as FÖRSTER would have it (p. 313, footnote).

³ Numbers refer to page and line of *Publications*, Vol. XIII.

out; I noticed only one instance of *cwæð*.¹ 30, read *andswarode*. 474, 24, read *swyðe*; 34, read *wyðer*-. 475, 2, read *iudeon* *æac* (?); 24, fol. 59a begins after *Gyf*. 476, 9, read *amnes*; 23, read *þam*; 30, *æð* in *cwæð* ital. 477, 14, read *iacobes*; 18, *c* has been erased before *wæt*; 25, read *anna*.^s 478, 18, *æð* in *cwæð* ital. 479, 34, *e* in *meg* like *o*. 481, 9, *e* in *wyðe* erased in MS; 21, *m* in *sweltam* not ital.; 32 del. *t* in *rihtwys*. 483, 20, *s* and *e* in *scrafe* erased in MS. 484, 24, read *wif* (for *wyf*); 25, *m* in *þam* ital. 485, 15, read *ðndrede*; 24, read *ðingan*. 487, 8, read *syllað*; 20, read *beoð*; 25, first *s* in *méssepreost* above line; 26, read *preceptor*. 489, 24, read *cwæt*; 29, fol. 67b begins with *folc*; 32, read *cwæt*. 491, 20, read *we*; 26, MS *hadan* (for *handan*). 492, 18, *æð* in *cwæð* not ital. 493, 6, read *ealle*; 7, read *lychamam*; 21, read *ðe* (for *de*); 26, read *fewertegeðam*; 31, *æt* in *cwæt* ital. 494, 11, *þ* in *þa* l. c.; 21, *ier* in *hierusalem* not ital. 495, 2, one or more letters erased between *þo* and *ne* in first *þone*; 20, separate *cnæaw-um*. 496, 14, *m* in *adam* not ital.; 30, *m* in *þeodum* ital. 497, 2, read *gewordene*; 16, read *mennissce*; 24, read *disstrum*; 25, an erasure between *e* and *o* in *geseon*; 33, fol. 73a begins with *weard*. 498, 8, *m* in *þam* ital.; 32, p. 27 begins with *wyrcende*. 499, 24, read *ealle* (for *eallē*); 34, an erasure of two or three letters between *o* and *g* in *toatogon*. 500, 8, read *men-niscnysse*; 24, *æð* in *cwæð* ital.; 25, *m* in *þam* ital. 501, 15, read *ofonne*. 502, 21, read *And*; 34, read *unryhtwysnysse*. 503, 15, *s* in *englisc* above line; 21, read *cinning*. 504, 33, first *m* in *gewemminge* ital. 505, 19, *t* erased between *n* and *c* in *stincen-diste*; 22, read *gelicnisse*; *þ* has been torn from margin of the MS; 34, fol. 78a begins with *hæfst*. 507, 25, read *la* (for *La*). 508, 24, MS *huðe* (for *cude*). 509, 6, fol. 79b begins with *mīne*; 12, read *genam*; 22, *hele* erased between *hys* and *wundra*; 30, read *inn* (for *inne*). 510, 2, *æð* in *cwæð* not ital.; 3, *m* in *eom* ital.; 16, read *þynum* (for *þinum*). 511, 20, read *gesceafta* (for *gesceapa*). 514, read *hit* (for *hyt*); 16, read *wes* (for *wes*.)

In the footnotes to the text C I have undertaken to give the variant readings from A (and B when it differs from A and

¹ FÖRSTER is confusing when he says (p. 317, footnote): "Hier wie sonst löst Hulme aus mir unauffindbarem Grunde die Abkürzung *cw.* mit *cwæt* auf." The footnote reference (16) is to version A, in which *cwæt* does not occur a single time in the reprint.

agrees with C). The variants do not include different forms of the same words. It would have been simpler and preferable to give the variants from C in the edition of A and B.¹

II. A HOMILY FROM THE MARGIN OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, MS 41 (FORMERLY 2), PP. 295-301.

The margins of the famous Bede manuscript of Corpus Christi College contain a large number of pieces both in old English and in Latin, which the various editors of the Bede have, quite naturally, said little about. Miller² devotes considerable space to a description of the MS, but he does not say a word about the marginal writings, which would of themselves make a goodly volume in print. Schipper, who has printed the Bede part of the MS in its entirety,³ with an extensive introduction and copious textual notes, gives a little information about the marginal texts. In his description of the MS he speaks⁴ of the various other interesting pieces that it contains. In another connection he says:

Ueber die lateinischen und angelsächsischen Gebete, Zauberformeln, Homilien, die das Manuscript an verschiedenen Stellen auf dem Rande enthält (auf S. 196-198 den Anfang von Salomon und Saturn von v. 1 bis v. 30^a) und die in verschiedenen jüngeren Händen geschrieben sind, vgl. die Angaben in Wanley's Katalog.⁵

In his excellent description of the codex, Wanley⁶ makes eighteen different divisions of the contents. All but three or four of these divisions concern the various marginal pieces, which consist of prayers, exorcisms, and homilies. They are all written in a later hand (or rather later hands) than that of the Bede text. In several instances Wanley gives the texts of the prayers and exorcisms in full, but he usually supplies simply the beginning and end of each of the four or five homilies in the list. The homilies which Wanley names by title⁷ are (1) *Homilia de B. V. Maria*,⁸

¹ For a complete list of language differences between A and B see *Publications*, pp. 536-40.

² *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Part I (London, 1890 [E. E. T. S. 95, 96]), Introduction, pp. xvi, xvii.

³ *König Alfred's Übersetzung von Bedas Kirchengeschichte* ("Bibliothek der AS. Prosa, Bd. IV; Leipzig, 1897-99), 2^{te} Hälfte, 2^{te} Abtl., Einl., pp. xxv ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xxviii.

⁶ *Catalogue*, pp. 114, 115.

⁷ Under No. XI he says: "Sequuntur etiam sermones Saxonici, marginibus Cod. ordine scripti."

⁸ No. XIII, p. 299.

- (2) *Homilia, Repleatur os meum laude ut possum cantare*,¹
 (3) *Homilia de Ascensione D. N. Jesu Christi*,² (4) *Sermo de S. Michale*.³

No. 15, *Homilia de Ascensione D. N. Jesu Christi*, is the one in which I am especially interested, because the first part of it is devoted largely to a discussion in homiletic fashion of the *Descensus Christi ad inferos*; while the latter portion deals with the ascension in the same way.

In looking through the Bede MS in the summer of 1901, I accidentally stumbled upon this homily, which, excepting Wanley's description, is, so far as I know, not mentioned elsewhere. It has certainly never been printed. The collections of Thorpe, Morris, and Skeat contain not a single reference to any one of the homilies of this MS. But Professor Napier⁴ is now engaged in the preparation of a new collection of OE. homilies, which will, I think, include them all. I copied the piece myself and made a careful collation and comparison of my copy with the original.

There is no need of a description of the MS 41 here, or of a discussion of its probable date, etc. These may be found in the Introductions of Miller and Schipper. Wanley assigns no date to this piece, and Miller's date for the Bede, "about the time of the Conquest," is sufficiently exact for my present purpose. Wanley says⁵ of the homily: "*Homilia de Ascensione D. N. Jesu Christi. Hec est dies quam fecit dñs, exultemus et letemur in ea.*"

I am able to assign no definite date to the homily, nor have I succeeded in finding out anything about its source⁶ and authorship. Mr. Alfred Rogers, assistant librarian of the Cambridge University Library, and an authority on paleography, thinks "it is no doubt later than the Bede." "I should think," he writes me, "it is XIth century." Judging from the hand, language, and style, I should say the piece belongs about the end of the eleventh century. The frequent use of the phrase *her* (or *hit*) *sagað* in

¹ No. XIV, p. 307.

² No. XV.

³ No. XVIII.

⁴ My purpose in printing this homily is not to forestall Professor Napier, but to make the text immediately accessible for use in my study of the *Evangelium Nicodemi*.

⁵ Catalogue, p. 115.

⁶ These points will doubtless receive adequate treatment from Professor Napier, who has better opportunities for thorough investigation than the present writer.

the earlier part of the text would seem to indicate that the author, whoever he was, had the manuscript of some other piece, and probably of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, before him. I have in the case of both texts tried to follow the MSS closely, never changing a word or letter of the original, where there is a possibility of making sense of the MS reading. The punctuation and use of capitals are, however, my own.

The homily begins on the margin of p. 295 (older pagination 315) and extends through p. 301.

III. DE RESURRECTIONE DOMINI.¹

[Fol. 87b] Ðæs² dæiges þe ure Hælend for ure alesednysse geðolede pine on þær halgen³ rode, þa wæs⁴ þære⁵ neh sum were standende, se⁶ wæs Ioseph genæmned; and⁷ he wæs god wer and rihtwis, and næs næfre his willes, þær me⁸ pone Hælend forwreigde⁹ on nanen gemange. He wæs of þære ceastre þe is genæmned Barimathia.¹⁰ He¹¹ onbad¹² on Ierusalem¹³ forð¹⁴ þæt se Hælend¹⁵ wæs ahangen. And to þan¹⁶ æfene he¹⁷ eode to Pilate¹⁸ and abæd æt him Cristes lichame and hine of þære rode genam and on clæne scete bewand¹⁹ and hine on his neowe pruh aleigde, on þære-þe nan oðer mann²⁰ on ne læg.

þa þa Iudees þæt geherdan, þæt Ioseph hæfde þæs Hælendes lichame abeden, þa sohten heo hine [Fol. 88a] and þa twelf cnihtes þe sægden þæt he nære on dernelegere²¹ acænnod, and Nichodemus and manega oðre þe ær mid þam²² Hælende spæcen and his gode weorc gesegen²³ and on hine gelefdan.²⁴ Ealle þær²⁵ heo heom sylfen bedigeledan and

¹ These words, in red ink, appear at beginning of the piece in the MS.

² MS C (i. e., Vespas. D. 14) omits that part of the story corresponding to the first ten pages of MS A, or to the first seven folia (fourteen pages) of MS B. Neither A nor B has anything similar to the first part of this sentence, "Ðæs dæiges þe . . . rode."

³ Emendations are inclosed in brackets, and resolutions of MS abbreviations are in italics. Ðæt and and always appear in MS as þ and 7.

⁴ A, *wæs hym* (480, 23).

⁵ B omits *þær* (481, 31).

⁶ B has *þe* (480, 31).

⁷ A and B omit *and*.

⁸ A, *man*.

⁹ A has *wreigde* (480, 26); B has *wrengde* (481, 33).

¹⁰ So throughout MS C.

¹¹ A has *and he* (480, 28).

¹² A, *geanbidiende wæs godes ryces*; B, *was geandbidigende* (483, 1).

¹³ A omits *on Ier*.

¹⁴ A, *oð* (480, 28).

¹⁵ A, *ðe cryst* (480, 28).

¹⁶ *þan* above line in MS; A omits *to þan æfene*.

¹⁷ B omits *he*.

¹⁸ A, *and he æt Pilate þa Crystes lychaman abæd* (480, 29); B has *abeden* (483, 3), and omits *and hine of . . . lichame abeden*.

¹⁹ A, *befeold* (480, 30).

²⁰ A, *ær on* (480, 32).

²¹ *derne legere*, underlined in MS, but the underlining in this case and the numerous others in the MS seem to have no especial significance. A has *of forligere* (480, 34).

²² So MS; FORSTER (p. 317) has *þan*.

²³ A, *geswutelodon* (482, 1).

²⁴ A omits *and on hine gelefdan*, ²⁵ A, *Ealle hig þeh hig sylfe* (482, 1): *æ* in *þær* not italic.

behyddan¹ buten Nichodemus, ane,² for-pan-þe he wæs an ealdor of³ þan Iudeisce folca. Ða com he to heom, þær þær heo heora samnunge hæfdon and cwæð to heom: "Hwy comen ge hider on þysser gesamnunge, þæt ic hit ærre nyste?" Ða andsweredan þa Iudees and cwædan: "Ac hwu wære þu swa dystig, þæt þu dorstes innen ure gesamnunga gan, þu þe wære werigend⁴ and⁵ midspecend þan Hælende? Ac seo he æfre mid þe here and ec on þære toweardan wurlde." Nichodemus⁶ cwæð: "Amen! Amen!"

Eallswa gelice Ioseph æfter⁷ hine æteowde and heom to com and puss cwæð; "For hwý synden ge swa unrote ongean me? Is hit for-pan-þe ic abæd þæs Hælendes lichame æt Pilaten? Soð hit is þæt ic hine abæd and on clænen syndonissce⁸ hræigle befeold and hine on minen pruge⁹ geleigde and ætforen¹⁰ þan scræfe mycelne stan ahwylfde. And ic secge to soðen þæt [Fol. 88b] ge nan¹¹ þing wel ne dyden ongean þone rihtwisen, þæt ge hine on¹² rode anhangen and mid spere sticoden."

Ða þa Iudees þæt geherdan, þa gefengan heo hine and heten hine on cwarterne fæste beclýsen and cwæðen to him: "Oncnaw nu and ongit þæt hit þe sceal lytel fremigen, þæt þu topohtest. We wyten þæt þu ne eart næfre wyrðe þæt þu bebyried beo; ac we sculen syllen þin flæsc heofone fugelan and wilde¹³ deoran." Ða Iudees hine þa on cwarterne¹⁴ gebrohten and þa dure fæste belucan; and Annas and Caiphas þa locan fæste¹⁵ geinsegelodan and þærto herdes gesetten and geðoht worhten wið þan ferrædden¹⁶ on¹⁷ hwylen deaðe heo hine¹⁸ syllen mihten and ofslean. Ac heo nolden for þan restendæige.¹⁹ And heo þa beðohten hwu heo wyrest mihten hine æteon.²⁰

Ða gesamnoden²¹ heo on þan pridden dæige, Annas and Caiphas and ealla heora lyðre geferen,²² and comen²³ to þan cwarterne²⁴ and þa locan

¹ A has *þær ðær hig woldon* (482, 2), for and *behyddan*.

² A, *syfþa* (482, 2). B, *an ealdor wæs*.

³ A, *on* (482, 3).

⁴ A, *geþwærigende* (482, 8); B omits.

⁵ B omits *and*.

⁶ A, *þa andswarode he and cwæð* (482, 10).

⁷ A, *æfter þam* (482, 11).

⁸ A, *on clænre scytan* (482, 14).

⁹ A, *byrgene* (482, 15).

¹⁰ A, *and þær to* (482, 15).

¹¹ A, *ge wel nā ne dydon* (482, 16).

¹² A omits *on rode*.

¹³ A, *eorðan wyld* (482, 23); A, *fæste on cweart*.

¹⁴ A, *on þam* (482, 24); B omits *þam*.

¹⁵ A omits *fæste*.

¹⁶ A, *myð þam mæssepreostum and myð þam diaconum* (482, 27).

¹⁷ A omits *on*.

¹⁸ A, *hig Ioseph ofslean woldon* (482, 27, 28).

¹⁹ A, *Ac hyt wæs þa on dæg reste dæg, and hig geanbyrdian woldon oð ofer þære dæg and hig syððan gesomnigean and þa hwyte ymbe þæt ðencan hu* (482, 28–30).

²⁰ A, *hyne teonlycost ateon myhton* (482, 30).

²¹ A, *Ac hyt geweard þa þæt ða ealdras and þa mæssepreostas ofer þone restedæg hig gesomnodan* (482, 31, 32); B, omits *and þa mæssepreostas* (485, 1).

²² A omits *and ealla heora lyðre geferen, and*.

²³ A, *wæron forðgangende* (482, 33).

²⁴ A, *to þære clusan, þær þær hig Ioseph beclýsed hæfdon* (482, 33, 34).

unsegeloden and mid¹ þan cæigen þa locan unlucan. Ac heo þærinne Ioseph² ne³ funden. Þa⁴ wundre [*Fol. 89a*] den heo ealle⁵ and wurðen⁶ afyrhte. Onmang⁷ þan þa⁸ stod þære sum of þan cæmpen þe scolden habben⁹ gehealden þæs Hælendes byrigene, and heo sæden¹⁰ hwylc eorðstyrung heom com to. And Godes ængel heo þær¹¹ gesegen swylce legeræsc¹² and his hreaf¹³ swylce snau; and "we¹⁴ wurden ealle afyrhte and þær lægen swylce we deade wæren, and we geherdan þone ængel cweðen¹⁵ to þan wifen þæt¹⁶ Godes sune wære of deaðe arisen." And se ængel cwæð, "Ne ondræde ge eow,¹⁷ for-þan ic wat þæt ge þone Hælend seceð.¹⁸ Ac he nis na her, ac¹⁹ he is arisen swa swa²⁰ he ær beforen²¹ sægde. Ac cumeð and²² sceawigeð²³ hwar²⁴ he aleigd wæs, and fareð hraðe and secgeð his leorningnihten þæt heora Hlaford is of deaðe arisen,²⁵ and þæt heo cumen²⁶ to him on Galileam, þær heo hine mugen geseon swa²⁷ swa he heom ær sægde."²⁸ Ða Iudees, þa heo þæt geherden, heo leten raðe ealle þa cæmpen heom to gefeccen²⁹ þe þæs Hælendes byrigene scolden³⁰ healden and heom to cwæden: "Hwar³¹ is se Hælend þe eow betæht wæs? Oððe hware synd³² þa [*Fol. 89b*] wif þe se ængel wiðspæc? Witodlice³³ se Hælend is arisen of deaðe; ac³⁴ for hwan ne heolde ge þa wif³⁵ þe ðider comen?" Þa cæmpen heom andswereden and cwæden: "We nysten hwæt þa wif wæron, ne we hit wyten ne mihten,

¹ A, and þa cægan, and þa duru geopenigende (484, 1).

² A, Ac þær næs na Ioseph inne funden (484, 1, 2).

³ An erasure of two letters between ne and funden.

⁴ Before this sentence A has Ða þæt folc þæt gehyrdon (484, 2).

⁵ A omits ealle.

⁶ A, wæron (484, 3).

⁷ A, Ac amang (484, 3).

⁸ A, þe hig ymbe þæt spræcon and ymbe þæt wundredon (484, 3, 4); B, þam hy ymbe þæt specon (485, 6).

⁹ A omits habben, and has order, þe ðæs hælendes byrgene healdan sceoldon (484, 5).

¹⁰ A, and cwæð sona, "þæt ic wat þa we þæs hælendes byrgene heoldon, þa wearð mycel eorðstyrung;" C changes from direct to indirect discourse (484, 5, 6).

¹¹ A omits þær.

¹² C omits two lines of A, hu he þone stan . . . þæt his ansyn wæs (484, 7-9).

¹³ A, reaf wæron (484, 9).

¹⁴ A, swa þæt we wæron afyrhte, þæt we (484, 10).

¹⁵ A, cweðende (484, 11).

¹⁶ A, þe to ðæs Hælendes byrgene comon (484, 12); A omits þæt . . . arisen, and has he cwæð, "Ne ondræde," etc.

¹⁷ A, eow nā (484, 13).

¹⁸ C omits þonne þe (B, he) onhangen wæs (484, 14).

¹⁹ A omits ac.

²⁰ A, eal swa (484, 15).

²¹ A, foresæde.

²² and added above line by later hand.

²³ A, geseoð.

²⁴ A, þa stowe þe he on (484, 16).

²⁵ A, arysen of deaðe (484, 17).

²⁶ A, and ys hig forestæppende on Galilean (484, 18).

²⁷ A, eall (484, 19).

²⁸ A, foresæde (484, 19).

²⁹ A, wæron heom to geclypigende ealle þa cæmpen (484, 20).

³⁰ A omits scolden.

³¹ A does not have Hwar . . . betæht wæs.

³² A, Hwæt wæron þa wyf (484, 22).

³³ A does not have Witodlice . . . of deaðe.

³⁴ A, and for hwylcon þyngon (484, 22).

³⁵ A, hig, and does not have þe . . . comen (484, 23).

for-þan-þe we wæron onfyrhte,¹ þæt we þær lagen swylce we deade wæron for þæs ængles ansyne,² and for-þan we þa wif gefon ne mihten." Ða cwæden þa Iudeas: "Beo ure Scyppende,³ we ne⁴ gelefeð eow na." Ða weardmænn⁵ andsweredan: "Hwy nolden ge belefen⁶ on hine?⁷ Witodlice⁸ he wæs Godes sune." Ða cwæden þa Iudeas: "Bute ge us þæs Hælendes lichame gesyllen, ge sculen on yfele deaðe þrowigen." Ða⁹ weardmæn andswereden: "Æteowið¹⁰ us Ioseph þe ge on cwarterne¹¹ beclysden, and we eow gesylleð¹² þone Hælend." "Josep¹³ we mugen begyten; he¹⁴ is on his ceastre on Barimathia." Ða cæmpen andswarodan¹⁵: "Gyf Ioseph is on¹⁶ Barimathia, þonne is¹⁷ se Hælend on Galilea, swa swa¹⁸ se ængel þan wifen sæigde."

Ða¹⁹ wurden heo ealle afyrhte²⁰ and cwæden²¹: "Gyf piss cuð²² byð þæt se Hælend of deaðe arisen beo,²³ þonne eall to feale wylleð [*Fol. 90a*] on hine²⁴ gelefen." And heo gegaderedan mycelne sceatt²⁵ and geafon²⁶ heom, and bæden þæt²⁷ heo scolden²⁸ secgen þæt²⁹ his cnihtes comen³⁰ and þone lichame heom³¹ forstælen, þa-þa heo slæpende wæron. "And gyf hit cuð byð Pilaten,³² we byð for eow and eow hoglease³³ gedodð."

¹ A does not have *onfyrhte þæt we þær lagen*; B, *wæron gewordene* (485, 27).

² A, *ege and for þære gesyhðe þe we þær gesawon* (484, 26).

³ A, *swa us Dryhten lybbe* (484, 28).

⁴ A, *ne gelyfe we* (484, 28).

⁵ A, *þa andswædon þa cempan* (484, 29); C omits two lines of A, and *cwædon . . . and gehyrdon* (484, 29, 30).

⁶ A, *gelyfan* (484, 31).

⁷ A, *þone þe ge gelyfan sceoldon* (484, 31).

⁸ A does not have *Witodlice . . . deaðe þrowigen*.

⁹ Ða . . . *andsweredan* above line in MS; C omits several lines of A preceding this clause, and *swa þeh wel . . . þa ne fundon ge hyne nā* (484, 32—486, 4).

¹⁰ A, *Ac on eornost sylton ge us* (486, 4, 5).

¹¹ A, *þære clusan* (486, 5).

¹² A, *syllað eow* (486, 6).

¹³ C omits one line and a half preceding this word, *þe we on þære . . . and cwædon* (488, 6, 7).

¹⁴ A, *for þam ðe Ioseph* (486, 8); on before *Barimathia* not in A.

¹⁵ A, *heom andswædon and cwædon* (486, 9); B omits *heom andswædon and*.

¹⁶ On above line in MS; A has on *þære ceastre* (486, 10).

¹⁷ A, *þonne secge we þæt se . . . ys* (486, 10).

¹⁸ A, *eall swa we gehyrdon þæt se engel hyt* (486, 11); B omits *þæt se . . . sæde*.

¹⁹ B, C omit the preceding *þa Iudeas . . . þys gehyrdon* (486, 12).

²⁰ A, *asforhtodon hig and* (486, 13).

²¹ A, *heom betwynan after cwædon* (486, 13).

²² A, *Gif þeos spæc to wyde spryngð* (486, 14, 15).

²³ A does not have *þæt se . . . beo þonne*.

²⁴ A, *þone Hælend* (486, 14).

²⁵ A, *Ac ic wat þæt ða Iudeas þa mycel feoh gegaderodon* (486, 15).

²⁶ A, *sealdon þam cempon and þus cwædon* (486, 15, 16).

²⁷ C has again indirect where A has direct discourse, *We byddað eow, leofe geferan, þæt* (486, 16).

²⁸ Not in A.

²⁹ A, *swa þæt* (486, 17).

³⁰ A, *comen on nyht and eow slæpendum* (488, 17, 18).

³¹ Not in A.

³² A, *þam deman Pilate cuð byð* (486, 18, 19).

³³ A, *orsorge* (484, 19); cf. FORSTER, p. 319.

And heo onfengen¹ þan feo and sæden þæt heom wære se lichame for-
stolen. Ac heora leasunge² ealle³ wurden geupped. Ða⁴ comen þære
þreo mære weres of Galilea to Ierusalem. Se eldeste wæs mæssepreost
and wæs⁵ gehaten Finees, se⁶ oðer Aggeus, se þridde⁷ Preceptor. Heo
sæden þæt⁸ heo þone Hælend þe onhangen⁹ wæs gesegen on Galilea,¹⁰
and mid¹¹ his cnihten æt, and wið heom spæc, and Thomas his wunden
sceawede.¹² And se Hælend¹³ het heo faren geond eallne middeneart
bodigende¹⁴ fulleht on namen þæs fæder and sunen and¹⁵ halgen gastes.
And ealle þa-þe underfoð¹⁶ fulht, heo habbað ece lif on domes dæige on
heofonerice. And þa¹⁷ þa swa ne doð, heo sculen habben hellewite. And
he þa on þan feowertihðe dæige his æristes¹⁸ he asteah to heofonerice of
Oliuetes¹⁹ dune, and sæde [Fol. 90b] þæt he wolde hider cumen on domes
dæige and þa rihtwise into heofonerice mid him gelæden and þa synn-
fulle in to helle asænden. "And we ne dorsten eow piss forhelen."

Biss heo atealden eall on heora sinoðe. Ða wurðen heo ealle swyðe
sarige and afyrhte. Ða Iudees heo þa hælsodan þurh heora æ hweðer
hit soð wære. And heo ealle sworn þæt hit eall soð wære. Ða abæden
ealle þa Iudees þæt heo scolden feo nymen and ham gewænden, and na
mare hit cyðen on þan lande. And heo sæden þæt heo swa wolden.
And heo fengen to þan feo, and heo leten heo læden of þan lande þreo
oðre weres, þæt heo nane hwile on Ierusalem wunigen ne mosten.

Annas and Caiphas²⁰ cwæðen to eallen þan sinoðe²¹: "Nis hit na²² soð

¹ A, Ða cempan þa wæron þæt feoh onfonde and swa secgende, swa hig fram þam Iudeum gelærede wæron (486, 20, 21).

² A, spræc (486, 21).

³ Comes after Ac in A.

⁴ C omits and gewydmærsod . . . nywan þæt (486, 22); A, ðær cōmon of Galilean to Hierusalem þry (486, 23).

⁵ A, his nama wæs (486, 24).

⁶ A, and his geferan hatton (486, 25).

⁷ A, and oðer (= se þridde).

⁸ C omits to þam caldrum . . . synode comon (486, 26, 27).

⁹ A, þone onhangena Hælend (486, 28).

¹⁰ Not in A.

¹¹ A, wyð hys endlufon leorningcnyhtas spæc and tomyddes heom sæt on Oliuetis munte, and wæs heom to cweðende (486, 28-30).

¹² and Thomas . . . sceawede not in A.

¹³ A has simply Beoð faren (486, 30).

¹⁴ A, and bodiað callum þeodum þæt hig beon gefullode (486, 31).

¹⁵ A, and þæs halgan (486, 32); A omits þæs before fæder.

¹⁶ A, Swa hwylc swa gelyfð and gefullod byð, se byð æfre on ecnysse hal geworden (486, 32, 34).

¹⁷ þa þa swa . . . hellewite not in A.

¹⁸ A, and þa he þys to his leorningcnyhtum gespecen hæfde, we gesawon hu he wæs on heofenas astigende (486, 34, 35).

¹⁹ For several lines the thought differs much, and the language almost entirely, from A (488, 1-12), so that we cannot at all doubt that the author of version C frequently proceeded independently of the other versions and the original Latin.

²⁰ A, þa cwædon (488, 12).

²¹ to . . . sinode not in A.

²² A, næfre (488, 13).

þæt þa cæmpen¹ sæigden þæt se Hælend of deað arise. Ac wæron² his þegnes cumen and heom feo geafen and pone Hælend³ forstælen." Nichodemus þa upstod and⁴ cwæð: "Wyteð þæt ge riht specan beo Israele bearnen. Wel ge geherdan hwæt þa preo weres sæden þe of Galilea comen beo þan Hælende."⁵ Þa Iudees⁶ smeaden hware Elias⁷ se witega wære. Eliseus⁸ heom sæde⁹ þæt he on [Fol. 91a] heofone¹⁰ wære. Þa cwæden heo¹¹ sume þa get¹²: "Wen is þæt he seo on¹³ Israele monte gesett mid his gaste. Ac uten us weres geceosan and þa montes gefaren,¹⁴ wealte¹⁵ þeh we hine mugen gefinden."¹⁶ Heo¹⁷ bæden þa Heliseum and þa¹⁸ weres þe þær betst¹⁹ wæron, þæt heo scolden faren and Helias secen. And heo ferdon²⁰ on þa muntas preore dagene fæc, ac heo hine finden²¹ ne mihten; ac²² heo²³ gemetten Iosep on Barimathia on²⁴ his agenre ceastre. Þa²⁵ heo ham comen þa sæden heo hwu heo gefaren hæfden, and hwu heo hine finden ne mihten, and hwu heo Ioseph funden on his agene ceastre.

Þa²⁶ wæron þa ealdres and þa mæssepreostes and eall þæt folc swyðe bliðe; and²⁷ heo²⁸ maceden mycele somnunge and gemot²⁹ hwu³⁰ heo Ioseph to heom gelaðigen mihten, and sænden an gewrit to him þuss gewriten: "Sibb seo mid þe Iosep and mid eallen þan³¹ þe mid þe byð

¹ A, *þæt we gelyfan sceolon þam cempon þe ðæs Hælendes byrgene healdan sceoldon* (488, 13, 14).

² A, *ac ys bet wen þæt hys cnyhtas comon* (488, 14, 15).

³ A, *þæs Hælendes lichaman aweg namon* (488, 15, 16).

⁴ A, *þus cw.* (488, 16).

⁵ C has here condensed into three words as many lines of A, *þa hig sædon . . . on heofenas astigende* (488, 18-21).

⁶ A, *þa smeadon* (488, 21).

⁷ A, *se wytega wære Helias* (488, 22).

⁸ C omits and *þus cwædon . . . fæder Elias before Eliseus* (488, 22, 23).

⁹ A, *andswarode and cwæð* (488, 23).

¹⁰ A, *He ys up ahafen* (488, 23, 24).

¹¹ A does not have *heo*.

¹² These words, *þa get*, correspond to a line in A, *þe ðar amang . . . bearn ac* (488, 24, 25).

¹³ A, *gaste up ahafen and on uppan* (488, 25, 26).

¹⁴ A, *eond faran* (488, 27).

¹⁵ A, *weald* (488, 27).

¹⁶ A, *gemetan magon* (488, 28).

¹⁷ A, *þæt folc* (488, 28).

¹⁸ A, *þa ylcan* (488, 28).

¹⁹ A, *ðar swa spæcon . . . sceoldon* (488, 29).

²⁰ A, *sona eond þa muntas foron* (488, 30).

²¹ A, *nahwær fyndan* (488, 31).

²² C omits about nine lines of A, *þa cwæð Nichodemus . . . nahwær ne gemetton* (488, 31-490, 5).

²³ A, *we* (490, 5).

²⁴ on above line in later hand; not in A.

²⁵ From here to end of paragraph does not correspond to anything in A (490, 5, 6).

²⁶ A, *þa ða ealdras and þa mæssepreostas and eall þæt folc þys gehyrde, þa gefægnodon hig* (490, 6, 7).

²⁷ Before this clause C omits about two lines of A, *and wuldor sædon . . . wæs funden* (490, 7-9).

²⁸ A, *þæt folc worhte þa* (490, 9).

²⁹ and *gemot* not in A.

³⁰ *hwu . . . gewriten* corresponds to four or five lines of A, *and heom betweenan . . . þus awryten* (490, 10-15).

³¹ Not in A.

wunigende.¹ We wyten þæt we gesynged habbeð, ægðer gea ongean² þe, ge ongean God. Ac we biddeð þe þæt³ þu cume to us⁴ for þinre miltse.⁵ [*Fol. 91b*] We wyten þæt we awergendlic geðanc ongean þe pohten, þa-þa⁶ we þe beclysden and belucan on cwarterne.”⁷

Þa ærendracen comen⁸ and him þæt gewrit on hand sealden, and he hit⁹ rædde and cwæð: “Seo gebletsod se¹⁰ þe nolde þæt min blod wære gespilloð; þæt is, se Drihten Crist,¹¹ þe me under his fiðeren gescillde.” Þa Ioseph up astod and þa weres cyste and heo¹² wurdlice underfeng. Þa on morgen¹³ ferde¹⁴ Ioseph to Ierusalem mid geleaf¹⁵ and mid þan ærendracan ealle on¹⁶ heora assen ridende.¹⁷

Þa þæt folc of þære ceastre þæt geherde¹⁸ þæt Ioseph wæs gecumen, þa comen heo ealle him togeanes and cwædon: “La, fæder Ioseph, sibb sy mid þe¹⁹ and on þine ingange.” Ioseph heom andswered¹⁹ and cwæð: “Sibb seo mid eallen þan mannen þe God²⁰ lufigeð.” And heo ealle to him abugen²¹ and hine cysten. Nichodemus²² þa mid wurðscipe hine to his byrg onfeng.

On morgen²³ ealle þa²⁴ Iudees, Annas and Caiphas and preostes²⁵ and diacones,²⁶ hine bæden þæt he scolde heom swuteligen.²⁷ “And secge us hwu²⁸ þu þæs Hælendes lichame bebyredest [and] hwu þu of þære cluse come þe we þe on beclysden.”²⁹ Þa³⁰ we [*Fol. 92a*] þe ne funden, þa³¹ us

¹ For *byð* wunigende A has *syndon* (490, 16).

² A, *ge on God ge on þe* (490, 17).

³ A, *þe on eornest þæt ðu gemedemige þe* (490, 17, 18).

⁴ A, *þynum fæderum and to þynum bearnum* (490, 18).

⁵ *þinre miltse* not in A; but, for *þon þe ealle wundriað þynre upahafennysse* (490, 19).

⁶ *þa þa we . . . on cwarterne* not in A.

⁷ C here omits several lines of A, *ac Dryhten þe onfeng . . . fram eallum folce* (490, 20-23).

⁸ A, *þa foron and to Iosepe Comon and hyne gesybeumlice gretton and heora gewryt hym* (490, 23, 24).

⁹ A, *And þa Ioseph þæt gewryt rædde, þa cwæð he* (490, 25).

¹⁰ A, *Se Dryhten God, se ðe me alyse and myn blod nolde lætan ageotan* (490, 26).

¹¹ A, *and sig gebletsod se ðe me* (490, 27).

¹² o in *heo* above line in MS.

¹³ A, *þa ðam oðrum dæge* (490, 29).

¹⁴ A, *þa wæs Ioseph farende* (490, 30).

¹⁵ *mid geleaf* and not in A.

¹⁶ A, *uppan* (490, 31).

¹⁷ Not in A.

¹⁸ A, *and þa Iudeas, þa hig þæt gehyrdon, ealle ongean urnon and wæron clypigende and cweðende* (492, 31, 32).

¹⁹ A, *myð þynum ingange* (490, 33). MS, *andswered*.

²⁰ A, *myð eallum Godesfolce* (490, 34).

²¹ A, *and hig þa hym genealæhton* (490, 35).

²² *and Nich. hyne . . . ham to hys huse afeng* (490, 35-492, 1).

²³ A, *þam oðrum dæge ða* (492, 1, 2).

²⁴ *ealle þa Iudees* not in A.

²⁵ A, *Nichodemus* (492, 2).

²⁶ *and diacones* not in A, but *cwædon to Iosepe* (492, 2, 3).

²⁷ A, *La we byddað þe þæt ðu sylle andetnyse þam soðan Gode, and geswutela us ealle þa þyng þe ðu fram us aecod byst* (492, 3, 4).

²⁸ A, *æræst þu ðe þæs etc.* (492, 5).

²⁹ A, *beclysed hæfdon* (492, 6, 7).

³⁰ C omits for *þam . . . wundrigende wæron* (492, 7).

³¹ A, *and us fyrhto*.

mycel fyrht forgrap and ege.¹ Gode² fæder sæge³ hit us." Ioseph cwæð to heom:⁴ "Ða-þa⁵ ic beclysed wæs, þa feng ic on mine gebeden⁶ forð to þære middre⁷ nihte. Ða wæs þæt hus beo þan feower hyrnen up onhafen, and ic pone Hælend þa⁸ geseh eall swylc hit legeræsc wære; and ic for þan ege niðer on⁹ eorðen afeoll, and he me beo þære hand geheold and up ahof and me gecyste and cwæð to me: 'Ne ondræd þu þa,¹⁰ Ioseph; besih on me and ongeot þæt ic hit eam.' Ða beseh ic and cwæð: 'Eart þu þæt¹¹ Elias, ure larðeign?' Ða cwæð he to me: 'Ne¹² eam ic na Elias; ac ic eam se Hælend þe þu his lichame bebyredest.' Ða cwæð ic to him: 'Æteowe me þa byrigeles¹³ hwar ic þe leigde.' Se Hælend me¹⁴ þa beo þære rihthand genam and me ut lædde hwar¹⁵ ic hine byrede, and syððen he lædde me to Barimathia, to minre¹⁶ agenre rice and cwæð:¹⁷ 'Sibb seo mid þe and¹⁸ mid þinen hirde, Ioseph, and ne far þu na¹⁹ of þinre rice²⁰ ær binnen feowertig²¹ dagena fæce. Ic wylle to Galileam²² to minen cnihten gan'²³ [*Fol. 92b*].

Ða þa Iudees eall piss geherdan,²⁴ þa feollan heo adun an cwædon:²⁵ "Hwæt mæg piss tacne beon þe on Israele lande geworden is? We cuðen²⁶ æigðer gea fæder gea moder þæs Hælendes. Mihte²⁷ piss eall beon soð geworden?" Ioseph þa up stod and cwæð to Annam and²⁸ Caiphām: "Soð²⁹ is to wundrigenne þæt he³⁰ of deaðe is³¹ arisen. Witodlice³² feale manna he of deaðe awehte on³³ his æriste, and heo of heora byrigene arærde, and³⁴ sume heo eac lifes wæron. Ealle³⁵ we cuðen þone rihtwisen³⁶ Simeon³⁷ þe urne³⁸ Drihten bær on his earmen into þan³⁹ temple,

¹ and ege not in A.

² C omits *þa ða we . . . næfdon* (492, 8, 9).

³ A, and *geawutela us eall hu hyt be ðe geworden ys* (492, 9).

⁴ A, *hym andswarode and cwæð* (492, 10); C omits *Efne . . . wylle* (492, 10).

⁵ A, *Hyt wæs on dæg þa ge me beclysdon æt þam gewordenan efne ic on . . . feng* (492, 11, 12),

⁶ C omits *and hig georne sang* (492, 12).

⁷ A, *oð hyt to þære myddere nyhte com* (492, 12, 13).

⁸ A, *on þa* (492, 15).

¹⁰ A, *ðe na* (492, 17).

⁸ *þa* not in A.

¹¹ A, *la lareow* (492, 18).

¹² Ne . . . na Elias not in A, but in B.

¹³ A, *byrgene* (492, 20).

¹⁴ me just before *genam* in A.

¹⁵ hwar . . . he lædde me not in A.

¹⁶ A, *on myn agen hus* (492, 22).

¹⁷ A, *cw. to me* (492, 23).

¹⁸ and mid þinen hirde not in A.

¹⁹ na not in A.

²⁰ A, *huse* (492, 24).

²¹ A, *ær on þon feowertugedān dæg* (492, 24).

²² to Galil. not in A.

²³ A, *Ic wylle gan* (492, 24); A, *leorningcnyhtum* (492, 25).

²⁴ þa aforhtodon hig and sume (492, 26).

²⁵ A, *heom betwynan cw.* (492, 26).

²⁶ A, *cunnon þæs Hælendes* (492, 27).

²⁷ Mihte . . . geworden not in A.

²⁸ A, and to (492, 29).

²⁹ A, *To soðon wel hyt* (492, 30).

³⁰ C omits *þæt ge be . . . gehyred habbað* (492, 30).

³¹ A, *aras* (492, 31).

³² C omits *and lyfigende on . . . deaðe aryse* (492, 32); for *witodlice* A has *ac he*.

³³ on his æriste not in A.

³⁴ and sume . . . wæron not in A.

³⁵ C omits and *hlystað me nu ða* (492, 33).

³⁶ A, *eadegean* (492, 34).

³⁷ C omits and *þone mæran mæssepreost þe* (492, 34).

³⁸ A, *ðone Hælend ærostr . . . bær* (492, 35),

³⁹ A, *þam halgan* (494, 1); *þe ærre þan lame wæs* not in A.

þe ærre þan lame wæs. Wel we cuðen¹ his twegen sunen, Carinus and Leuticius, þe wæron for feale gearen² deade. Ga we lochigen:³ nu byð heora byrigene opene, and heo synden inne⁴ þære ceastre Barimathia samod libbende⁵ and God⁶ herigende. Ac uten faren⁷ to heom mid eallen eadmodnysse⁸ and wurðmynte and gelæden heo to us and bidden⁹ heom for heora Drihtenes name þæt heo wið us specan and us atellen ealle þa geryna þe beo Godes¹⁰ æriste gewordene wæron.”¹¹

[Fol. 93a]

Ða-þa Ioseph hæfde¹² þuss gespecan, þa wæs eall þæt folc blissi- gende¹³ wið him and to Barimathia þære ceastre ferdan,¹⁴ and þære gewyten wolden hweðer hit soð wære þæt Ioseph sæde.¹⁵ Ða¹⁶ heo þider comen, Annas and Caiphas,¹⁷ Nichodemus¹⁸ and Gamaliel, þa eodan heo to þære byrigene and funden heo æmtig.¹⁹ And þa eodan²⁰ heo into þā ceastre and gemetten Carinus²¹ and Leuticius²¹ on gebedan licgende²² mid gebegedan eneowen; and heo²³ sone ealla²⁴ cysten and mid²⁵ arwurðunge²⁶ to Ierusalem to heora sinoðe²⁷ gelaðoden.²⁸ And þær inne belocanen geaten heo wæron nymenda þa boc þe seo drihtenlice æ wæs on gewriten, and heom on hand setten and þuss cwædon: “We hælsigeð eow þurh þone uplicen God and þurh þa drihtenlice æ þe ge gehealden²⁹ habbeð, þæt gyf ge gelefeð on þan ilcan þe eow of deaðe arærde,³⁰ þæt³¹ ge secgen us huw ge of deaðe arisen.”³²

Carinus and Leuticius heom andsweredan.³³ Ða eldres and þa mæs- sepreostes heom þa funden blæc and feðere,³⁴ and me heo todælde³⁵ on twa

¹ A, and ealle we wyton þæt he . . . hæfde, þa wæron hatene se oðer Carinus and se oðer Leuticius (494, 2).

² A, and ealle we þæt wyton þæt hig deade wæron, and we to heora byrgyne comen (494, 3, 4).

³ A, Uton eac nu gān and we magon heora byrgena opene fyndan (494, 4, 5).

⁴ A, on (494, 5).

⁵ A, gebyddende (494, 6).

⁶ A, and wyð nanne man sprecende; and swylce swigean healdende swa þæt hig wyð nanne man ne sprecað (494, 6-8).

⁷ A, we gan and cuman (494, 8).

⁸ eadmodnysse and not in A; and added above line in MS.

⁹ A, and hig georne halsian þæt (494, 9).

¹⁰ heora (494, 11).

¹¹ A, syndon.

¹² A, eall þys þus gesprečen hæfde (494, 12).

¹³ A, þæt folc hym wæs geblissigende (494, 12).

¹⁴ A, farende (494, 13).

¹⁵ A, gesprečen hæfde (494, 14).

¹⁶ A, Ac þa ða (494, 14).

¹⁷ A, þa eodan to þære byrgene, etc. (494, 15).

¹⁸ C omits and Ioseph (494, 16).

¹⁹ A, Ac hig þær nænne man on ne fundon (494, 16, 17).

²⁰ A, Hig wæron þa innor on þa ceastre gangende (494, 16); B Hyg eode (495, 19).

²¹ A, hig (494, 18).

²² A, licgan (494, 18).

²³ A, hig hig (494, 19).

²⁴ ealla not in A.

²⁵ A, myd ealre (494, 19).

²⁶ C omits and myd Godes ege hig (494, 20).

²⁷ A, gesomnunge to Hier. (494, 21).

²⁸ A, gelæddon (494, 21).

²⁹ A on handan (494, 25).

³⁰ A, awehte (494, 26).

³¹ þæt ge not in A; but secgað (494, 26).

³² A, arysene wurdon (494, 26).

³³ C omits and þus cwædon ‘We wyllaþ eac; syllað us eac þa cartan, þæt we hylt magon on awerytan þæt ðæt we gehyrdon and eac gesawon (494, 27-29).

³⁴ A, cartan (for blæc and feðere) fundon (494, 30).

³⁵ C omits and eall þæt ðær to gebyrede (494, 30); A does not have and me . . . æigðer.

and mycel folcas mid heora [*Fol. 93b*] æigðer. Ða cwæð¹ Carinus and Leuticius: "Drihten Crist,² ure Hælend, þu eart lif and ærist eallre deadre. We biddeð³ þæt þu us geðafige þæt we þa soðe geryne⁴ mugen geswutelien þe gewordenes synd þurh þe⁵ and þurh pinne deað and þurh pinne ærist." Heom⁶ com þa stefne of heofone þuss⁷ cweðende: "Beo Godes mihte⁸ and leafe writað and geswutelieð eallen⁹ mannen." Carinus¹⁰ and Leuticius þa ongunnen¹¹ witen: "Efne we¹² wæron þa mid eallen uren fæderen on þære deopen helle,¹³ þær becom mycel¹⁴ brihtnysse ofer¹⁵ us ealle swylce sunne leome. Sathanas¹⁶ and eall hellewerod¹⁷ wæron afyrhte and * þuss cwædon: 'Hwæt is þiss liht þæt her swa¹⁸ færllice scinð?' Ða wæs sone eall þæt mænnisc cynn blissigende and¹⁹ Adam mid eallen hehfæderen and²⁰ witegan for þan mycelan lihte,²¹ and heo þuss cwæden: 'Þiss liht is of Godes²² lihte, eallswa us God²³ behet þæt he us þæt ece lif²⁴ and liht asænden wolde,' Ða clypode Isaias, se witega, and cwæð: 'Þiss is þæt fæderlice liht ætforen²⁵ Godes sune hider asændod, swa²⁶ ic forsæde, þa-þa²⁷ ic on eorðe wæs, þa ic cwæð and forewitegode þæt þæt land Zabulon and²⁸ Neptalim wið þæt [*Fol. 94a*] wæter²⁹ Iordanen and þæt folc þe on³⁰ þeostre³¹ sæten, scolden habben³² mare liht. Þiss ic witegode on eorðe, and nu hit is gecumen³³ to us and us onliht þe³⁴ gefyrn on deaðes dimnysse sæten. Ac uten we³⁵ nu ealle blissigen þæs lihtes.'

¹ A, *Karinus and Leuticus heom wæron þa ða cartan onfonde heora ægðer āne and þus cwædon* (494, 31, 32).

² A, *La Dryhten Hælenda Cryst* (494, 32).

³ A, *byddað þe þæt* (494, 34).

⁴ A, *þæt we magon þa godcundan gerynu geswutelien*.

⁵ *þurh þe* and not in A.

⁶ C omits *La ðu myldosta . . . þe alyf hyt us* (496, 1-4).

⁷ A, *and wæs þus* (496, 4).

⁸ *Beo Godes mihte and leafe* not in A.

⁹ A, *geswutelid hyt; eallen mannen* not in A.

¹⁰ C omits *Hig þa swa dydon* (496, 5).

¹¹ A, *þus hyt awryton and þus cwædon* (496, 6).

¹² A, *Efne þa we* (496, 6); B *Soðlice þa we* (497, 9).

¹³ A, *hellican deopnysse* (496, 7).

¹⁴ A, *seo* (496, 8).

¹⁵ C omits on *þære þeostra dymnysse . . . geblyssigende wæron* (496, 8, 9); and A has for *ofer us . . . leome, þær wæs færinga geworden on ansyne, swylce þær gylden sunna onæled were and ofer us ealle eondlyhte* (496, 9-11).

¹⁶ A, *and Sat. þa* (496, 11).

¹⁷ A, *þæt rede werod* (496, 12).

* Written out in MS.

¹⁸ A, *ofer us swa* (496, 13).

¹⁹ A, *ure fæder* (496, 14).

²⁰ A, *and myd eallum* (496, 15).

²¹ A, *beorhtnysse* (496, 16).

²² A, *ys ealdor þæs ecan leohtes* (496, 16, 17).

²³ A, *Dryhten* (496, 17).

²⁴ *lif and* not in A.

²⁵ A, *and hyt ys Godes sunu* (496, 19).

²⁶ A, *eallswa* (496, 19).

²⁷ A has one *þa*.

²⁸ A, *and þæt land Nep.* (496, 21).

²⁹ A, *þa ca*.

³⁰ A, *on þam* (496, 22).

³¹ Difficult to determine whether MS. has *þeostre* or *þeastre*.

³² A, *sceolden mære leoht geson* (496, 22).

³³ A, *and þa ðe on dymmum rīce wunodon ic witegode þæt hig leoht sceoldon onfon and nu* (496, 23, 24).

³⁴ A, *þa ðe* (496, 25).

³⁵ *we nu* not in A.

Simeon se rihtwise¹ mid blisse heom to cwæð: 'Wuldrieð þone Drihten Crist, Godes sune, þone-þe ic bær on minen earmen into þan temple; and ic þa þus cwæð: "Pu eart liht and frofer ealle peoden and² murðmynt eallen Israele folca." Þa³ blissode⁴ Adam and eall his ofsprýng, þa com þær stefne⁵ swylce þunreslege and⁶ þa halgen ongean clypode:⁷ 'Hwæt eart þu?' And he⁸ cwæð: 'Ic eam Iohannes þæs hehste witegan forrynel,⁹ and her ic bodige¹⁰ ælmihtiges Godes sune hidereyme, swa swa ic on eorðen dyde.' Þa-þa¹¹ he incom, þa brihtode eall helle. Adam wæs þa¹² to his sune cweðende, þe wæs genæmned Seth:¹³ 'Gerece nu¹⁴ pinen bearnen and¹⁵ hehfæderen ealle þa ping þe þu fram Michael, þan hehængle, geherdest, þa-þa ic þe sende to neorxene-wanges gate, þæt þu scoldest Drihten bidden þæt [Fol. 94b] he mid þe his ængel asænde, þæt he þe þone ele syllen scolde of þan treowe þære mildheortnysse, þæt þu mihtest minne lichame midde gesmerien, þa-þa ic¹⁶ untrum wæs.'

Seth, Adames sune, wæs¹⁷ nehlæcende þan hehfæderen and þan halgen¹⁸ witegan and cwæð:¹⁹ 'Efne þa ic wæs Drihten biddende æt neorxenewanges gate, þa æteowde²⁰ Micael, se hehængel, and me to cwæð: "Ic eam asænd fram Drihtene to þe and ic eam asett ofer eall mænnisc lichame. Nu seege ic þe, Seth, ne peart þu swinecan biddende ne þine teares geotende, þæt þu þurfe bidden þone ele of þan treowe þære mildheortnysse, þæt þu Adam pinne fæder midde gesmerigen mote for his lichames sare; for²¹ get ne synden gefyllede²² fif þusend wintre and þa fif hundred,²³ þe sculen beon agane, ær þone²⁴ he gehæled wurðe." Þa²⁵ cwæð Adam: 'Nu heo synden gefylde and agane and forðgewitene.'

Hit²⁶ wæs þa²⁷ swyðe grislic and²⁸ egeslic, þa²⁹ Sathanas, þære helle

¹ A, *Se wytega þa Sym. heom eallum geblyssigendum* (496, 26).

² A, and þu eart wuldor and (496, 30).

³ C omits *Symeone þa ðus . . . þæra halgena* (496, 31).

⁴ A, *wearð swyðe geblyssigende* (496, 32); *Adam and eall his ofsprýng* not in A.

⁵ *Stefne* not in A, which has and æfter þam þær com swylce (496, 33).

⁶ A, and ealle þa (496, 33).

⁷ C omits and cweðon (496, 34).

⁸ A, *Seo stefen heom andwarode and cweð* (496, 34).

⁹ forrynel not in A.

¹⁰ A, and ic com cumen toforan hym þæt ic his weg as gearwian sceal, and geican þa hæle hys folces (498, 1-2).

¹¹ Þa þa . . . eall helle not in A.

¹² A, *Adam þa wæs þys gehyrende and to* (498, 2, 3).

¹³ C omits *he cweð* (498, 3).

¹⁴ nu not in A.

¹⁵ A, and þysum (498, 4).

¹⁶ A, ic myð eallum (498, 10).

¹⁷ A, wæs þa to (498, 10).

¹⁸ halgen in A before heahfæderum (498, 11).

¹⁹ A, wæs cweðende (498, 12).

²⁰ A, *cetywde me* (494, 13).

²¹ A, for þam ðe gyt (498, 19).

²² A, þa fif (498, 20).

²³ A, hund wyntra (498, 20).

²⁴ þone not in A.

²⁵ þa cweð . . . and forðgewitene not in A.

²⁶ C omits *Ac þonne cymð . . . and God wuldrigende* (498, 21-26).

²⁷ þa not in A.

²⁸ and egeslic not in A.

²⁹ A, þa ða Sathanas (498, 27).

ealdor,¹ cwæð to² helle: 'Gearca³ þe, helle,⁴ þæt þu muge Crist onfon, se-þe hine sylfne gewuldred hæfð and is Godes sune and eac mann, [Fol. 95a] and ec⁵ is hine ondrædende. And ic⁶ eam swa unroth, þæt me pineð sar min lif,⁷ þæt ic forneh dead eam. He is wiðerwinne⁸ ongean me and⁹ ongean þe. And feale þe ic hæfde to me atogen,¹⁰ bisne¹¹ and healte, lame¹² and reofen,—ealle he heo¹³ fram me¹⁴ ateah.' Ða seo¹⁵ helle egeslice and grislice¹⁶ andswerede¹⁷ Sathanas þan ealden deofle and cwæð: 'Hwæt is se, þæt seo¹⁸ swa strang and swa mihtig, gyf he man is, þæt he ne seo deað¹⁹ ondrædende, þe wyt gefyrn beclýsd hæfden? For-ðen ealle þa-þe anweald²⁰ on eorðe hæfdon, þu heo mid þinre mihte to me getuge and ic heo fæste geheold. And gyf þu²¹ mihtig nu²² eart, swa þu ær wære, hwæt is se mann and se Hælend þe ne seo þone deað and þine mihten ondrædende? Ac to soðen ic wat, gyf he on mænniscnysse swa mihtig is þæt he naðer ne unc, ne þone deað ne ondrætt, þonne²³ gebint²⁴ he þe and þe byð æfre wa syððen.'²⁵ Sathanas þa, þære hellen²⁶ ealder,²⁷ andswerede and²⁸ cwæð: 'Hwæt tweonest þu of þe?²⁹ Hwæt³⁰ ondrædest þu þe þone Hælend to onfone, minne wiðerwinne?³¹ [Fol. 95b] Ic his costnode. Ic gelærde³² eall þæt Iudeisce folc þæt heo wæron ongean him mid eorre and mid ande;³³ and ic dyde þæt he wæs geseald³⁴ and mid spere gesticod; and³⁵ ic dyde þæt man³⁶ treowene rode gearewede and hine þæron anheng and hine mid næiglen gefæstnode; and³⁷ æt nexten ic wylle his deað to þe gelæden, and he sceal beon underpeod,

¹ C omits *and þæs deaðes heretoga*.

² A, *to þære* (498, 28).

³ A, *gegearwa* (498, 28).

⁴ A, *þe sylfe*.

⁵ C omits *se deað* (498, 30); in the preceding line MS has *gewuldred* not *gewuldredð*, as Förster (p. 318, n. 5) reads.

⁶ A, *and myn sawl ys swa* (498, 31).

⁷ A, *þæt ic alybban ne mæg* (498, 31); MS *dead*, not *deað*, as Förster reads.

⁸ A, *For þig he ys mycel wyðerw. and yfel wyrrende* (498, 32).

⁹ A, *and eac* (498, 33).

¹⁰ A, *to gewyld and to* (498, 33).

¹¹ A, *blynde* (498, 34).

¹² A, *gebygede*.

¹³ heo not in A.

¹⁴ A, *þe* (498, 35).

¹⁵ A, *Seo hell þa*.

¹⁶ A, *swide grymme and swyðe egeslice* (498, 35).

¹⁷ A, *andswarode þa Satanasc* (500, 1).

¹⁸ A, *þe ys* (500, 2).

¹⁹ A, *þone deað*.

²⁰ A, *on eorðan anweald* (500, 4); but B has same order as C.

²¹ A, *þu swa* (500, 6).

²² nu not in A.

²³ C omits the preceding *þæt ic wat þæt swa . . . hyne ondræt* of A (500, 10-12).

²⁴ A, *gefohd* (500, 12).

²⁵ A, *to ecere worulde* (500, 13).

²⁶ A, *þæs cwycsusles*.

²⁷ A, *þære helle andswarode* (500, 14).

²⁸ A, *and þus*.

²⁹ þu of not in A. ³⁰ C omits *odde*.

³¹ An erasure of two or three words at the beginning of the first line of fol. 95b; C omits the preceding *and eac þynne; for þon ic* (500, 16).

³² A, *and ic gedyde hym þæt* (500, 17).

³³ A, *andan awehte* (500, 18).

³⁴ geseald and not in A.

³⁵ C omits *and ic gedyde þæt hym man drincan mengde myd [g]eallan and myd ecceð* (500, 19, 20).

³⁶ A, *man hym*.

³⁷ A, *and nu æt* (500, 22).

æigðer gea þe¹ gea me.' Seo helle þa swa² swyðe grislice þuss cwæð: 'Wyte þæt þu swa do, þæt he fram me³ þa deade ne ateo, for-þan-þe here feale synden þe synden⁴ geornfulle fram me, þæt heo on me wunigen nelleð.⁵ Ac ic wat þæt heo fram me ne gewiteð þurh heora agene mihte, bute heo se ilca⁶ God me benyme⁷ þe me benam Lazarum,⁸ þone-þe ic heold deadne feower niht fæste gebunden, and ic hine eft cwicne ageaf þurh his beboden.' Þa answerede Sathanas and cwæð: 'Se ilca hit is þe Lazarum of deaðe awehte⁹ and of unc bam genam.' Seo helle þa and-swerede¹⁰ and cwæð: 'Eala, ic hælsige þe þurh þine mægn and eac þurh minne þæt þu næfre ne geðafie þæt he on inne¹¹ me becume, for-þan ic geherde [Fol. 96a] þa word his bebodes! Ic wæs mid mycelan ege afyrht and ealle mine arlease þeignes wæron¹² mid me gedrehte,¹³ swa þæt we ne mihten Lazarum gehealden. Ac he wæs hine scacende swa¹⁴ swa earn, þone he wyle¹⁵ mid reðen flihte forð asleon. And he wæs fram us arisende,¹⁶ and seo eorðe þe Lazarus deaden lichame heold, heo hine cwicne ageaf. And þæt ic wat nu,¹⁷ þæt se mann þe eall þæt dyde, he¹⁸ is on Gode strang and mihtig. And gyf þu hine inn¹⁹ gelædest, ealle þa-þe her synd on þyssen wæreowen cwarterne beclysede and on þyssen bænden mid synne gewriðene, ealle he mid his godecundnysse fram us²⁰ athð and to life gelædeð.' "

Eala,²¹ mæn þa leofeste, hwu laðlic and hwu grislic wæs þære deoflene gemot, þa seo helle and se deofel heom betweenen cidden!

"Onmang²² þan þa com þær mycel stefne and gastlic clypigende swylce þunreslege, and þuss cweðende: 'Attollite portas.'²³ Þæt fers segð:²⁴ 'Ge ealdres, untyned²⁵ þa gaten and upahebbeð þa ændelease²⁶ gaten and læteð inn²⁷ þone wuldrigende Godes sune.' And²⁸ [þa] seo helle þæt geherde, þa cwæð heo [Fol. 96b] to þan heafde,²⁹ Beelzebub: 'Gewit³⁰ fram me and far of³¹ minre wununge; and gyf þu eart swa mihtig³² swa

¹ A, ge me ge þe (500, 23).

² swa not in A.

³ A, ða deadan fram me (500, 25).

⁴ þe synden not in A.

⁵ A, noldon (500, 27).

⁶ A, ælmyhtiga (500, 28).

⁷ A, fram me ateo.

⁸ Lazarum of me genam (500, 29).

⁹ of deaðe awehte and not in A.

¹⁰ A, Seo h. hym þa ðus to cwæð (500, 32).

¹¹ A, in on me (500, 34); A, for þam þa ic (502, 1).

¹² A, wæron samod myd (502, 3).

¹³ A, gedrehte and gedrefede.

¹⁴ A, eal swa (502, 4).

¹⁵ A, þonne he . . . flyhte wyle (502, 5).

¹⁶ A, he swa wæs fram us ræsende (502, 6).

¹⁷ A, nu wat (502, 7).

¹⁸ A, þæt he (502, 8).

¹⁹ A, to me (502, 9).

²⁰ A, me (502, 12).

²¹ This sentence is addition of the C copyist or author, and is one of two passages in the piece that give it the style of a homily.

²² A, Ac amang þam þe hig þus spræcon, þær wæs stefen and gastlic hream swa hlud swa þunres slege and wæs (502, 12, 13).

²³ A gives the whole verse, *Tollite portas principes vestras et elevamini porte eternas, introibit Rex Gloria* (502, 14, 15).

²⁴ A, þæt byð on Engliac.

²⁵ A, tonymað (502, 16).

²⁶ A, ecan (502, 17).

²⁷ A, þæt mæge ingan se Cyng þæs ecan wuldres.

²⁸ A, Ac.

²⁹ A, to þam ealdre, Satane (502, 18).

³⁰ A, raðe fram (502, 19).

³¹ A, ut of.

³² A, swa myhtig eart (502, 20).

þu ær cwæde,¹ þonne winn þu² ongean hine³ and gewurðe þe and him.⁴
And seo helle þone deofel⁴ ut adraf, and cwæð to þan arleasan þegnen:
'Belucað fæste⁵ þa ændelease⁶ gaten and toforen sceoteð þa ærene⁷
and þa irene⁸ scytteles, and him strange⁹ wiðstandeð and piss weorod¹⁰
behealdeð, þæt we ne beon bereafod.'¹¹

Da þæt geherdan þa hehfæderes¹² þe þær inne wæron, þa clypedan¹³
heo ealle anre stefne¹⁴ to þære helle: 'Geopene pine gaten and læt inn¹⁵
þone King, þæs ecan wuldres sune.' Þa cwæð Dauid:¹⁶ 'Piss ic witegode¹⁷
þa ic ofer eorðen wæs cweðende, "Andetteð Drihtene his mildheortnysse,
for-þan-þe he wyle his mildheortnysse¹⁸ mannen cyðen."'¹⁹ Þa¹⁹ cwæð
Isaias:²⁰ 'Ic sæde on eorðen²¹ þæt deade mænn scolden arisen²² and helle
scolde beon geheregod²³ and sarignysse eall to blisse gewænd purh
wuldres bearn.' Þa þa²⁴ halgen þæt geherden,²⁵ þa blissedan²⁶ heo ealle
and to þære²⁷ helle cwæden: 'Geopene pine [Fol. 97a] gaten. Þu²⁸ scealt
beon untrum and unmihtig and mid eallen oferswiðed.' Þa²⁹ wæs þær
geworden³⁰ mycel stefne and mycel³¹ liht swylc punreslege and þuss
cwæð: 'Ge ealdres, geopenigeð³² and untyned eower gaten þæt muge
ingan se King þe³³ of heofone is asænd.' Þa geherde³⁴ seo helle þæt hit
wæs twygge geclyped, þa cleopode heo ongean and þuss cwæð: 'Hwæt
is þes³⁵ King þe is³⁶ gewuldred?' Dauid cwæð and hire andswarede:³⁷
'Hit is Drihten³⁸ of heofone rice; and piss³⁹ ic on eorðen ærre cwæð, þæt

¹ A, ymbe spræce.² A, þu nu.³ A, þone wuldres cyning (502, 21).⁴ A, þa Satan of hys setlum (502, 22).⁵ fæste not in A.⁶ A, wæthreowan and þa ærenan (502, 23).⁷ þa ærene and not in A.⁸ A, ysenan (502, 24).⁹ A, stranglice.¹⁰ A, þa hæfinga (502, 25).¹¹ A, gehæfte.¹² A, seo mænigeo þæra halgena (502, 26).¹³ A, hig clypedon ealle (502, 27).¹⁴ A, and cwædon to (502, 27).¹⁵ A, þæt mæge ingan se cyning (502, 28); A omits sune.¹⁶ A, David þa gyt (502, 29).¹⁷ A, Ne forewitegode ic eow þa ða ic on eorðan lyfigende wæs? (502, 30).¹⁸ A, hys wundra wyle manna bearnum (502, 31).¹⁹ C omits and þa ærenan gatu . . . heora unrhytwysnysse (502, 32-34); A, Æfter þam þa.²⁰ A, se wytega Is. to callum þam halgum þe ðær wæron (504, 1).²¹ A, and ne foresæde ic eow þa ða ic on eorðan lyfigende wæs (504, 2).²² A, arysan sceoldon (504, 3).²³ C changes the thought of A entirely, the latter having and mænigeo byrgena geopenod weorðan and þa sceoldon geblyssian þe on eorðan wæron, for-þam-ðe hym fram dryhtne hæl sceolde cuman (504, 3, 5).²⁴ A, Da ealle þa.²⁵ A, þys wæron gehyrende fram þam witegan Esaiam (504, 6).²⁶ þa . . . ealle and not in A.²⁷ A, Hig wæron cweðende to (504, 7).²⁸ A, nu þu.²⁹ C omits heom þa ðus gesprecenum (504, 8, 9).³⁰ A, seo mycele (504, 9).³¹ and mycel liht not in A.³² A, tonimad eowre gatu and upahebbad þa ecan gatu (504, 11).³³ A, þæs ecan wuldres (504, 12).³⁴ A, Ac seo hell þa þæt gehyrde.³⁵ A, se (504, 14).³⁶ A, sig wuldres cyning.³⁷ A, David hyre andswarode þa and cwæð.³⁸ A, þas word ic oncnawe (504, 15).³⁹ A, and eac ic þas word gegyðdode, þa ða ic on eorðan wæs and ic hyt geow.

he scolde¹ of heofone to eorðe and þær geheren þa geomerunga his gebundenra þeowen. Ac nu [pu] fule² and þu stinchende³ helle, geopene raðe⁴ þine gaten, þæt muge ingan þæs ecen wuldres King.' Þa David⁵ russ gespecan hæfde, þa þærto becom se wulderfulle King on mannes gelicnysses and⁶ þa gaten tobræc and þa þeostre⁷ ealle onlihte and þær þa synbændes⁸ ealle tobræc and⁹ ure ealde fæderes ealle geneosode, þær¹⁰ heo on þan þeostre lange gewuned¹¹ hæfden. Seo¹² helle and se deað and heora arlease þegnes, þa¹³ heo þæt [Fol. 97b] gesegen and geherden, heo wæron forhtigende¹⁴ mid heora wælreowen þeignen, for-þan-þe heo on heora agene riche swa mycele brihtnysses¹⁵ gesegen. Þa gesegen¹⁶ heo hine sitten on þan setle þe he sylf¹⁷ geahnede, þa¹⁸ cwæden heo: 'Nu we synden¹⁹ ealle oferswiðene and ofercumene. Ac sege²⁰ us, hwæt eart þu, þu þe buten ælcere wæmmunge and buten flite²¹ us hæfest ealle ofercumene²² and genyðered? And²³ hwæt eart þu swa mycellic and²⁴ lytel and hehlic,²⁵ and swa wunderlic on anes mannes heowe, þæt²⁶ þu hæfest us ofercumen? Þu læge²⁷ dead and bebyred, and eart leofigende hider gefaren²⁸ to us. And on þine deaðe ealle tunglen and gesceafta wurden²⁹ gestyrede. And þu eart freols³⁰ geworden betwux eallen oðren deaden, and eall ure werod³¹ þu hæfest swyðe gedrefed, and hæfest nu hider swa mycel³² liht gebroht, and mid þinre³³ brihtnysses synden ealle

¹ A, *þæt se sylfa Drihten wolde of heofenum on eorðan beseon* (504, 17).

² A, *fuluste and þu ful* (504, 19).

³ A, *stincendiste*.

⁴ *raðe* not in A.

⁵ A uses absolute construction, *Dauid þa þus gesprecenum, þærto* (504, 20).

⁶ C omits *þæt wæs ure heofenlica Dryhten while and þa gaten tobræc* is not in A (504, 22).

⁷ A, *þar þa ecan*.

⁸ A, *he ealle* (504, 23).

⁹ A, *and he* (504, 24).

¹⁰ A, *þær þær*.

¹¹ A, *ær . . . wunigende wæron* (504, 25).

¹² A, *Ac seo*.

¹³ A, *þa ða* (504, 26). The only instance in MS where *þæt* is written out.

¹⁴ A, *aforhtode* (504, 27); A omits *heo*.

¹⁵ C omits *þæs leohtes* (504, 29).

¹⁶ and *hig færinga Cryst gesawon on þam setle syttan*.

¹⁷ A, *him sylfum geahnod hæfde* (504, 30).

¹⁸ A, and *hig wæron clypigende and þus cweðende*.

¹⁹ A, *We syndon fram þe oferswyðde* (504, 31); and *ofercumene* not in A.

²⁰ A, *Ac we acsiad þe* (504, 32).

²¹ A inverts order, *butan ælcon geflyte and butan*.

²² A, *myd þinum mægenþrymme hæfst ure myhte genyðerod* (504, 34).

²³ A, *Oððe*.

²⁴ and *eac swa* (504, 35).

²⁵ A, and *swa nyðerlic, and eft up swa heah*.

²⁶ A, *us to oferdryfenne* (506, 1).

²⁷ A, *Hwæt ne eart þu se ðe lage dead on byrgene* (506, 2).

²⁸ A, *to us cumen* (506, 3).

²⁹ A, *ealle eorðan gesceafta and ealle tungla syndon* (506, 4).

³⁰ *freols* (A, *freoh*) use *das* as an adjective.

³¹ A, *coredu* (506, 6).

³² A, and *hwæt eart þu þe hæfst þæt leoht hyder eond send*.

³³ A, and *myd þynre godcundan myhte and beorhtnysses hæfst ablend þa synfullan þystro* (506, 7).

þas þeostre gelihte. And eac¹ gelice ealla þas ealdres² pysere helle synden swyðe afyrhte.’

“Þa³ wæron þa deofle ealle clypigende anre stefne and⁴ cwæðen:

Hwanen eart þu, la Hælend, swa strang mann and swa [Fol. 98a] briht on mæigne,⁵ and wunigende⁶ buten ælcen lehtre⁷ and clæne fram ælcen wæmme? Eall⁸ middeneard us wæs simle underðeodd forð þæt⁹ nu. Eornestlice¹⁰ we axiged¹¹ hwæt þu seo, þu þe swa unforht us eart to gecumen and wylt¹² us benymen eall þæt we hider habbeð gestrynd, [and] fif þusend¹³ and fif hundred wintre on pine and on synbænde gebroht hæfden? Hweðer hit wen seo, þæt þu seo se ilca Hælend þe Sathanas embe spæc,¹⁴ ure ealder, and sægde þæt he wolde purh¹⁵ pine deað anweald habben ealles middeneardes?’

“Ac se wulderfæste Cyng and ure heofonlice Hlaford nolde¹⁶ þære deoflena gemaðeles na¹⁷ mare hlysten,¹⁸ for¹⁹ þan heo wolden mid heora maðele hine dreccen. And Beelzebub fleah þa into helle botme, and ure Drihten him strangode æfter and hine befran hwy he swa swyðe nyðer his setle gecure, and ærre cwæð þæt eall wuld wæs his. And he hine²⁰ gegrap þa²¹ and²² fæste geband mid²³ anes draca bæclinge and hine þær helle sealde on anweald to²⁴ habbene aa buten ænde.”

Eala²⁵ mæn, hwu grislic hit wæs þa-þa seo deo[Fol. 98b]fellice helle pone feond, Beelzebub, underfeng and hine fæste geheold! For-þan se deofol wæs ær þære helle hlaford and eallra þære deofellicre pingan þe hire on wæron.

“Þa cwæð seo helle²⁶: ‘La þu ealdor eallra forspillednysse, for²⁷ hwy dyrstlæhtest þu pone²⁸ Hælend to nymene and on þa Iudeas besændest

¹ eac not in A.

² A, þas eoredu þysa deofla (506, 9).

³ A, and hig wæron þa ealle þa (506, 10).

⁴ and cwæðen not in A.

⁵ A, mægenþrymme (506, 12).

⁶ and wunigende not in A.

⁷ A, butan ælcon womme and swa clæne fram ælcon leahtre (506, 13).

⁸ A, eall eorðan.

⁹ A, oð (for forð þæt).

¹⁰ A, And earnostl. (506, 14).

¹¹ A, þe hwæt eart þu.

¹² A, and þar to eacan us wylt fram atcon ealle þa ðe we gefyrn on bendum heoldon (506, 15).

¹³ fif þusend and fif hundred wintre on pine not in A; and fif hundred above line.

¹⁴ A has different order, ure ealdor ymbe spæc (506, 18).

¹⁵ A has different order, ðurh þynne deað he wolde gewæld, etc.

¹⁶ A, þa nolde (506, 20).

¹⁷ Na not in A, but in B.

¹⁸ A, habban (506, 21).

¹⁹ for þan heo . . . eall wuld wæs his not in A; nor does C have anything corresponding to ac he pone deoflican deað feor nyðer atræd (506, 21).

²⁰ A, Satan (506, 22).

²¹ þa not in A.

²² A, and hyne fæste.

²³ Mid anes draca bæclinge not in A.

²⁴ Remainder of this sentence not in A.

²⁵ This paragraph, Eala . . . hire on wæron has only Ac heo hyne þa underfeng (506, 23) corresponding in A. Eala mæn, homiletic language. C omits eall swa hyre fram ure heofenlican hlaford gehaten wæs (506, 24).

²⁶ A, to Satane (506, 25).

²⁷ C omits and la ðu . . . modignisse (506, 28-28).

²⁸ A, þu þe þæt þu þæt gepanc on þæt Iudeisce (506, 29).

on heora heorten, þæt heo þone Hælend onhengen? And¹ þu nu þurh þære rode² treowe ealle þine blisse hæfest forspilled. Nu³ þu hæfest yfele gedon⁴ ongean me and ongean þe, and⁵ þu forð to domes dæige scealt beon þuss gebunden, and feala ece tintregen on me geðrowigen⁶ and on cwicsusle beornen.' Þa⁷ þæt Crist geherde, hwu seo helle þone⁸ deofel, Beelzebub, mid⁹ mycele gryre geðreatode and mid worde tyrwede, þa cwæð¹⁰ he: 'Beo nu se deofol,¹¹ helle ealdor, on þinen anwealde, and git bute on forspillednysse¹² aa buten ænde.' "And se wulderfulle Cyng¹³ aðenede his hand¹⁴ and cwæð: 'Ealle mine¹⁵ halgen þe mine gelicnysse habbeð, cumeð to me.'¹⁶ Þa ealle¹⁷ þa halgen genelæhten¹⁸ to his hande, and se Hælend þa Adam [*Fol. 99a*] beo þære rihthand genam and him to cwæð: 'Sib seo mid þe, Adam, and mid¹⁹ þinen bearnen.' Adam wæs þa nyðer feallinde and þæs Hælendes cneow cyssende and mid tearengेतende [halsunge], and mid²⁰ stefne clypigende and þuss cweðende: 'Ic herige þe, heofona Hlaford, þæt þu me of þyssere cwicsusle woldest onfon.'²¹ Se²² Hælend þa his hand aðenede and rodetacne ofer Adam geworhte and ofer ealle þa²³ oðre halgen; and he Adam beo þære swyðre hand fram helle ateah and his þa gecorena.²⁴ And Dauid cwæð:²⁵ 'Singeð ealle halgen²⁶ ure Drihtene neowne sang.'²⁷ And heo sungan:²⁸ 'On doxa wyste uoysena. Alleluia. Alleluia.'

¹ C omits *and þu hym nanne gylt on ne oncneowe* (506, 30).

² A, *þæt tryw and þurh þa rode hæfst* (506, 31); *hæfest* above line.

³ C omits *and þurh þæt þe ðu þyme wuldres cyning ahenge* (506, 32).

⁴ A, *Þu dydest wyðerwerðlice ongean þe and eac ongean me* (506, 53).

⁵ and *þu forð* . . . gebunden not in A.

⁶ A, *and oncnaw nu hu feala ece tynntrega and þa ungeendodan suslo þu bte þe wærigende on mynre ecan gehealtsumnysse* (506, 34, 35).

⁷ A, *Ac þa ða se wuldres cyning* (508, 1).

⁸ A, *wyð þone roðan Satan.*

⁹ *mid mycele* . . . tyrwede not in A.

¹⁰ A, *He cwæð to þære helle* (508, 2).

¹¹ A has simply *Satan* on, etc.

¹² A, *on ecum forwyrd, and þæt beo æfre to ecere worulde, on þære stowe þe ge Adam and þæra witegena bearn cer lange on geheoldon* (508, 3-5).

¹³ A, *Dryhten* (508, 6).

¹⁴ A, *þa his swyðran hand aðenede.*

¹⁵ A, *ge myne* . . . ge þe (508, 7).

¹⁶ C omits after this *and ge þe þurh þæs treowes bleða genyðerude wæron, ge seoð nu þæt ge sceolon þurh þæt treow mynre rode, þe ic on ahangen wæs, oferwyðan þone deað and eac þone deofol.* (508, 8-10).

¹⁷ A, *Hyt wæs þa swyðe raðe þæt ealle, etc.* (508, 11).

¹⁸ A, *wæron genealcende to þæs Hælendes.*

¹⁹ A, *myð eallum* (508, 14).

²⁰ A, *myð mycelre stefne þus cwæð* (508, 16).

²¹ A, *onfon woldest* (508, 17).

²² A, *And se.*

²³ A, *his halgan* (508, 19).

²⁴ A, and ealle þa halgan heom æfter fyligdon (508, 20).

²⁵ A, *Ac se halga Dauid þa ðus clypode myð stranglicre stefne and* (508, 21).

²⁶ ealle halgen not in A.

²⁷ A, *lofsang* (508, 22); C omits, *for þam ðe Dryhten hæfð wundra eallum þeodum geswutelod; and he hæfð hys hæle cude* (MS *hude*) *gedon toforan ealre þeode gesyhðe, and his ryhtwysnysse onwrigen* (508, 23-25).

²⁸ A, *Ealle þa halgan hym þa andswaredon and cwædon, "Dæs sig Dryhtne mærd and eallum hys halgum wuldor. Amen. Alleluia."* (508, 25-27).

"Almih¹ig God betæhte þa Adam Michaelē, þan hehængle, and² he heo gebrohte³ to neorxnewanga mid wulderfulre blisse. And⁴ þa-þa heo inn foren, þa gemetten heo twegen weres.⁵ Þa cwædon⁶ heo: 'Hwæt synden ge þe mid us⁷ on helle næron, and⁸ eowwer lichame swa þeh libbende⁹ is?' Þa cwæð se oðer:¹⁰ 'Ic eam Enoch and ic þurh Drihtenes word wæs hider gelædd, and piss is Helias¹¹ þe [*Fol. 99b*] mid me is; se wæs on fyrene chearte¹² hider gefered, and get wyt¹³ deaðes ne onbyrigden. Ac wyt seulen mid Godes¹⁴ tacne Antecristes anbidian and ongean hine fihten¹⁵ and on Ierusalem beon¹⁶ þurh hine ofslagene, and on¹⁷ feorðe healfen dæige¹⁸ beon eft gecwicode and þurh gehnipe eft¹⁹ to eow up onhafene.'

"Onmang²⁰ þan þa com þær an scaðe and an rodetacne on his exle bær. Þa cwæð þæt werod:²¹ 'Hwæt eart þu þe eart anen scaðe gelic?'²² 'Soð ge seggeð þæt ic scaðe wæs and eall yfel wyrcente.²³ Ac þa Iudees wið þone Hælend onhengen me,²⁴ and ic his miltse bæd, and he me getyðede and of synne alesde and mid his worde hider asænde to þan ængle mid byssen²⁵ tacne þe ge on minen halse geseoð and het me her eower abiden.' Þa cwædon heo ealle: 'Seo gebletsod se mildheorte God, se-þe us are and mildse forgeaf.' He andswerede and cwæð: 'Amen.'

¹ A, *Se halga Dryhten wæs þa Adames hand healdende, and hig Michaelē, þam heahengle, syllende and hym sylf wæs on heofenas farende.*

² C omits *Ealle þa halgan wæron þa Mychael, þam heahengle, æfterfyligende* (508, 30, 31).

³ A, *hig ealle ingelædde on.*

⁴ A, *Ac þa hig inweard* (508, 32).

⁵ A, *ealde weras* (508, 33).

⁶ A, *and ealle þa halgan hig sona acsedon and heom þus to cwædon.*

⁷ A, *on helle myd us* (508, 35).

⁸ C omits *and ge nu gyt deade næron; the we in eowwer due to end of line.*

⁹ A, *on neorxnawange togædere syndon* (510, 1, 2).

¹⁰ A, *Se oðer hym þa andswarode and cwæð.*

¹¹ A, *Helias Thesbyten* (510, 4).

¹² A, *cræte* (510, 5).

¹³ A, *wyt gyt* (510, 5).

¹⁴ A, *godcundum tacnum and myd forebeacnum* (510, 6).

¹⁵ A, *wynnian* (510, 7).

¹⁶ A, *and wyt sceolon on Hierusl. fram hym* (510, 8); C omits *and heac fram us. Ac wyt sceolon* (510, 9).

¹⁷ A, *bynnan.*

¹⁸ A, *dæges fæce.*

¹⁹ *eft to eow not in A.*

²⁰ A, *Ac onmang þam ðe Enoch and Eliās þus spræcon, heom þær to becom sum wer þe wæs earmlices hywes, and wæs berende anre rode tacen on uppan hys, etc.* (510, 10-13).

²¹ A, *Ac þa halgan hyne þa sona gesawon and hym to cwædon* (510, 14).

²² A, *ðyn ansyn ys swylce anes sceadan; C omits and hwæt ys þæt tacen þe ðu on uppan þynum ealum byrst? He hym andswarode and cwæð* (510, 15, 16).

²³ A, *yfelu on eorðan* (510, 17).

²⁴ A has *me before wyt* (510, 18).

²⁵ C here compresses into one or two short sentences what A requires more than half a page to say; and *ic þa geseah ealle þa ðing þe be þam Hælende on þære rôde gedone wæron; and ic þa sona gelyfde þæt he wæs ealra gesceafta Scyppend and se ælmyhtiga Cyning. And ic hyne georne bæd and þus cwæð; "Eala Dryhten, gemun þu myn," etc. . . . He and swarode and cwæð: "Amen"* (510, 18-512, 6).

Þiss wæron þa halige¹ geryne þe² Carinus and Leuticius awriten.³ And Carinus up astod⁴ and his carten Annam and Caipham and Gamaliele on hand sealde,⁵ and Leuticius his carte Nichodeme and Iosephe on hand [*Fol. 100a*] gesealde; and [heo] cwæden:⁶ “Godes⁷ sibb seo mid eow eallen.”⁸ And Carinus and Leuticius wæron þa færinge on⁹ fægeren howe swylce¹⁰ sunne leome,¹¹ and on þære brihtnysse fram¹² þan folca gewiten to ecen life.¹³ And þa þa gewriten gerædde wæron,¹⁴ þa wæron heo¹⁵ gelice gewritene, þæt þær næs on naðer¹⁶ mare þone on oðern ane stæfe, ne forðen ane¹⁷ prica.

Þa þa soðfæste¹⁸ hit geherdan, þa cwæden heo: “Seo Drihten gebletsod aa on eallra¹⁹ wurlde wurld. Amen.” And heo²⁰ ferden ham mid mycelen ege and blisse. And Ioseph and Nichodemus ferden²¹ to Pilaten and him heora²² gewrit æteowden. And Pilatus²³ hit sænde Claudium to Romane byrig and gewrit²⁴ hwu hit beo þan Hælende geworden wæs on Ierusalem, and hwu heo hine belæwden and hine him syððen

¹ A, *syndon þa godcundan and þa halgan* (512, 7).

² A, *þe ða twegen wytegan* (512, 8).

³ A, *to soðon gesawon and gehyrdon, eallswa ic ær her beforan sæde, þæt hig on þysne dæg myd þam Hælende of deade aryson, eallswa hig se Hælend of deade awehte* (512, 8–11).

⁴ A, *and þa hig eall þys gewryten and gefylled hæfdon, hig up aryson and þa cartan þe hig gewryten hæfdon þam ealdrum ageafon* (512, 11, 13).

⁵ A, *Carinus his cartan ageaf Annan, etc.; on hand not in A.*

⁶ A, *And geltece Leuticius his cartan ageaf Nychodeme, etc.; on hand not in A, but B has ageaf and on hand sealde* (513, 15).

⁷ A, *and heom þus to cwædon* (512, 15).

⁸ Godes not in A.

⁹ A, *eallum fram þam sylfan Dryhtne Hælendum Cryste and fram ure ealra Hælende* (512, 16, 17).

¹⁰ A, *swa fægeres . . . swa.*

¹¹ leome not in A, but A has after *sunne, þonne he (heo B.) beorhtost scýned* (512, 18).

¹² A, *hyg of þam folce* (512, 19).

¹³ to ecen life not in A, but A has *swa þæt þæs folces nawayht nýston hwæder hig foron* (512, 20).

¹⁴ A, *Ac þa caldras þa and þa mæssepreostas þa gewrytu ræddon þe Carinus and Leuticius gewryten hæfdon* (512, 21).

¹⁵ A, *þa wæs ægðer gelice* (512, 22).

¹⁶ A, *nader næs ne læsse ne mare þonne oðer ðe anum stafe* (512, 23).

¹⁷ A, *be anum* (512, 24).

¹⁸ A, *And ða þa gewrytu gerædde wæron, eall þæt Iudeisce folc (supplied from B) þa heom betwynan cwædon: “Soðe syndon ealle þas þyng þe her gewordene syndon, and æfre sig,” etc.* (512, 24–27).

¹⁹ A, *gebletsod a woruld, a woruld.*

²⁰ A, *And ælc para Iudea wæs þa ham to his agenum farende myd mycelre ymbhydnysse and myd mycelum ege and myd mycelre fyrhto, and heora breost beatende, þæt hig myd þam betan woldon þæt hig wyð God agyllt hæfdon* (512, 28–31).

²¹ A, *wæron þa farende to Pil., þam deman* (512, 32).

²² A, *eall atealdon be þam twam wytegum, Carine and Leutice, and be þam gewriton, and be ealre þære fare þe hym æror bedygloð wæs* (512, 33–514, 1).

²³ C compresses the A-B version of Pilate's letter to Claudius until it is about one-fourth as long (cf. 514, 515).

²⁴ A, *Ac Pilatus þa on hys domerne hym sylf awrat, etc.* (514, 1, 2).

sealden, and hwu heo hine anhangen and on byrigele alegden, and hwu he of deaðe aras, and hwu heo þone medsceatt þan weardmænn sealden, and swa þeh [heo] hit forhelen ne mihten. "Nu, leofe Casere, ne gelef þu na þære Iudea leasunge, for-þan þiss is eall soð þæt hit swa is geworden. Seo Drihtene lof and deofle sarege. Amen."

IV. A HOMILY ON THE HARROWING OF HELL.

(From MS C.C.C.C. 41, pp. 295 ff.; margin.)

Men þa leofestan, her sagað an þissum bocum ym[be]¹ ða miclan gewird þe to ðisse nihte wearð: þæt² ure Drihten, Hælend Crist, on ðas niht gewearð,³ þe nu to niht wæs. þæt he of deaðe aras to midre nihte, and⁴ he astahg niðer to helwarum to þan, þæt he wolde þa helle bereafian, and swa gedyde, and þæt ealdor deoful oferswiðan. And hit wearð⁵ him cuðlice ætiwed [P. 296] þæt he swa wolde gedon. Þæt dioful is geciged and nemned Satanas, þæt is, ealdor deoful inwite; and he rixað and wunað in helle nypewardre. Vrê Drihten astahg in ða helle to ðan,⁶ þæt he wolde þa halga saula þanon generian. Hit sagað þæt þa comon manige men to hellegatum, and þa men wæron atelice⁷ and swiðe laðlice gewordene. And hit sagað þæt ða men wæron þære helle and ðara deofla geatweardas, þæt hi woldon þa helle belucan wið uris⁸ Drihtenes fore and wið his pydercyme. Her sægeð þæt hi wurdun hrædlice áfyrhtede, þa ure Drihten com an þas niht to ðære hellegatum, þæt ða loco burstun and niðer feollon ongean⁹ hine. And¹⁰ he eode þa ing,⁸ ure Drihten, and bræc þa helle and nereda¹¹ ða halgan sawla ðe an ðan wite ær lange sæton. And hi wæron þa sprecende, þa helware, him betwunum, and hi cwædon:¹² "Hwæt taliað¹³ we hwæt ðes cempa sie ðe into us gæð? Taligað we hwæðere uss[e]¹⁴ geatweardas slapen, þa ðes fyhtling¹⁵ in to us eode? Oððe taligað we hwæðer he hæbbe¹⁶ his ware gesette wið usne ordfruma? Oððe he hine ofslegene, and þurh þæt he into us eode?"

Þæt dioful gewat of pisse helle feran to ðan, þæt he Iudas gelærde þæt hi Crist on rode-gealgan áhengon; and he git ne com, eala, þæt he ne wat hwilc¹⁷ wæl him is gerenod in ðisse helle. And he ða, ure

¹ Emendations to MS are in brackets: resolutions, except *þæt*, and, are in italics.

² With one exception, MS has *þ*.

³ *gewearð* almost illegible.

⁴ MS has *and*.

⁵ The *r* in *wearð* above line in MS.

⁶ MS has *ðan* more frequently than *ðam*.

⁷ *ic* above line in MS.

⁸ So MS.

⁹ *e* above line in MS.

¹⁰ *and he eode* above line in MS.

¹¹ *d* corrected from *ð* in MS.

¹² MS has *hi^c wæð on*.

¹³ It is difficult to determine whether the MS reading is *taliað* or *toliað*.

¹⁴ MS has *us sgeat wear das*; *d* corrected from *ð*.

¹⁵ *t* above line in MS.

¹⁶ Second *b* above line in MS.

¹⁷ *l* above line in MS.

Drihten, astahg furður in¹ þa helle mid his leohtes leoman, oð þæt he geseah hwær Adam sæt, ure ealra fæder, mid eallum his frumcynne. And he Adam wæs þa sprecende and cwæð: "Hwæt taligað we hwæt þis leoht sie þe þus hædre scineð on ðas helle æfter þisse uneaðlican weorulde?" Hi wæron ða sprecende, þa helware, him betweonum and hi cwædon: "Hwæt is ðes scinenda and þes beorhta þe us hæfð mid his leohtes leoman? Yfele we sindon her in gebegane. Hwæt, we nu wæron fægne, þæt² we us [P. 297] moston bediglan on ussum scræfum,³ þæt he us ne swencte mid his mægnis⁴ nidbaðel! Hwæt, we witon þæt næfre ær ne wæs nænig to þæs pristig þæt he lifigende into us eode.⁵ Taligað we hwæpere he heonon hworfe butan usse wrace? Hwæt, we witon þæt næfre ær in middangeard ðy lic [we] ne gesawun on ure hælo! ne nefre ær þus wynsum leoht ne com on þis blindde setl, ne an ðisne [s]weartan seap. Hwæt, we gehyrað and geseop þæt ðeos arleasse siniðpe⁶ is adumbud, þæt is, þeos hel and ðas wito blindigað, swa hi ær ne dydon! ne þas sawla ne sprancetað under ussum slagum; ne⁷ hi ne bifigað ne ne forhtigað. Hwæt, we gesioð þæt þes scinenda is to ðan hider cyme, þæt he nereð þas saula! He reafað þas helle, ne wile he her wunian mid us on pissum wite."

And her sægeð eft þæt⁸ þa helware þus reonodon þa þæt ordfremme folc and þæt gescwencede werod. Adam and his cyn hi feollon to ures Domine foton and wependum wordum hi cwædon: "Drihten, genere us of ðissum witu, þæt næfre diofulu ofer us ne seo⁹ æfter ðe." Ða se stranga wið þæne¹⁰ stranga gæræse, þa ure Drihten acom and þæt ealdor dioful¹¹ geband and træd under his fotum [and] þæs diofules miht lytlode. And ure Domine nam þa Adam be his handa and teah hine up of þære helle and ealle ða halgan saula þe ðæron wæron. And on ðæne dæg, ðe nu to-dæg is, micelne here¹² þara halegra saula he lædde mid him up of ðære helle and brohte to heofenum and gefylde þa setl mid þam saulum ðe lange ær weste stodon.

"Swiðe us is ðonne to gefencanne," cwæð se writtere, "nu¹³ men ða leofestan, þæt ure Drihten hafað eft gepingod heder on þisne middangeard on forman easterniht to þan þæt he ealre þisse worulde ende gesetteð, swa ure Drihten silfe cwæð, [P. 298] 'Ic cyme and mina meda mid me bringe.' He siþað, ure Drihten, on þisne middangeard, mid micelre egesan cymeð. Sunne and monan pistriað, and steorran feallað on eorðan, and hefnas beoð gefealdene swa oðere bēc. And he sendeð þenne, ure Drihten, his engelas feower, and hi blawað feower byman

¹ MS, *In*.² þæt above a blotch in MS.³ The word has been corrected in MS.⁴ So MS.⁵ It is difficult to make out the *eo* on account of a blot in MS.⁶ MS reading is more like *sinið* than *smið*.⁷ MS, *Ne*.⁸ MS, *þa*.⁹ MS reading seems to be *feo*, rather than *seo*.¹⁰ Possibly *þæne* in MS.¹¹ *i* above line in MS.¹² MS, *here he þara*.¹³ MS reading might be *onne* or *oune* or *nu ne*.

æt feower sceatum pisses middangeardes. Donne siþan þa byman geblawen habbað, þæt næfre fis ne fugel ne wæter ne wilde dyor ne fyr, ne ne fela wihta to þan wide þæs mannes lichaman ne todæleð on pisse worulde on his eagan breohtme, þonne bið þeos eorðe eft swa niwe swa hio wæs þy dæge þe hi God geworhte. Ðonne seo saul and se¹ lichama byoð gegadrode, and hi arisað þonne up of þære eorðan and gað forð to þan dome; and syðan þios eorðe forbyrneð mid eallum hire gestreonum and gemilt nyper in² helle. And sit ure Domine on his heahsetle, and he hafað his rode him an handa, and hio lyhteð ofer ealne þisne middangeard, and hio bið blode bestroden, swa hio wæs þy dæge þe he on prowode; and þa wunda byoð swa opena and swa nywe swa hi wæron þy dæge þe he Iudas an his lichaman geworhte. Fyr byrneð beforan Drihtenes heahsetle, and eall manna cyn sceal byrnan on þam fyre, ær hi to ðam dome gangen, þæt hi sin þe beortran and þe clænran beforan Cristes eagenas gesyhðe. Ond þonne Godes engelas ārædað ælces mannes worc, swa god swā yfel, swa hi ær gewyrht habbað. Hi standað, þa men, æt þam dome þe him her nu ða ne hirað, ne his larae³ ne gimað. Hi bioð swiðe beofiende⁴ and wepende, and hira weorðung þær ne bið þe mare þe her on worulde þæs mætestan þeowes. Ða deman and ða ealdormen þenu earmra manna æhta nidinga nimað and gegripað [and] [P. 299] his worc cettap and hate epiað and fnæstniað; and hi swætað blode, and him þær ne bið nænig clænnis seald, ne ræft (ræst?).

Ðæt⁵ la bið se bitera dæg and se strange dæg. Ðæt la bið bealluis⁶ dæg and biman dæg, cyrnes dæg and cerfulnessse dæg. Ðæt la bið nearonesse dæg and earfoðnyssse dæg; and ðæt⁵ la bið se bifenda⁷ domes dæg eallum mannum to gebidanne. Hi gað þonne ða Godes engelas and asceadað þa gedefan saula fram þan synfulum, and hi settað gode on þa swi[ð]ran healfe and þa synfulan on þa winstran healfe. And he hwyrp hine þonne on þa wynstran, ure Domine, and he bið þonne sprecende to eallum þan synfullum mannum, efne swā he⁸ to anum men cweðe and sprece. And he cwæð, "Eala, þai man! hwæt, ic ðe geworhte minum handum, þæt þu were me sylfum to anlicnyssse! Ic þe gestaðolode on [n]eorsnawanges wuldure, þa ðu mine ða leoflican bebodu forhogodest and þu hyrdest io swicendum swiðor þonne þæt gescope. An þane folgað þu forworhtest, þe ic þe ansende, and āwearp of ðan wuldre to deaðe. Ða ic me geeaðmedde to þan þæt ic gesohte fæmnanede lichaman innoð, and ic wæs geboren þurh mines ece gebyrd for þe, and cildlica sceama ic geþafode and eal menisc sar ic ðrowode, and ic geþafode þæt me man mid bradum handum slogh on min nebb, and ful spatl man spau on min neb, and eeced and geallan ic birigde; and me man swang mid swipan,

¹ Above line in MS.² MS, In.³ So MS.⁴ MS, heofiende?⁵ Written out in MS.⁶ u in bealluis above line in MS.⁷ MS, bipenda.⁸ Above line in MS.

and þyrnenne helm man sette on min heafod, and ic let mine sidun þurhþyrlian, þær ic þe of deaðe nerede.

"Loca nu and geseoh þara wunda swaðe and þara nægla dolh þe min lichama wæs mid þurhdrifen. Eal þas sar ic geðrowode for ðe, þær ic tilode [P. 300] þæt¹ þu an hefenum rixsode. For hwan,² lá man, ferlur þu þis eall ðe ic for ðe geprowode, and fær hwan feng þu unðanc? Hwa wat þa seminga ic³ nu leng be minum deaðe ne sprece? Agif me þin lif for þan ic min lif fær ðe sealde. For hwan besmite þu me mid þinum synnum, and þæt templ þe ic me sylfum gehalgode? Þa sealdest þu diofolle hus þær ic me restan pohte. Far hwan bescridest þu ðe nu to dæg heofona rices gefean? Me wæs sio rod þinra synna micele hefigra þonne me wære sio rod þe ic on áeweald wæs.

"Ic cweðe nu to eow, gewitað ge áwirgede fram me in þæt ecce fyr; and ic eow betyne to dæg heofona rices duru togeanes, swa ge betyndon eowra dura togenes þearfum ð[e] an mine naman to eow cigdon. Nelle ic gehiran to dæg eowre stefne þe ma ðe ge woldon gehiran þæs earman stefne."

Hi foð þonne, þa deoflo, to ðan saulum and lædað into helle. Ðonne arist *Sancta Maria* and hio gæð forð and hio annihð to ussum Hælende, and hio bideþ þæt he hire forgife þane ðriddan dæl þæs forþorhtan weredes. And he alifeð hire, and hio gæð þonne and áscæð þane þridan dæl þara saula and geset gode on þa swiðran healfe.

Þonne arist *Sanctus Michael* and he gæð forð and he nihð to ussum Hælende, and he bid þæt he him forgife þone ðriddan dæl þæs forwyrhtan weredes. And he alifeð him, and he gæð þonne and scæð þane þridan dæl þara saula [and] geset gode on swiðran hand.

Ðonne arist *Sanctus Petrus* and he gæð forð and he nihð to ussum Drihten, and he bit þæt he him forgyfe þane þridan dæl þæs [for]wyrhtan weredes. And⁴ he alyfeð him, and he gæð þonne [P. 301] and áscæð þæne þrid dæl ðara saula and geset gode on ða swiðran healfe.

And nimað þanne þa deofolo ða lafe and lædað to helle, and he gæp þonne æfter, *Sanctus Petrus*, and belicþ þa helle and wyrpð þa cæge on þone grund, þa næfre siððan gode angeminde ne cumað. He wyrfð hine ðanne, ure Drihten, on þa swiðran healfe to ðan gedefum mannum. And he⁵ cwið: "Þa me hingrede, þa sealde ge me mete; þa me þyrste, ða sealde ge me drincan; þa ic wæs nacod, þa gyredige⁶ me; þa ic ælðiodig [wæs], þa anfengon ge min; þa ic wæs⁷ untrum, þa fandode ge min." And hi þonne cweðað: "*Domine*, hwanne wæs þæt æfre, þæt ðu þæs byhofodes?" And him þonne andswarað ure Drihten and cwið: "Þonne ge sealdon ðan earman þonne afeng ic þære ælmyssan." And he ariseð

¹ Written out in MS.

⁵ h above line in MS.

² h above line in MS. ³ MS, Ic.

⁶ y above line in MS.

⁴ and above line in MS.

⁷ wæs above line in MS.

ure Drihten of ðan dome, and he fereð þonne uppe to hefenum and ða ealle mid him ðe nu her an middangearde pæs rices girna and æfter earniað and ure *Domines* bebodu healdað. And se Drihten lifað and ricsaþ mid feder and mid suna and mid þan halgan gaste a worulda, a woruldá á butan ænegum ende. Amen.

WILLIAM H. HULME.

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